This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at http://books.google.com/

SIGILLVM · VNIVERSITATIS · CALIFORNIENSIS
LVX
FIAT
MDCCCLXVIII
EX LIBRIS

The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1904-05.

LONDON:
ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,
NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.
1906.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

President:—The Right Hon. Viscount Tredegar.
Chairman of the Council:—Principal Rhys, D.Litt.
Vice-Chairman and Treasurer:—Dr. Henry Owen, F.S.A.
Secretary:—Mr. E. Vincent Evans.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION, originally founded under Royal patronage in 1751, was revived in 1873, with the object of bringing into closer contact Welshmen, particularly those resident out of Wales, who are anxious to advance the welfare of their country; and of enabling them to unite their efforts for that purpose. Its especial aims are the improvement of Education, and the promotion of intellectual culture by the encouragement of Literature, Science, and Art, as connected with Wales.

Subscription to the Society, entitling to copies of all its publications, and admission to all meetings:—One Guinea per annum.

Application for membership should be addressed to the Secretary, E. Vincent Evans, New Stone Buildings, 64, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

Y Cymmrodor, Vols. ii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii. New Series. Vols. xiii, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, and xix. 10*s.* 6*d.* per volume. [Vols. i and iii, out of print.]

The History of the Cymmrodorion. Out of print.

A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe, by Wyllyam Salesbury (1547). Facsimile, black letter. 4 parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

The Gododin of Aneurin Gwawdrydd, by Thomas Stephens, Author of *The Literature of the Kymry.* 6 parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

An Essay on Pennillion Singing (Hanes ac Henafiaeth Canu gyda'r Tannau), by J. Jones (*Idris Vychan*). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Ystorya de Carolo Magno (from the "Red Book of Hergest"). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Athravaeth Gristnogavl (from the unique copy belonging to the late Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, originally printed at Milan, A.D. 1568). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Blessednes of Brytaine, by Maurice Kyffin (1587). 1 part, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Gerald the Welshman, by Henry Owen, D.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A. Demy 8vo., vellum cloth, gilt, 10*s.* 6*d.* Cloth gilt, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Gweithiau Iolo Goch: Gyda Nodiadau Hanesyddol a Beirniadol, gan Charles Ashton. **The Works of Iolo Goch.** Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion for 1892-93, 1893-94, 1894-95, 1895-96, 1896-97, 1897-98, 1898-99, 1899-1900, 1900-01, 1901-02, 1902-03, 1903-04, 1904-05, 1905-06. 10*s.* 6*d.* per number.

IN THE CYMMRODORION RECORD SERIES.

The Description of Penbrokshire, by George Owen of Henllys. Edited by Henry Owen, D.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A. Being No. 1 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* 2 parts, 21*s.*

The Court Rolls of the Lordship of Ruthin or Dyffryn-Clwyd, of the Reign of King Edward the First, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited, with Translations, Notes, etc., by R. Arthur Roberts, of H.M. Public Record Office. Being No. 2 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

Gildae de Excidio Britanniae, Liber de Paenitentia, accedit et Lorica Gildae. (Gildas: the Ruin of Britain, Fragments from Lost Letters, the Penitential, together with the Lorica of Gildas.) Parts I and II. Edited by Hugh Williams, M.A., Professor of Church History at the Theological College, Bala. Being No. 3 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

A Catalogue of the Manuscripts relating to Wales in the British Museum. Parts I & II. Compiled and Edited by Edward Owen, of Gray's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. Being No. 4 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

The Black Book of St. David's. An Extent of all the Lands and Rents of the Lord Bishop of St. David's, made by Master David Fraunceys, Chancellor of St. David's in the time of the Venerable Father the Lord David Martyn, by the grace of God Bishop of the place, in the year of our Lord 1326. Edited by J. W. Willis-Bund. Being No. 5 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

To be obtained by Members on application to the Secretary, at the Cymmrodorion Library, 64, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

THE

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE HONOURABLE

SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

SESSION 1904-5.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

LONDON :

ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,

NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.

—

1906.

DA 700
C91
1904/05-
1936/07

DEVIZES:
PRINTED BY GEORGE SIMPSON.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL for 1904-5 v

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS for 1904-5 ... xi

FRONTISPIECE: The late Mr. Stephen Evans, J.P., Chairman of the Council of the Society, from the Presentation Portrait painted by the late Mr. WILLIAM OLIVER.

The late Stephen Evans: An Appreciation. By Sir LEWIS MORRIS, M.A. 1

Er Côf am Stephen Evans. Gan Syr T. MARCHANT WILLIAMS, B.A. 4

The Brehon Laws and their Relation to the Ancient Welsh Institutes. By Sir D. BRYNMOR JONES, K.C., M.P. ... 7

Yr Arwrgerdd Gymreig. Gan Mr. R. A. GRIFFITH (*Elphin*). 37

The Melodies of Wales. By ROBERT BRYAN 57

Sir John Philipps of Picton, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Charity-School Movement in Wales, 1699-1787. By the Rev. THOMAS SHANKLAND. With Appendices 74

ILLUSTRATIONS:—

Sir John Philipps, Bart., 1662-1736 ... *To face p.* 74

Picton Castle in the time of Sir John Philipps } *Between*
Picton Castle at the Present Day ... } *pp.* 88, 89

351067

REPORT

OF

THE COUNCIL OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

For the year ending November 9th, 1905.

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING HELD AT THE SOCIETY'S ROOMS, ON THURSDAY, THE 16TH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1905.

THE Council, for the first time since the revival of the Society in 1873, meet their fellow members without the presence or the support of their Chairman, the late Mr. Stephen Evans. For over thirty-two years without a break, with the unanimous consent of his colleagues, Mr. Stephen Evans continued to conduct the deliberations of the Council. With a keen desire to promote the objects of the Society he maintained unabated interest in its work to the end of his days. His connection with the Society may be said to have inspired him with the great devotion and zeal which he displayed in regard to all Welsh National movements, and particularly to the movements for the promotion of Intermediate and Higher Education. His services to the Society and to Wales will be further commemorated in the Society's *Transactions* for the year by his friends and fellow-workers, Sir Lewis Morris, and Sir Marchant Williams.

In addition to the late Chairman of the Council, death has deprived the Society during the year of the support of

three of its Vice-Presidents, the Right Rev. Dr. Richard Lewis, late Bishop of Llandaff, a regular and generous contributor to its funds, Sir Robert A. Cunliffe, Bart., and Mr. J. Ignatius Williams, who was also a former member of the Council. We have also lost Mr. George Leader Owen, of Withybush, an interesting writer and an ardent supporter of the Society's work, Mr. R. Llewelyn Jones, of Rhyl, a prominent Welsh Educationist, Mr. Owen Lewis (*Owain Dyfed*), who was for many years a member of the Council, Mr. D. Hughes Brown, of Pembroke Dock, Mr. W. P. Jones, of Holloway, Mr. William Parry, Liverpool, and Mr. David Williams, a well-known London Welsh journalist, to whom the Society was indebted for the two portraits which appeared in the last volume of the *Transactions*.

During the year, the Council are pleased to announce that there was an accession of new members to the number of 45; and amongst others the Council were particularly glad to admit to membership the Most Noble the Marquess of Bute, whose predecessor in the title rendered great and valuable service to the Society.

In the course of the past year the following meetings have been held in London :—

1904.

Nov. 24.—Annual Meeting of the Members.

Dec. 8.—Annual Dinner, under the Chairmanship of Sir W. H. Preece, K.C.B.

1905.

Jan. 26.—Paper on "The Brehon Laws and their relation to the Ancient Welsh Institutes," by Mr. Brynmor-Jones, K.C., M.P.; Chairman, Lord Justice Vaughan Williams.

April 13.—Paper on "The Welsh Epic" (Yr Arwrgerdd Gymreig), by Mr. R. A. Griffith (*Elphin*); Chairman, Mr. William Jones, M.P.

May 11.—Paper on "Sir John Philipps of Picton," by the Rev. Thomas Shankland, B.A.; Chairman, The Rev. W. Osborn B. Allen, M.A.

July 11.—Paper on "Alawon Cymru"—(Welsh Melodies, with Musical Illustrations), by Mr. Robert Bryan, M.A.; Chairman, the President, The Right Hon. Lord Tredegar; and the

ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE; held by permission of the Master and Wardens at Clothworkers' Hall, Mincing Lane, under the Presidency of Lord Tredegar, supported by the Master of the Clothworkers, and Sir Owen Roberts.

At Mountain Ash, in the *Cymmrodorion Section* of the National Eisteddfod, meetings were held:—

On Monday, August 7th, 1905, in the Court Room, Town Hall, Mountain Ash. Addresses (followed by a discussion) were delivered on "The Welsh National Museum", by Sir John Williams, Bart., K.C.V.O., and T. H. Thomas, Esq., R.C.A. *(Arlunydd Penygarn)*; Chairman, Sir Marchant Williams.

On Wednesday, August 9th, 1905, at the Town Hall, Principal Anwyl, M.A., University College of Wales, read a Paper on "Llenyddiaeth yr Eisteddfod" (The Literature of the Eisteddfod); Chairman, The Rev. Thos. Edwards *(Gwynedd)*.

These meetings were well attended, and the Society is to be congratulated on the share which the discussions here and elsewhere, under its auspices, has had in promoting and developing the claims of Wales to a National Library and a National Museum, claims which have now been accepted and met by His Majesty's Government.

During the year the following Publications have been issued to members:—

The Transactions for the Session 1903-1904, containing "Sir Henry Morgan the Buccaneer" (with Portrait), by W. Llewelyn Williams, M.A., B.C.L.; "Thomas Edwards o'r Nant, a'r Interliwdiau" (gyda Darlun), gan Isaac Foulkes *(Llyfrbryf)*; "In Memoriam: Isaac Foulkes" *(Llyfrbryf)*, by E. Vincent Evans; "Prolegomena to the Study of Old Welsh Poetry", by Professor Edward Anwyl, M.A.; "The Ideal of a Welsh National Library", by Sir John Williams, Bart., K.C.V.O., Sir Isambard Owen, M.A., and Sir Marchant Williams; Report of the Council and Statement of Receipts and Payments for 1903-04.

Y Cymmrodor, Vol. XVIII, containing "The Origin of the Welsh Englyn and Kindred Metres", by John Rhys, M.A., D. Litt.,

Professor of Celtic and Principal of Jesus College, Oxford. Contents—Part i: Inscriptional Data: Hexameters, Elegiacs, Pentameters and Half Pentameters, Curtailed Hexameters, Horatian Metres, The Frampton Mosaics. Part ii: Certain Welsh Metres: The Juvencus Englyns, The Englyns of the Graves Classified, Blegywryd's Hexameters, Certain Contents of the "Black Book", Notes on the Text of the Englyns of the Graves, The later Englyn, The Accentual Hexameter in Welsh, The Pentameter the Cywydd, The Hexameter Truncated, The Luxembourg Folio, Irish Rhetorics, Elegiac Features transmitted, Index to Proper Names in the Englyns of the Graves *(Englynion y Beddau)*.

The Council regret that they have not found it possible to make further progress with the incomplete volumes in the Record Series, but they gather from Professor Williams and Mr. Edward Owen that Parts iii of their respective works are in a forward state of preparation. They therefore hope that the volumes may be completed in the course of the ensuing year.

The Transactions for the current year are in the Press, and will be issued as early as possible. The volume contains Mr. Brynmor-Jones' paper on "The Brehon Laws, and their relation to the Ancient Welsh Institutes" much amplified; Mr. R. A. Griffith's criticism on "The Welsh Epic"; the Rev. T. Shankland's paper on "Sir John Philipps of Picton" considerably extended; and Mr. Robert Bryan's paper on "Welsh Melodies", together with the Report and Financial Statement for the year.

Y Cymmrodor, Vol. XIX, is also in hand. It contains an unpublished Poem by Sir Lewis Morris; "The Vandals in Wessex, and the Battle of Deorham," by Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, M.A., Bodley's Librarian; "The Brychan Documents," by the Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans; two Welsh Charters of King Henry VII, transcribed and translated with notes by Mr. Alfred N. Palmer; a Description of the Civic Plate, Regalia and Seals of Welsh Boroughs, with

illustrations, by Mr. E. Alfred Jones; "The Selby Romance," by Mr. Francis Green, and other articles.

As Volume XX of *Y Cymmrodor* the Council hope to publish the Rev. Robert Williams' Translation of, and a Critical Essay upon, the *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*, the original of which was transcribed by Mrs. John Rhys from the *Red Book of Hergest*, and published by the Society so far back as 1883.

With regard to future publications the Council have under consideration an offer by the Rev. S. Baring Gould, M.A., and the Rev. John Fisher, B.D., to place at the disposal of the Society their exhaustive work on *The British Saints*. If it be found practicable to undertake the issue of this important contribution to Welsh History, the Council will probably deem it advisable to proceed to publication by means of a special Subscription List. The Council are also conferring with others who are closely interested in the matter in furthering suggestions made by Mr. Willis Bund and Dr. Henry Owen, two of their members, and Mr. Geo. G. T. Treherne, a member of the Society, for the publication of some of the Diocesan Records of St. David's, including the Bishops' Registers, which commence in the year 1397.

The Annual Dinner of the Society will be held on Tuesday, the 5th of December, 1905, at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Mètropole, and the Council are pleased to announce that the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of London (Alderman Vaughan Morgan), member of the Society, has promised to take the chair. They have also pleasure in announcing that Mr. John Thomas *(Pencerdd Gwalia)* has accepted their invitation to be the Society's guest on this occasion.

The arrangements for the coming Lecture Session include promises of the following papers:—"Ancient

Welsh Coinage," by Mr. Philip W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., D.L., J.P. (President of the *British Numismatic Society*); "Walter Map," by Professor W. Lewis Jones, M.A. (University College of North Wales); "Italy and Welsh Culture," by the Rev. G. Hartwell Jones, M.A. (Rector of Nutfield, Surrey); and "Dafydd ap Gwilym," by the Rev. Machreth Rees (Radnor Street Chapel).

It is with very great pleasure that the Council find themselves in a position to inform the members that the Chairmanship of their body has been accepted by Professor John Rhŷs, M.A., LL.D., Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, and that Dr. Henry Owen, F.S.A., has very kindly undertaken the post of Vice-Chairman. Both these gentlemen have been members of the Council and active supporters of the Society for many years.

Under the Society's Rules the term of office of the following Officers expires, viz.:—

THE PRESIDENT,
THE VICE-PRESIDENTS,
THE AUDITORS,

and ten members retire in accordance with Rule 4, viz.:—

MR. STEPHEN EVANS (deceased),
DR. ALFRED DANIELL,
MR. J. H. DAVIES,
MR. W. CADWALADR DAVIES,
MR. W. E. DAVIES,
MR. E. VINCENT EVANS,
MR. WM. EVANS,
MR. FRANCIS GREEN,
MR. ELLIS GRIFFITH, M.P.
MR. T. H. W. IDRIS.

The Audited Statement of Receipts for the financial year will be found appended to this Report.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

Statement of Receipts and Payments.

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER, 1904, TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1905.

Cr.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, November 9th, 1904 ..	33	11	11
„ Subscriptions received	475	12	0
„ Sale of Publications	10	4	8
	£519	8	7

Dr.

	£	s.	d.
By Rent of Offices, Fire, and Lighting ..	72	1	1
„ Publications: Cost of Printing and Distributing, *Transactions*, 1903-1904 £57 10 8; *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XVIII 99 3 6	156	14	2
„ General Printing	24	1	6
„ Lectures, Meetings, and Conversazione	56	0	2
„ Eisteddfod Section Expenses ..	8	19	1
„ Library Expenses		3	6
„ Stationery, Postage, and General Expenses	45	9	4
„ Commission on Publications Sold and Subscriptions Received (1904) ..	21	1	10
„ Sale of Publications, amount refunded	1	11	6
„ Secretary's Remuneration	50	0	0
„ Balance in hand	83	6	5
	£519	8	7

Examined and found correct,

JOHN BURRELL, } *Joint*
ELLIS W. DAVIES, } *Hon. Auditors.*

H. LLOYD ROBERTS, *Treasurer.*
E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*

THE LATE MR. STEPHEN EVANS, J.P.

CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF
THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION FROM 1873 TO 1905.

From the Presentation Portrait
painted by the late Mr. William Oliver.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1904-1905.

THE LATE STEPHEN EVANS.

(Chairman of the Council of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.)

AN APPRECIATION.

By SIR LEWIS MORRIS, M.A.

(Vice-President of the Society.)

I HAVE been asked by the Secretary to write a few words in commemoration of the long services to Wales and Welsh Education of my good friend the late Stephen Evans, than whom a more thoroughly typical Welshman never lived. The list of the departed Pioneers of the Welsh educational movement is growing longer year by year, and we, the survivors, are called upon, only too often, to pronounce, on behalf of our country, the grateful panegyric which she owes them for their long and faithful services, which surely she will not readily forget, when they have borne fruit even more abundantly than the almost miraculous growth, educational and political, which we acknowledge with thankful hearts to-day.

I first knew Stephen Evans in the seventies, when I was introduced to him by the still greater Pioneer, my dear

friend Sir Hugh Owen, who was constantly in my chambers; as I was in the offices of Aberystwyth College, just opposite, the precious spot which ought to be marked by our countrymen by a commemorative tablet, because it was there that a little group of patriotic men met frequently year after year to do that great work for our country which they foresaw with the eye of a lively faith. Not to mention other prominent names still with us, the main burden of the great work lay upon the two men I have mentioned, who seemed to me to represent the two lines of temperament which characterised North and South; well marked still, but tending, as I hope, to a blend of the good qualities of each in a true Cymric whole. Sir Hugh was of the astute, laborious Northern type, the calm unruffled temper, working by conciliatory methods, but never giving way when persuaded it was right. Stephen Evans, of the more fiery and impetuous type of the South, loud-voiced, with frank blue eyes, bluff in manner and hasty sometimes, often prone to jump at conclusions, a little imperious perhaps, but always deferring in the long run to the calmer judgment of his revered leader.

It would be difficult to over-estimate the work done by these patriotic men, with whom it was long my privilege to act as a colleague. As has always happened in the history of Wales, there were many wranglings with wrong-headed people all over the Principality—mistrusts, jealousies, revolts even, like that which unhappily came just in time to enable the Government then in power to withhold for years the recognition of the one University College by any grant, however small; press clamours, too, which had to be met with a tolerance they did not deserve—all these had to be fought and conquered, as they were. If it had not been for the influence of Lord Aberdare, as President of the College at Aberystwyth, I think it would have gone hard

with the efforts of the early Pioneers, of whom Stephen Evans was not the least.

All this time he was a prosperous man of business in the City, devoting his scanty leisure to the service of the College, which he especially loved as a good Welshman, and above all things a Cardiganshire man. Until lately no meeting of the College, remote as it is from London, was complete without him, and he rejoiced in the growth of the fine buildings, for which his business knowledge and capacity, with that of his friend, Mr. Lewis Angell, had done so much, at the frequent London committee meetings which followed after the seeming disastrous fire, fraught with such far-reaching and probably salutary effects upon the fortunes of the College.

To the Cymmrodorion Society he devoted himself, as its Chairman, heart and soul. The present Secretary of the Society knows better probably than anyone else how deep his interest was in its success, and to me, as an unworthy descendant of its first founders, it is an additional link to the ties of friendship which bound me to him that he should have presided so well and so long over its revived fortunes, just as the assumption of that office by his distinguished successor binds me to him also by a closer bond.

For the Eisteddfod, of course, he had, as every good Welshman loving music and the *hen iaith* must have, a warm affection, and he was a frequent attendant at its meetings as long as his strength permitted. Fond as he was of his leafy retreat in beautiful Kent, I doubt if he was ever so happy as when drinking in the keen salt air of his beloved Cardigan Bay from his own homestead, with the blue sea dancing before him and the mountains behind, and his stately College not far away.

Later in life, advancing years brought with them loss of eyesight, and, worse still, repeated domestic losses which

could never be replaced here. They brought also reverses of fortune and legal liabilities, innocently incurred, which were discharged to the last farthing by his scrupulous honour. But nothing could shake his devotion to his country and her language and people till the end came. Yes, they are, indeed, rapidly thinning in number our Welsh Pioneers—Henry Austin Bruce, Hugh Owen, Stephen Evans, Henry Richard, Thomas Charles Edwards, and Humphreys Owen, all are gone, but the cause to which they devoted their lives goes triumphantly on. Let us take heart and be of good hope. A country which has produced men so able and so devoted will not lack others in the future, when the need for them comes, as it surely will.

ER CÔF AM STEPHEN EVANS.

GAN SYR T. MARCHANT WILLIAMS.

Ddarllenydd! Glywaist ti,
Am wr o barch a bri,
Ac un o noddwyr pennaf Cymru, yn ei ddydd?
Ei well, ni welais i,
A chwaith, ni weli di.
Gwladgarwr gwell na Stephen Evans, byth ni fydd.

Y brenin ar ei sedd,
A bardd yr wyl, a'r wledd,
A wisgant ddillad, roddir heibio, dd'wrnod gwaith.
Egwyddor, wreiddiol, gref
Yn rhedeg drwyddo ef—
Nid gwisg—oedd cariad Stephen at ei wlad a'i hiaith.

Ni ddaeth o Gymru 'rioed,
Yr un osoda'i droed
I lawr, mor gadarn, ar heolydd Llundain fawr
Gyfoethog, ag efe.
I'r Cymry, hawliai le
Fel cydraddolion a thwysogion daear lawr.

Ei lais oedd glir a chryf,
Ei farn a roddai'n hyf,
Gan weithiau daro'r bwrdd—a'i law—neu ben ei lin.
Ond fel i'r dderwen gref,
A'i brig yng ngodre'r nef,
Yr adar hedant i lochesu rhag yr hin,

Gan gysgu rhwng y dail,
Er siglo'r pren i'w sail,—
(Y dderwen iddynt fydd yn noddfa ac yn gryd)
'Run modd, ei gysgod ef,
Holl Gymry Llundain dref,
Geisiasant, pan yn ffoi rhag gormes dyn, a byd.

Er cryfder llais, a llaw,
A throed, ni ddeuai braw
I fynwes Cymro byth, ym mhresenoldeb hwn.
Ei galon ydoedd laith,
A'i ddifyr, ddyddiol waith
Oedd cynorthwyo'r tlawd, ac ysgafnhau ei bwn.

'Roedd Crefydd ynddo'n reddf.
Nid ufuddhau y ddeddf
Y byddai, pan yn gwneyd yn iawn, neu'n dweyd y gwir.
A mynych hoffai sôn
Am John Elias, Môn,
A hen bregethwyr mawr ei enedigol Sir.

"Huw Owain ac efe"—
Yn gywir dyna'i le—
Y gwron Huw yn gyntaf, Stephen, yntau'n ail.
Cydweithiodd drwy ei oes,
Heb unwaith dynnu'n groes,
A'r hwn osododd "Addysg Cymru" ar ei sail.

Dilynwn ôl eu traed,
Gan gofio'r gwaith a wnaed.
Edrychwn bawb yn ôl a blaen. Cyd-lawenhawn!
Can's os mewn bedd mae'r ddau,
Fu'r dyddiau gynt yn hau,
Mae'r maes yn orchuddiedig gan yr ŷd a'r grawn.

THE BREHON LAWS AND THEIR RELATION TO THE ANCIENT WELSH INSTITUTES.[1]

By Sir D. BRYNMOR-JONES, K.C., M.P.

Introductory.

When I was asked by your Committee to read a paper on some subject connected with our ancient Welsh polity, it occurred to me that the completion of the publication of the Brehon Laws was a fitting time for asking the question, Does this collection of old rules and customs throw any light upon the earlier conditions of Wales or on the vexed questions as to the early relations of the Irish and Cymric peoples? Accordingly, I am going to ask you to-night to listen to some observations on the character of these ancient laws and institutes of Ireland, to consider their juridical character, and to compare them in some aspects with the Welsh compilations which are called The Laws of Howel Dda.

In the year 1852 a Royal Commission was appointed by the Government of Ireland for the purpose of transcribing, translating, and publishing the ancient laws of that part of the United Kingdom. That there was a body of ancient jurisprudence reflecting the customs, the methods of government, and the judicial procedure of the Irish people had never been forgotten by scholars interested in

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Thursday, 26 January 1905. Chairman, the Right Hon. Lord Justice Vaughan Williams.

things Celtic. Valuable manuscripts were known to be at the British Museum, at Trinity College, Dublin, and elsewhere, but so far very little was known about their contents, and the curious who looked at them were baffled by the difficulties of handwriting and language until that revival of interest in Irish or Gaelic antiquities and literature of which O'Curry became the competent exponent.

The creation of the Commission was immediately due to the personal action of the late Dr. Graves, afterwards its Secretary, and of the Rev. J. Todd, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, who, on behalf of a large number of Irish students and antiquaries, submitted a statement to the Irish Government showing the desirability of publishing these Brehon Laws. They were no doubt assisted in their efforts by the fact that a few years before the English Government had acceded to a similar request in regard to the remains of early English and Welsh legal manuscripts. In 1840 the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England* had been published by the Record Commissioners under the editorship of Thorpe, and in 1841 the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales,* under the editorship of Aneurin Owen. The Treasury sanctioned the project, and a Commission consisting of a number of very eminent Irishmen was appointed to carry out the work. Much credit must be given to the two men whom I have mentioned and to the Commissioners and those who from time to time succeeded them for what they have done in this matter, but the main credit for the overcoming of the apathy or opposition of the Government of the day in regard to the preservation of these records of the past must be given to Professor Eugene O'Curry—"the obscure Scaliger of an obscure literature", as Mathew Arnold calls him,—and to Dr. Donaldson, who was second only to O'Curry in his

knowledge of the old Irish language and its later forms, and was in point of general scholarship his superior.

It was felt by all that the work was one of special difficulty. The manuscripts were not written in a uniform handwriting, and the language or languages of each manuscript differed. Speaking broadly, it was found that all or nearly all the manuscripts contained original texts written, in a large hand, in the *Berla feini* (the earliest form of Irish and a kind of legal language, which after no long period from the writing down of the laws became intelligible only to the Brehons), which had been glossed and re-glossed in smaller handwriting seemingly from generation to generation. It was also discovered that many of the notes or glosses were simply translations into more modern linguistic forms of words and phrases which had become obsolete, of doubtful meaning, or even unintelligible to the Brehons themselves. Neither the deciphering, the transcription, nor the translating into English was easy. In many cases the glosses amount to an explanation of the obscure by the still more obscure. It is interesting to note in this connection that Edward Llwyd, the author of the *Archæologia Britannica*, rescued some of the manuscripts from probable destruction at the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, and that he told the Royal Society that he had consulted the best Irish scholars of the time as to these manuscripts of Brehon laws, but in vain; and in fact until O'Curry's time there seems to have been hardly anybody in Ireland or, therefore, anywhere else, who was then able to make sense out of them, even with the aid of the best available dictionaries of Old Irish.

In addition to difficulties of the kind I have referred to there must be added those of illness and death among the limited class of scholars who were competent to assist in

the work. O'Curry and O'Donovan, who made the first transcripts, which occupied seventeen large manuscript volumes, and also a preliminary translation of part of the collection, died before the first volume was published in 1865, thirteen years after the Commission was appointed. Other casualties among the pupils and successors of O'Curry took place during the laborious struggle with the inherent difficulties of the task on which they were engaged. It is especially pathetic to notice that Dr. Graves, who was Secretary of the Commission, repeatedly said that his only remaining wish was to live to see the whole undertaking finished—a wish, alas, not realised. It was reserved for Dr. Atkinson to publish the sixth volume, containing the last tracts which the Commission decided to include, and in the sixth volume to add a glossary which represents the result of the combined erudition and research of a number of most remarkable Celtic scholars. The Commission has reared to the memory of these men, and especially to the memory of O'Curry and of O'Donovan, a monument which may be fitly described as more lasting than brass.

Legal History of Ireland.

It may be legitimately asked, putting aside the question what is the value of this body of jurisprudence to students of anthropology and philology, whether these books disclose a system of rules and customs which were in actual use among the Irish people, and, if so, to what extent, and during what period? To answer this question fully would involve a paper by itself, but it seems a necessary part of an introduction to my theme to say a word upon this subject. According to general assumption, the English law was introduced into Ireland by Henry II in the twelfth century as a consequence of the so-called conquest of Ireland by

the Normans. The conquest of Ireland by the Normans presents some points of similarity with that of Wales by the same brilliant race of warriors and administrators, but so far as the parts of Ireland occupied by the Norman chieftains outside what came to be known as the English Pale were concerned, it appears that so far from the Normans being able to substitute Norman-English law for Irish usage, it was the latter that survived. It really was a case not unlike that to which the old saying that "captive Greece did capture Rome" may be applied. The Statute of Kilkenny, passed in the reign of King Edward III, in 1367, is a sure evidence of this, and that Statute was subsequently renewed as late as the year 1495, while another Statute of the 13th Hen. VIII, c. 8, of the date 1522, recites that at that time the English laws were executed in four shires only. So late as 1554 an Earl of Kildare obtained a judgment under the old Brehon law in respect of the death of his foster-brother, Robert Nugent. The evidence showed that the authority of the Brehon laws continued until the Irish disturbances of the time of Queen Elizabeth and the complete division of Ireland into counties, and the consequent administration of the English laws throughout the country. The disuse of these ancient laws, which were denounced by English lawyers as a "lewd and damnable custom", was also greatly promoted by the decisions of the Irish-English courts. For instance, "Le Case de Gavelkind" introduced a revolution into the law of succession to real property throughout the whole of the sister island, and was, no doubt, one of the many causes which have rendered it so difficult to govern Ireland ever since. However this may be, it seems clear, according to the best testimony, that by the end of the seventeenth century the Brehons and the professors of Irish law, who had flourished as a separate order from remote times, became

extinct and survived, if at all, as village poets, pundits or litterati.

The Manuscripts and their Owners.

To those unacquainted with the history of law it is necessary to say that the earliest literature of a legal character which time has preserved has a distinctly religious character. The laws it reveals are founded upon Divine authority expressed through the mouths of a special order of men in the community. Leviticus, the laws of Manu and of Narada, afford illustrations of an early type of law-book. In days when writing was confined to a few in any given community, the manuscripts of such works were very precious, jealously preserved, and as years rolled by, became unintelligible except to the classes to whom they belonged. There are many indications that as communities developed the functions of the lawyer and the bard became specialized, but that an intimate connection was still maintained with the order of priesthood, and that schools of law founded upon the model of the older religious organizations, or colleges, established themselves in the society of the time. This appears to have been the case in Ireland and in Wales. When Christianity got a hold upon the Cymric and the Gaelic peoples it assumed a distinctly tribal form, and very probably this was due to the adoption by Christian missioners or saints, of preceding forms of learned organizations known to the people. Schools like that of Saint Illtud, the famous Glamorganshire saint, are handed down to us as purely Christian centres of missionary effort, but it is probable that Illtud's school had in some similar form existed before. The existence of a special class of judges in Ireland and in Wales is clearly proved; and though the

organization of schools of law analogous to Christian monasteries did not long survive the establishment of the power of the Latin Church, either in Ireland or in Wales, there is ample proof that certain families continued from generation to generation to be looked upon as specially entrusted with legal lore, with special functions and a unique knowledge of the procedure to be adopted in law-suits. It is to the continued existence of these families that we appear to be indebted for the preservation and the annotation of these Irish law tracts. The most ancient manuscript of the earliest of the law tracts contained in the volumes I have referred to (the *Senchus Mor*) appears to have belonged to a family, or it may be sept of lawyers, called MacEgan, and in the manuscript there is a note which is translated by O'Donovan as follows, and which was written in the year 1350 :—

"One thousand three hundred ten and forty years from the birth of Christ till this night; and this is the second year since the coming of the plague into Ireland. I have written this in the twentieth year of my age. I am Hugh, son of Conor MacEgan, and whoever reads it let him offer a prayer of mercy for my soul. This is Christmas night, and on this night I place myself under the protection of the King of Heaven and Earth, beseeching that He will bring me and my friends safe through this plague, etc. Hugh (son of Conoe, son of Gillana-naeve, son of Dunslavey) MacEgan, who wrote this in his own father's book in the year of the great plague."

The fact that in the *Annals of the Four Masters* a plague is mentioned as raging in 1349 confirms the account of this MacEgan; and in the same Annals, over a considerable number of years, the deaths of several of the same family are recorded, one of whom is described as the Chief Brehon of Connaught and the most illustrious of the

Brehons of his time, and all of whom are described in terms which show honourable connection with the legal profession.

The Poets and Brehons of Erin.

The Irish law came to be commonly called the Brehon Law. This is due to the fact that the term for a judge was Brehon. But the proper technical word for the native law seems to have been *Fenechas* or *Feinechas*, which means the law of the *Feine* or free tillers of the land, and it was in the *Berla feini*, or the language of the *feine*, that the original texts of these treatises were written. In historic times the Brehons formed a special class or order in the community, possessing the exclusive right to declare and interpret the law and to determine disputes as arbitrators when by proper process an issue was brought before them for trial. This order was an organised profession. Some Brehons were attached to chiefs or kings, and had lands for their maintenance. Others depended on their professional fees. A Brehon was, however, liable to a fine or damages and loss of fee if he gave a false or unjust judgment, just as the Welsh judge was, according to our codes, subject to penalties if on appeal to the King's Court it was decided he had given a wrong decision.

There does not seem to be any very certain or complete evidence as to the origin or constitution of this judicial order, but it is clear that it had its roots in very early times, and that its growth was gradual. Sir Henry Maine observes that "there are strong and even startling points of correspondence between the functions of the Druids as described by Cæsar and the office of Brehon as suggested by the law tracts". That is, no doubt, the case, but it would, I think, be a mistake to infer that the Brehons

were Druids or members of the important organization which Cæsar found existing in Gaul, and which seems to have had its headquarters in Britain.

There were no doubt Druids in Ireland, who were diviners, magicians, medicine-men, priests, and teachers; but M. d'Arbois de Jubainville has given very good reasons for his opinion that they were not judges there, and that their organization discloses nothing analogous to the powerful judicial corporation which the Druids formed in Gaul, but that in early times the judicial functions belonged to the *file* (poets or bards) of Ireland.

The introduction to the *Senchus Mor* (the first of the treatises contained in the *Ancient Laws of Ireland)*, to which I shall call your attention directly, establishes an intimate connection between lawyers and poets—a connection that would certainly not occur to the "man in the street" to-day. We may infer from it that at the time when we first obtain glimpses of Irish society from literary remains it was the *file* or bards—"the just poets of the men of Erin"—who discharged the functions of judges and lawyers. To them were ascribed supernatural gifts and powers, by which their knowledge of the law was accounted for, and from which the real sanction of their decisions was derived. Their judgments were not written down; but the true forms for securing redress for wrongs and the true maxims or rules of law were handed down orally. It has been discovered by Irish scholars that parts of the *Senchus Mor* are in verse, and the memory was also assisted by compressing legal propositions into triads or heptads. It seems almost certain that the order of Brehons known to exist in historic times was developed from an earlier order of Bards or poets whose functions were larger and wider.

A tradition embedded in the commentary on the intro-

duction to the *Senchus* confirms this view. It is said there that from the time that Amergin Glungel passed the first sentence in Erin the judicature belonged to the poets alone, until the time of the contention which took place at Emhain Macha between the two sages, viz., Ferceitne, the poet, and Neidhe, son of Adhna son of Uither, for the sage's gown, which Adhna son of Uither had possessed. "Obscure indeed was the language which the poets spoke in that disputation, and it was not plain to the chieftains what judgment they had passed. 'These men', said the chieftains, 'have their judgments and their knowledge to themselves. We do not in the first place understand what they say.' 'It is evidently the case', said Conchobar, 'all shall partake of it from this day forth, but the part of it which is fit for those poets shall not be taken from them; each shall have his share of it.' The poets were then deprived of the judicature, except their proper share of it, and each of the men of Erin took his own part of the judicature." We have here a story which preserves the memory of a reform which took place in the distant past, and which consisted in the creation of a special class of judges, to which not poets only, but all who could comply with the conditions of the profession might belong. The reform was permanently successful, so far as the separation of the functions of the poet and the judge was concerned, but was unsuccessful in so far as it attempted to make the legal language continually intelligible to the people at large. For the *Berla Feini*, in which the laws were ultimately written down soon became unintelligible to laymen, and as time elapsed became difficult of comprehension, even by the Brehons themselves, as is proved by the glosses on these treatises. This is, of course, just what might have been expected. A similar thing has happened in our own country. Very few lawyers of to-day can construe with

ease that Norman-French, which was for centuries the language of our Courts.

We cannot trace in detail the history of the Brehon order, but it seems that they became in time organized as a regular profession, that schools of law were formed, probably on a tribal basis, for as we have seen the profession became hereditary, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the privileges of Brehonship came to belong to certain clans or families. If so, the possession, the expanding, and the preservation of the legal treatises as indicated above is easily and naturally explained.

The "Senchus Mor".

I cannot pause to discuss fully the position of the Brehon in the Irish communities. For my present purpose it is not necessary, but I must ask you to consider the general character of the *Senchus Mor*, which is the first, and, in many ways, the most important of the treatises published in the *Ancient Laws of Ireland*. The *Book of Acaill* is also a long and important work, but in point of interest in a general comparison of the Irish and Welsh legal systems must take a place second to that of the *Senchus Mor*. Speaking broadly and popularly, the latter comprises the rules about what we should call crimes and personal injuries, and the former deals with civil as opposed to criminal law.

The *Senchus Mor* consists of an introduction and a text, which may be divided into seven parts, dealing with different heads of the law. To both the introduction and the body of the work there are commentaries and glosses. It is to the introduction, which throws much light on the origin of the work and on the early history of Ireland, that I wish now to draw your attention.

This introduction does not ascribe the compilation to

any legislative body in our sense of the term. It puts it forth as a book of rules agreed on by a kind of compromise between Christianity and Paganism.

It begins as follows :—

> "The place of this Poem and the place of the Senchus "was Teamhair in the summer and in the autumn, on "account of its cleanness and pleasantness during these "seasons: and Rath-guthaird where the stone of Patrick is "at this day in Glenn-na-mbodhur, near Nith-Nemonnach, "was the place during the winter and spring, on account of "the nearness of its fire-wood and its water, and on account "of its warmth in the time of winter's cold."

Now for the second paragraph of the introduction :—

"And they (*i.e.*, the poem and the *Senchus*) were composed at the same time—in the time of Laeghaire, son of Nioll, King of Erin; and Theodosius was monarch of the world at that time, and it was in commemoration of this the poet said—

> 'Patrick baptised with glory,
> In the time of Theodosius
> He preached the Gospel without failure
> To the glorious people of Milidh's sons.'

"And the authors of the *Senchus* were the number of the persons of the *Senchus*, viz. :—

> 'Laeghaire, Corec, Dairi the hardy,
> Patrick, Benen, Cairnech, the just,
> Rossa, Dubhthach, Fergus with science,
> These were the nine pillars of the Senchus Mor.'

"But the author of the poem was Dubhthach Mac na Lugair, royal poet of the men of Erin." I pause for a moment to make some observations which may well come in here.

The phrase, "The authors of the *Senchus* were the number of the persons of the *Senchus*," seems nonsensical, but it has, I think, an explanation in a later sentence of

the introduction, where the same names are given, but in a different order, and it is added:—"Nofis therefore is the name of this Book which they arranged, *i.e.*, the knowledge of nine persons."

It will be observed that the nine consist of three kings "the hardy"; three bishops "the just"; and three brehons, or judges, or poets, who come "with science".

Laeghaire, Corec and Dairi were three kings who undoubtedly did reign in Ireland.

Patrick is, of course, the great missionary and saint, who flourished in the early part of the fifth century.

Benen is that St. Benignus who was a disciple of St. Patrick's, and who it is said in 458 became Bishop of Armagh; but his prominent connection with the *Senchus Mor* is embarrassed by chronological difficulties.

Cairnech is more interesting to us Welshmen. There were at least three saints of that name, but the one who was associated with St. Patrick in revising the Irish laws, was the one whose life is included in the Welsh *Lives of the Saints*. Such a man certainly was alive in 450, and he is called in Latin, Carantocus. He is supposed to have been a son of Ceredig, the son of Cunedda, who became ruler of Ceredigion. But there are suggestions that he came from Cornwall, and the parish of Crantock in that county may derive its name from him.

As to Rossa, Dubhthach and Fergus, they are men whose names are mentioned elsewhere in the Laws and Irish literature, and were no doubt members of the Bardic order.

Then there follows in the introduction a story as to the poem, the author of which was Dubhthach Mac na Lugair, royal poet of the men of Erin, and as to the circumstances which caused the law to be written. The story is too long for complete quotation, but summarised it comes to this.

Patrick came to Erin "to baptize and to disseminate religion among the Gaedhil, *i.e.*, in the ninth year of the reign of Theodosius, and in the fourth year of the reign of Laeghaire, son of Niall, King of Erin". The King ordered his people to kill one of Patrick's men in order to discover whether the saint would grant forgiveness for it. Now Nuada, the nephew of the King was in captivity, and hearing of the order, promised that if he were released and got other rewards, he would kill one of Patrick's people. The command of Laeghaire's cavalry was given to him and he was released, and he gave guarantee that he would fulfil his promise; and he took his lance at once and went towards the clerics, hurled the lance at them, and slew Odhran, Patrick's charioteer. The "cleric was angered", and he prayed with his hands crossed; and an earthquake took place and there was an eclipse, and they say the gates of hell were opened and Teamhair became inclined. The Lord, however, ordered Patrick to lower his hands, and to obtain judgment for the killing of his servant, and told him that he would get his choice of the Brehons in Erin, and he consented to this as God had ordered him. The choice he made was to go according to the judgment of Dubhthach Mac na Lugair, who was a vessel full of the Holy Ghost. But the burden of judgment was grievous to Dubhthach, and he complained, showing the difficulty he was in, because compensation ought to be paid by the murderer by the Irish law, but perfect forgiveness was enjoined by the Gospel.

"Well then," said Patrick, "what God will give thee for utterance say it. It is not ye that speak, but the spirit of your Father which speaketh in you."

Patrick then blessed Dubhthach's mouth, and the grace of the Holy Ghost alighted on his utterance, and he pronounced the poem beginning, "It is the strength of

Paganism." Then follows a long poem of obscure meaning. He ends with the verses :—

"In the judgment of the law which I as a poet have received
It is evil to kill by a foul deed ;
I pronounce the judgment of death,
Of death for his crime to every one who kills."

Then he adds :—

"Nuada is adjudged to heaven
And it is not to death he is adjudged."

The commentator says, "It was thus the two laws were fulfilled; the culprit was put to death for his crime, and his soul was pardoned and sent to heaven."

"After this sentence, Patrick requested of the men of Erin to come to one place to hold a conference with him. When they came to the conference the Gospel of Christ was preached to them all; and when the men of Erin heard of the killing of the living and the resurrection of the dead, and all the power of Patrick since his arrival in Erin; and when they saw Laeghaire with his Druids overcome by the great signs and miracles wrought in the presence of the men of Erin, they bowed down in obedience to the will of God and Patrick.

"Then Laeghaire said:—'It is necessary for you, O men of Erin, that every other Law should be settled and arranged by us as well as this'. 'It is better to do so,' said Patrick. It was then that all the professors of the sciences in Erin were assembled, and each exhibited his art before Patrick, in the presence of every chief in Erin.

"It was then Dubhthach was ordered to exhibit the judgments, and all the poetry of Erin, and every law which prevailed among the men of Erin through the law of nature, and the law of the seers, and in the judgments of the island of Erin, and in the poets.

"They had foretold that the bright word of blessing

would come, *i.e.*, the law of the letter; for it was the Holy Spirit that spoke and prophesied through the mouths of the just men who were formerly in Erin, as He had prophesied through the mouths of the chief prophets and noble fathers in the patriarchal law; for the law of nature had prevailed where the written law did not reach.

"Now the judgments of true nature which the Holy Ghost had spoken through the mouths of the Brehons and just poets of the men of Erin, from the first occupation of this island down to the reception of the faith, were all exhibited by Dubhthach to Patrick. What did not clash with the Word of God in the written law and in the New Testament, and with the consciences of believers, was confirmed in the laws of the Brehons by Patrick and by the ecclesiastics and chieftains of Erin; for the law of nature had been quite right except the faith and its obligations, and the harmony of the Church and the people. And this is the *Senchus Mor*.

"Nine persons were appointed to arrange this book, viz., Patrick, and Benen, and Cairnech, three bishops; Laeghaire, and Corc, and Daire, three kings; Rosa, *i.e.*, Mac= Trechin, and Dubhthach, *i.e.*, a doctor of the Berla Feini, and Fergus, *i.e.*, a poet.

"Nofis, there, is the name of this book which they arranged, *i.e.*, the knowledge of nine persons, and we have the proof of this above.

"This is the Cain Patraic, and no human Brehon of the Gaedhil is able to abrogate anything that is found in the *Senchus Mor*."

One might expect the introduction to end with this emphatic sentence. For the circumstances under which the work came into existence have been stated, and the reason of its authoritative character or of its contents being binding on the men of Erin have been explained. But in fact there are several additional paragraphs. The first is

the only one which seems to me to throw any further light on the juridical character of the compilation. This is as follows:—"The *Senchus* of the men of Erin: what has preserved it? The joint memory of the two seniors, the tradition from one year to another, the composition of the poets, the addition from the law of the letter, strength from the law of nature; for these are the three rocks by which the judgments of the world are supported."

Date of Compilation.

For the purpose of useful comparison with the Welsh Laws it is necessary to determine as nearly as possible the date of the compilation and writing down of the text in the *Berla Feini*. The commentary and the glosses are of course of later origin. It must not be assumed that the introduction and the rest of the work were first written at about the same time and as the result of one transaction. It may well be that the *Senchus* itself was in existence and in use before the introduction was written and prefixed to the work as we have it. Nor need it be assumed that the body of the work came into existence at once in its present form. Indeed the internal evidence points the other way. For M. D'Arbois de Jubainville on critical examination has found out that the parts of the work dealing with immediate distress of things movable, and that dealing with distress of things movable with delays, really form two distinct treatises, and that the former is more primitive than the latter.

These considerations must be borne in mind in trying to fix the date of the writing of the text and to ascertain how it attained its final form.

The Editor of the first volume of the *Ancient Laws* accepts the substantial truth of the account of the origin of the *Senchus* given in the Introduction, and relies largely

on an entry in the *Annals of the Four Masters* under the year 438:—"The tenth year of Laeghaire. The Seanchus and Feinechus of Ireland were purified and written." In the introduction, the date of Patrick's coming to Erin is placed in the ninth year of the reign of Theodosius as "Emperor of the World", and in the fourth year of the reign of Laeghaire. Theodosius succeeded Arcadius as Emperor of the East in 407, and after the death of Honorius became Emperor of the West in 423, and may from that date be fitly designated Emperor of the World. The ninth year of his reign as such was therefore 432, and this was therefore the fourth year of Leaghaire, and it is to this year that the coming of St. Patrick is ascribed in the *Annals of the Four Masters*. The date, then, of the making of the *Senchus* would be 438 (*i.e.*, the tenth of Laeghaire) if the entry in the *Annals* be accepted. But in the commentary on the introduction it is said that "it was at the end of nine years after the arrival of Patrick in Erin that the *Senchus* was completed". The Editor concludes from these data that the work was composed between 438 and 441—the sixth and the ninth year after the Saint's arrival. He also endeavours to show, on grounds which seem to me to be reasonably sure, that the "nine pillars of the law" whose names are given in the introduction were kings, bishops, and poets, who were contemporary and might possibly have assisted in the production of the *Senchus*.

Recent criticism, however, has I think, proved that the compilation of the text as we have it took place at a considerably later date.

The earliest MS. of the work which we have seems to be certainly not earlier than the thirteenth century; but the work itself was in existence long before, for it is cited in the *Lebor na hUidre* and the *Liber Hymnorum*, the MSS.

of which belong to the twelfth century, and it is also referred to in Cormac's *Glossary*. Cormac, who was a bishop, was killed about 907; and according to Dr. Whitley Stokes, we may safely say that the greater part of this work was written, if not in his time, at least within a century or so after his death. It is to be noticed, too, that the references in the *Glossary* to the *Senchus* are such as to show that the text of the introduction was then in existence. Thus in the article "Noes" in the *Glossary*, the words "nôfhiss . i . fis nonbair" are taken from it, and in another article the term "Cain Patraic" is used to denote the *Senchus Mor*.

There are, too, clear indications that the author of the *Glossary* had before him not only the text of the *Senchus* but a copy in which glosses had been made. There can, therefore, be little doubt that the work was of considerably earlier date than the beginning of the tenth century.

Two other circumstances tending to confirm the antiquity of the text may be mentioned. The first is that while no other written work is referred to in it several law books are mentioned in the commentary on the introduction, and we find the same works cited in the *Glossary*. The second is that the currency of the *Senchus* is the female slave (*cumhal*), the horned beast (*set*), and the sack of barley (*nirach*). There is no mention of money in the text, though the *pinginn* (penny) of silver appears in the commentary.

But the fact that there is no evidence (except the statements of the introduction itself) that any book written in the Irish language made its appearance before the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century seems practically fatal to the theory that the setting forth and arrangement of the Irish customs in writing in the Irish language took place in the time of St. Patrick. Then, and

for a long time after, the writing was ogamic, and used for inscriptions on stone, wood, or metal. The introduction and parts of the text indicate that the *Senchus* was composed after the triumph of Christianity over Paganism in Ireland. However great the immediate effect of the missionary labours of St. Patrick and his co-adjutors, that triumph cannot have been so sudden as one is asked to believe by the author of the introduction.

According to tradition, the Christian priesthood obtained its definitive victory over the Druids and *file* at the battle of Cul Dreimme, fought in 560 or 561, which resulted in the holding of an assembly at Druimm Cetta some years later, at which St. Columba was chosen arbitrator. The first Christian Synod or Council held in Ireland of which there is any sure evidence, was held about 600, and towards the end of the seventh century a collection of canons dealing with what we should deem civil as well as ecclesiastical matters was compiled. Among them is one according to women the right of paternal succession. M. D'Arbois de Jubainville has shown that in part of the text of the *Senchus* the Irish lawyers have adopted the principle of that canon, and developed it in favour of the woman. So that we may fairly conclude that the text, as we have it, was composed after the seventh century. Taking into account all these considerations, he seems to be right in coming to the conclusion that the text was written about the year 800.

The Welsh Laws.

So much as to the origin and date of compilation of the oldest of the Irish law books. I now wish to turn to the laws of Howel Dda. It is not my intention to read to you at length quotations from the ancient laws and institutes of Wales, for I may well pre-suppose that most of you

know something about them. Let me, however, say that the earliest manuscripts containing an amended version of the law book prepared by Howel under the auspices of Howel Dda is that upon which Aneurin Owen based his text of the Venedotian Code. This manuscript, according to Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans, can hardly be later than the year 1200, and, if so, is earlier than the earliest known manuscript of the *Senchus Mor*. That it was founded upon an older book is perfectly clear, for besides the fact that there are variations in different manuscripts of the Dull Gwynedd, Iorwerth ap Madog is represented as having collected the third book from the book of Cyrnerth ab Morgeneu, and from the book of Gwair ab Rhuvon, and from the book of Goronwy ab Moreiddig, and the *Old Book of the White House*, and, in addition to these, from the best books he found likewise in Gwynedd, Powys, and Deiheibarth. The *Old Book of the White House* was a book composed at an assembly convened by Howel, who was, towards the end of his life, king of all Wales, except the south-eastern principalities, and who died in 950. The introduction or preamble is as follows:—

"Howel the good, the son of Cadell, prince of all 'Cymru', seeing the 'Cymry' perverting the laws, summoned to him six men from each 'cymwd' in the principality, the wisest in his dominion, to the 'White House on the Tav'; four of them laics, and two clerks. The clerks were summoned lest the laics should ordain any thing contrary to the holy scripture. The time when they assembled together was Lent, and the reason they assembled in Lent was, because every one should be pure at that holy time, and should do no wrong at a time of purity. And with mutual counsel and deliberation the wise men there assembled examined the ancient laws; some of which they suffered to continue unaltered, some

they amended, others they entirely abrogated; and some new laws they enacted.

"And after promulgating the laws which they had decided to establish, Howel sanctioned them with his authority, and strictly commanded them to be scrupulously observed. And Howel and the wise men who were with him denounced their malediction, and that of all the Cymry, upon him who should not obey the laws; and they denounced their malediction upon the judge who might undertake a judicial function, and upon the lord who might confer it upon him, without knowing the three columns of law, and the worth of wild and tame animals; and every thing pertaining to them necessary and customary in a community."

The preface to the Demetian Code contains additional details as to the making of this *Old Book of the White House*, to which there is no reason to refuse credence, for the book itself was written in South Wales, and it may well be that the owner of one of the three copies which were made by Howel's direction, according to tradition, may have added to the somewhat formal and brief preface of the Venedotian Code the personal details which tended to exalt the authority of himself or his class. This preface informs us that the king set apart twelve of the wisest of the number assembled to form the law with one clerk, the most learned in all Cymru, to write the law and to guard against doing anything in opposition to the law of the Church or the law of the Emperor, and the names, which I need not give you, are mentioned, and Blegywryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, was the clerk, and "he was a doctor in the law of the Emperor and in the law of the Church."

Now you will observe, if you will compare these introductions with that to the *Senchus Mor*, a very great difference between the legal conceptions which they

disclose. In the preambles to the Welsh laws there is no reference to poets possessing supernatural power and insight. Among the advisers of Howel, at this assembly at the White House, there are priests as well as laymen, and among the laity we find a class of judges or lawyers. But the aspect given to the legislation is nevertheless comparatively modern. The authority on which the law is based is the will of the king or prince. It is true that the sanction of the Church to the substance of the work is alleged to have been obtained, but this does not invalidate the proposition that Wales was, in the time of Howel, organised on a political basis. He sanctioned the laws "with his authority", and the Codes show us that the Welsh principalities were divided into settled areas with separate judicial and executive officers deriving their powers from the king or prince. It is, therefore, not accurate to look upon the Welsh of the tenth and eleventh centuries as mere aggregates of tribes and clans, or to describe the system of government and social relationship then existing as a tribal system. It was, in truth, a political system, presenting some analogies with the feudal *régime* which the Normans in the eleventh and twelfth centuries introduced into the greater part of Wales. It was, as might be expected in dealing with a progressive society, a transitional system, and therefore many of the rules are only explicable by reference to earlier tribal conceptions which had not wholly disappeared.

On the other hand, the introduction to the *Senchus Mor* brings into view a very early, I think I may say, archaic conception of law. According to this conception, the existence of law as a body of rules enforced from day to day in the community by judges and magistrates representing a sovereign is not clearly recognised. The authority of the law is referred to a divine source. Its

exponents are divinely inspired poets whose judgments are to be followed, not because they are the commands of the king or an assembly of fellow-tribesmen or kinsmen, but because they are the direct expressions of a divine will in the particular cases in reference to which they are uttered. The "judgments of true nature" naturally remind us of the *Themistes* of the Homeric poems, which were awards divinely dictated to the judges by Themis, and of the fact that among the Greeks generally in early times "the laws were promulgated by the poets or wise men, who sang the great deeds of their ancestors and delivered their moral and political lessons in verse".

As may be seen from the extract given above, the author of the introduction to the *Senchus* attributes what was sound doctrine in the judgments of the *file* to the influence of the Holy Spirit on the just men who before the adoption of Christianity were in the island of Erin, and in support of the statement adds "for the law of nature had prevailed where the written law did not reach". The written law *(recht litre)* is the Christian law found in the Holy Scriptures, and the Canon law, and is here opposed to the old customary law *(recht aicnid)*. The editor of the *Ancient Laws* points out that the account given in the introduction is in accordance with what St. Paul says in his epistle to the Romans (ii, 14), "For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these having not the law, are a law unto themselves." But though in the views thus expressed neither the idea of law as a collection of rules, owing their authority to the will of the community or nation, declared through an earthly sovereign, nor its corollary, the idea of coercive jurisdiction, is put forward, yet both are obvious in the pretensions, the arrangement, and the substance of Howel's legislation.

Conclusion.

The conclusion to which I come from a comparison of the general character of the *Senchus Mor* with that of the Welsh Codes is that the legal conceptions of the Irish in the period just before the Norman Conquest were more primitive than those of the Welsh at the same time, and that the judicial and political organisation of Wales was then more advanced than that of Ireland. This view will, I believe, be amply confirmed by a close comparison (which I cannot, of course, undertake to-night) of the details of the two systems, especially those relating to procedure.

I am quite aware that this conclusion may be unpalatable to those who assert that the Irish had attained to a very high degree of civilisation during the period from the eighth to the twelfth century. But it should be observed that I limit it to the sphere of political and legal organization. A backward form of government and a somewhat primitive jurisprudence may exist side by side with a remarkable religious, literary, or artistic development in a nation. Dr. Joyce, who takes a very reasonable view of the condition of Ireland in early times, maintains, in his *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, that the Danish and Anglo-Norman invasions arrested the progress of native learning and art, and that "Ireland presents the spectacle of an arrested civilisation". That seems true, and tends to confirm the conclusion I suggest. Though military conquest stop for a time the progress of a nation, it does not necessarily involve permanent retardation. The effect of conquest depends very largely on the political organization of the conquered country at the time it takes place; and that organization itself is a consequence of the national character of the people, among

whom it has been gradually created. The Norman conquest of South Wales certainly did not for any considerable time retard the development of the Welsh people, and in some respects contact with the Normans seems to have been a help, and not a hindrance to their progress. I cannot help thinking that the differences between the consequences of the Norman conquest in Ireland and in Wales were in some considerable measure due to the immaturity of the conceptions of law and government which still prevailed among the Irish in the twelfth century, as compared with those which were then current among the people of Wales.

Some further light may be obtained by asking ourselves whether there is anything in the earlier history of Wales which might account for the more rapid political development of the Welsh? The answer to that question is that Britain had formed part of the Roman Empire, while Ireland had not, and that the part of Britain which we now call Wales had been governed by the Romans for more than three hundred years, a period, be it noted, very much longer than that during which we have ruled in Bengal. English historians during the last century have shown a tendency to minimise the effects of the Roman administration of this island, and some have even written as if it had been a mere temporary military occupation. The views they suggest betray an insufficient understanding of the Imperial system, and of the consequences involved in the inclusion of a conquered territory as a province within the Empire.

It is certain that Britain, from the time of Severus, was divided into two provinces; that in the time of Diocletian and Constantine it was re-divided into four provinces; and that later in the course of the fourth century, a fifth was added. Until the early part of the fifth century, high

military and civil officers were sent here. It is a necessary inference from these historical facts that Britain was brought under the working of the Roman administration; and from that we may conclude that certain necessary political and legal consequences took place with, as surely as we can infer without having any statute or order in Council before us, the chief constitutional results of the annexation of an island in the South Seas as a Crown colony, or the addition of a native state to the Presidency of Bengal. The organization of a new province of the Empire was settled either by the decree of the conquering general, or a *senatusconsultum*, or a decree of the Emperor, and might of course be modified from time to time. No such law in regard to Britain has been handed down to us, but we may be certain that there was such a law; and we may also be sure that in its general outlines the organization of the British province was similar to that of the other West European provinces, and that due provision was made for the enforcement of public law (which included what we term criminal law), and the collection of and accounting for the Imperial taxes. The organization did not involve the complete and immediate Romanisation of the laws and customs existing in a new province. The primary objects of the Government were naturally the maintenance of public order and the raising of revenue; and it was only very gradually that native customs in the sphere of private law gave way to the extension to the country districts of the legal machinery set up in the *civitates* and *municipia*, though the process was quickened by the Edict of Caracalla, bestowing the citizenship on all free subjects of the Empire.

In the time of Julius Cæsar such political organization as existed in Britain was based on the clan-canton, as in Gaul, and here all the cantons seem to have been under

princes. The conquest of the West, and its inclusion in the Empire, did not necessarily mean the breaking-up of the cantonal organization, or the complete dispossession of native princes, and the existing territorial divisions which that organization involved, were probably utilised for the purpose of assessing and collecting the taxes. But, however little Roman administration may have affected tribal customs as to private property, inheritance, domestic or paternal power, and so forth, it meant the application of public law, and therefore of the exercise of criminal jurisdiction in regard to murder and offences against the public peace. The *Lex Cornelia de Sicariis et Veneficis*, which contained provisions against those who carried arms with intent to murder, and which, in a modified form, continued to form part of the public law applied in the provinces, struck at the exercise of the right of private vengeance upon which the claim for money compensation for homicide, recognised alike by Irish and Welsh law though in differently regulated forms, was based. The British chieftains and the members of their clans soon found themselves bound to appear before a magistrate exercising official jurisdiction derived from the Emperor according to a rigid rule of general application, and not according to a divine impulse or command conveyed for the decision of a particular case through his personality. The conception of a law as a rule enforced by the representative of a sovereign prince must have been very soon brought home to the natives; and the orderly proceedings of the Court, followed by the regular result of judgment and punishment, usually, if not always, made a very deep impression, as is proved by the contents of some of the *leges barbarorum*. It seems to me that this impression was never wholly effaced in Wales.

In the texts of Howel's laws dealing with procedure

there appears a system very different from that which is dealt with in the *Senchus Mor*. A very great part of the latter work is taken up with the rules about distress, the process by which the plaintiff endeavoured to compel the defendant to submit a dispute to a kind of arbitration. This archaic remedy had long disappeared from the Roman law, though its former existence is shown by the survival of the *pignoris capio* as one of the *legis actiones* till these actions were superseded by the formulary system. The *Lex Julia de vi publica* punished with exile him who, accompanied by armed men, effected a seizure of goods or entered on land without the warrant of a magistrate. The *Lex Julia de vi privata* punished him who forcibly entered on another's land, accompanied even by unarmed men, with the confiscation of a third of his goods. The application of these laws in a province destroyed the remedy by distress; and it is, therefore, without surprise that we find in the Welsh laws a prohibition of making a distress for debt without the licence of the lord or his Court, on penalty of the loss of the whole debt and a fine of three cows.

The Welsh codes contain further internal evidence of the influence of the Roman law on the customs or laws of the Welsh; but I cannot mention them now; I ought, however, to remind you that the permanence of some of the Roman ideas among the Welsh clans is rendered still more probable by the fact that Cunedda, who was the ancestor from whom the chief Welsh princes of the tenth century traced their descent, and who had driven the Goidels from North Wales, seems to have assumed or been accorded the style and dignity of the *Dux Britanniae*. Nor should it be forgotten that no permanent settlement had been made in Wales up to Howel's time by Saxons, Angles, or Danes except on very small scale. When all

these considerations are taken into account, it may well be that the divergence which we observe between the Irish and Welsh laws may be traced to the Roman administration. With these remarks I must for the present content myself, adding only the observation that we ought further to consider the effect on the Welsh system of the Canon Law, or the law of the Church, though I cannot wander into that field to-night.

YR ARWRGERDD GYMREIG.[1]

Gan Mr. R. A. GRIFFITH *(Elphin).*

Dywedir mai y Caldeaid a ddyfeisiodd yr hen arfer o ddynodi cysodiau y ser âg enwau anifeiliaid, ehediaid, neu bysg. Drwy hyny yr oeddynt yn alluog i ddwyn yr anherfynol i lawr i gylch y meddwl meidrol. Mae arnaf inau awydd efelychu y dull doeth a deheuig hwnw wrth ymdrin â phwnc mor hunan-ddyrchafedig a'r Epic Gymreig. Mi a gymeraf y rhyddid o fenthyca tri o arwydd-enwau yr hen seryddwyr, sef "Y Llew", "Yr Arth", a'r "Golomen", i gynrychioli tri dosbarth o gerddi arwrol sydd wedi ymddangos yn y ffurfafen Eisteddfodol. Y cyntaf ddaw dan sylw fydd,

Y Llew.

Ofnaf fod cenhedlaeth wedi codi sydd anhysbys o ddigwyddiad a greodd fath o *sensation* yn y byd Cymreig pan oedd Ceiriog, Talhaiarn, a Glasynys yn laslanciau heb uwch uchelgais nag enill gwobrau llenyddol. Fe wnaeth y tri eu rhan dros y delyneg, y rieingerdd, a'r fugeil-gân, ond nid iddynt hwy y disgynodd y fraint o roddi ffurf a bodolaeth i'r gerdd arwrol yn llenyddiaeth eu gwlad. Perthyn yr anrhydedd hwnw i awdwr "*Gwenhwyfar*", i'r hwn y dyfarnwyd y Goron yn Eisteddfod Merthyr Tydfil, 1859. Y fath gyfaredd oedd yn enw y gerdd hon i mi yn nyddiau fy machgendod! Onid edrychwn arni fel duwies yn mhlith holl ferched yr Awen? Ac am y Llew nid oedd Jupiter ei hun ond megys *jerrybuilder* wrtho. Yr oedd ei

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Thursday, 13th April 1905. Chairman, Mr. William Jones, M.P.

lygaid yn fwy llym na'r mellt; ei lais yn ardderchocach na'r daran; yn ei bresenoldeb collwn bob ymwybyddiaeth o ddim arall yn y greadigaeth.

Erbyn hyn y mae tymor arwr-addoliaeth wedi myned heibio, a theimlaf awydd i ymholi mewn gwaed oer beth oedd ansawdd y gerdd a lwyddodd i ddiarfogi beirniadaeth, ac a wnaeth y Llew yn ymherawdwr yn mysg y beirdd. Ei phrif bynciau yw anffyddlondeb gwraig, dichell a bradwriaeth cyfaill, a dialedd brenin. Os oes arwr iddi, yr arwr hwnw yw Medrawd. Efe sydd yn llenwi y ran oreu o'r llwyfan; efe sydd yn llwyddo efo'i dafod llyfn i lithio Gwenhwyfar oddiar lwybrau purdeb a dyledswydd; efe sydd yn esgyn gorsedd Arthur ac yn gwneyd ei hun yn ben ar Ynys Prydain. Er mwyn gwneuthur hyny yn orchest deilwng o arwrgerdd cychwyna'r bardd gyda'r dybiaeth mai "benyw ymddiriedgar, serchog, a ffyddlawn" oedd Gwenhwyfar. Cyfyd y llen arni wrth oleu y lloer, yn eistedd ar bincyn craig uchel uwchben y mor, ac yn arllwys ei hiraeth am Arthur ar gân :—

"Pa'm na chlywaf hanes Arthur?
Beth ei dynged? —beth ei antur?—
O, mae Gweno iddo'n bur!"

Nôd y bardd, yn ol ei addefiad ei hun, yw "dangos gweithrediadau *mewnol*, ac nid *allanol*, cymeriadau ei gerdd,—gwneyd *cronicl o'r galon*". Ond na thybier ei fod yn esgeulus o bethau allanol. I'r gwrthwyneb, mae ganddo ddawn arbenig i weithio'r *details* i mewn i'w ddarluniau pan fo angen. Dyma ei bictiwr o Wenhwyfar :—

"Cynlluniad gwynebpryd Gwenhwyfar oedd hirgrwn,
Ei thalcen yn eang, urddasol, a thalgrwn;
Ei gên fel pe wedi ei cherfio gan Anian,
Er gwatwar holl fedr Cerfiadaeth yn gyfan;
Ei thrwyn ar ffurf bwa ar haner ei dynu;
Ei grudd fel y rhôs ar fron lili yn gwenu;
Gwefusau yn llawnion, a choch fel y cwrel,

Yn gollwng per anadl fel balm yn yr awel;
Ei llygaid gloyw-dduon yn llawn o dynerwch,
Heb drem o ddrwg dymer i dori eu heddwch:
Pob llinell o'i gwyneb—pob trem yn ei llygaid—
Pob gair dros ei gwefus—pob meddwl—pob amnaid,—
Ddangosent yn amlwg ddaioni ei chalon—
Cadernid crefyddol ei phur egwyddorion—
Didwylledd tynerwch ei gwresog deimladau,
A glân ddiniweidrwydd ei henaid difrychau."

Yn ei dwfn hiraeth am ei gwr, yr hwn a'i gadawsai dan ofal Medrawd nes dychwel ohono o'r rhyfelgyrch yn erbyn brenin Rhufain, mae y frenhines yn dynesu at hen fardd penllwyd ac yn gofyn iddo ganu i'w hanwyl Arthur. Yn ebrwydd cymerth y bardd ei delyn yn ei law a chawn ganddo ddisgrifiad o Arthur ar ddau gyfnod dyddorol o'i fywyd:—

"O Arthur Fendigaid! mi'th gofiaf dydi
Yn nyddiau ieuengtyd boreuol dy fri,
Pan oedd dy lais pêr, fel y g'lomen yn fwyn
Pan fyddo hi 'n trydar yn mlodau y llwyn;
Yn nyddiau 'th hawddgarwch plentynaidd di nam
Estynit dy wyneb at fochau dy fam;
A gwenai dy dad, fel yr haul ar dêg hin,
Pan fyddit yn nythu dy ben ar ei lin.

* * * *

Ar Gadfaes mae Arthur yn uchel ei wyrthiau;
Fel ewyn o'i flaen y cwymp gloewon bicellau.
Yn nghanol galanastr, ei ruthrol farch rhyfel
A naid ar ei alon, gan chwerthin yn uchel;
Ac Arthur yn nghanol tymhestloedd o saethau
Mor ddigryn a'r Seiriol dan hyrddiad y tonau:
Nid lluryg o ddur sydd yn unig i'w gadw,
Ond tarian nawdd Dofydd a'i ceidw rhag marw."

Ond y mae'n bryd ini ddyfod at y *plot*. Ceir ei fod yn dwyn perthynas agos a'r dyfeisiau cywrain a rhamantus a ddefnyddir yn gyffredin gan awduron y *Penny Novelettes*. Gweniaith, dichell, a chelwydd yw offerynau Medrawd. Cyrcha'r bradwr at ddyhiryn o'r enw Iddog, yr hwn oedd yn fedrus mewn efelychu llaw-ysgrifen. Ar gais Medrawd

mae Iddog yn llunio llythyr oddiwrth y brenin Arthur. Gyda'r llythyr hwn mae y carnfradwr yn ceisio'r frenhines. Dyma fel y disgrifia'r bardd ei ddull o ddynesu i wyddfod Gwenhwyfar :—

" A Medrawd ymgrymodd mewn dull gostyngedig,
A'i eiriau mor esmwyth a 'menyn toddedig."

Dywed wrthi ddarfod iddo anfon cenhadon i chwilio am ei gwr, ac fod ganddo newydd rhy bwysig i neb ond hi ei hun ei glywed. Enfyn hithau y llyswyryfon ymaith. Cipia Medrawd y cyfle i ddechreu siarad yn gynil am gariad. Mae y frenhines yn ei geryddu yn ysgafn ac yn cynyg iddo ddiolchgarwch ac edmygedd. Ebr yntau :—

" Ni chwenychaf hyn ;
Ond rhywbeth mwy—dy gariad a dy wên."

Mae Gwenhwyfar yn dechreu colli ei thymher ac yn ei rybuddio :—

" Gochel ! angau sydd ger llaw—
Fe'th dery drwy law wan, grynedig, merch !"

Ond ni fyn Medrawd mo'i wrthod, eithr myned yn hyfach hyfach o hyd y mae :—

" Nid wyf anghenfil—tithau onid merch ;—
Merch a fwriadwyd gan Greawdwr pawb
I ufuddhau ac ymddarostwng dan
Ddylanwad cariad, ac i gredu fod
Cariad yn beth cyfreithlawn yn *mhob* dull."

Mae yr araith a'r athrawiaeth ryfedd hon yn cynhyrfu Gwenhwyfar hyd eigion ei henaid, ac yn peri iddi ateb Medrawd yn y dull *melo-dramatic* a ganlyn :—

" Saf draw ! O sarff,—Hwnt ! ymaith o fy ngwydd !
Mae'r man y sengi yn chwyrndroi o'm cylch ;—
Mae'r awyr a arogli 'n wenwyn im !"

Mae yr adeg wedi dod i Fedrawd chware y *trump card.* Sibryda wrth y frenhines fod ganddo brofion nad oedd ei Harthur yn bur i amodau priodas, neu mewn iaith gyffredin,

fod "ganddo rywun arall". Dyna'r bloneg yn y tân! Wedi methu efo gweniaith, mae wedi cyffwrdd a'r man tyneraf yn natur benyw, sef eiddigedd. Ar y cyntaf, mae digofaint Gwenhwyfar yn ffrwydro allan yn gawodydd eiriasboeth am ben Medrawd, a chawn gyfle i weled y gall brenhines goeth a hawddgar fod mor grâs ei thafod ag un dafarn-wraig dan rai amgylchiadau. Dyma ran o'i haraith:—

"Celwydd!—a chelwydd hefyd wedi'i wau
Gan ddichell mor uffernol, ac i bwrpas
Mor oll-gythreulig, nas gall tafod dyn
Ei yngan heb ei droi yn dafod cythraul."

Ar hyny, mae Medrawd yn dwyn i'r golwg y llythyr a ffugiwyd ganddo ef ac Iddog, ac yn pwyso ar y frenhines i'w ddarllen. A rhaid i minau gael gwneyd yr un peth; credaf nad oes dim tebyg iddo wedi cael lle mewn un gerdd, garwriaethol nac arwrol, o'r blaen. Oddiwrth Arthur:—

"Fy anwyl Fedrawd,—mi a ymddiriedaf
Gyfrinach bwysig iti, ffyddlawn nai.
Yr wyf yn awr mewn rhyw gyfyngder dwys;
Yr wyf mewn cariad gyda dynes hardd
Yr hon sydd wedi swyno f'enaid oll.
Fy anwyl Fedrawd! rheibiwyd fi yn llwyr.
Rhaid im' ei chael! Ond—ond—pa fodd!
Nid oes neb fedr balmantu'r ffordd ond ti.
Myfi a roddais iti feddiant llawn
O bob awdurdod ar fy nheyrnas i.
Yr ydwyt mewn cymundeb â fy ngwraig,
Ac mi a'i rhoddaf mwyach yn dy law.
Mae ei bodolaeth hi ar dir y byw
Yn rhwystr i mi gyflawni fy nghynlluniau;
Boed it' ei symud ymaith. Nid wyf am
Dy gyfarwyddo sut i wneuthur hyn,
Ond arfer di dy gynllun doeth dy hun.
Gwobrwyaf di yn deilwng o'r gwasanaeth;
A phan ddychwelaf eto i fy ngwlad,
Gan ddwyn fy nghariad newydd gyda mi,
Na fydded yna'r un Wenhwyfar mwy.
Hyd hyny, wyf, a byddaf byth—Dy Arthur!"

Beth a ddisgwylir wedi'r fath ddyrnod ond yr hyn a ddigwydda yn mhob *melodrama*? Mae Gwenhwyfar yn syrthio i lewyg a'r bradwr yn gwaeddi, "Pa beth a wnaethum? Mi a'i lleddais hi!" Ond daw y frenhines ati ei hun. Mae celwydd Medrawd wedi cyrhaedd adref; mae Gwenhwyfar yn credu y stori ac yn tori allan i wylofain:—

> "O fawr greulondeb!—Holl fenywod byd,
> Dysgwch ymddiried y naill yn y llall,—
> Nid oes ymddiried mwy i'w ro'i ar ddyn."

Gwelwn fod cynlluniau Medrawd wedi llwyddo yn ogoneddus. Serch hyny, lled flin yw y frenhines wrtho am beth amser. Pan ryfyga Medrawd ofyn iddi drosglwyddo ei chariad iddo ef, try arno yn ffyrnig fel hyn:—

> "Na wnaf! Ac o hyn allan mi'th felldithiaf
> A phla cydwybod yn y bywyd hwn,
> A phoenau uffern yn y byd a ddaw!"

"Mae trosodd arnaf", ebr Medrawd, a bu agos iddo gymeryd y fenyw ar ei gair. Ond wedi ail-feddwl penderfyna newid ei gynllun unwaith eto. Y tro hwn mae y bradwr yn ffugio edifeirwch am ei hyfdra, ac yn bygwth trochi ei gledd yn ei waed ei hun. Dyna ddigofaint y frenhines yn diflanu:—

> "Paid, Medrawd! Mi faddeuais iti'n llwyr;
> Ac o hyn allan, ymdrech dithau fyw
> Yn deilwng o amodau cyfeillgarwch."

Pan fo merch yn cynghori, dywedir fod serch yn deori. Nid yw Medrawd yn hir heb ei wobr. Daw cenad cyflogedig â hanes fod Arthur wedi cael ei orchfygu gan ei elynion ac wedi gwneyd diwedd arno ei hun. Dyna'r ddolen olaf oedd yn cydio calon Gwenhwyfar a'r gorphenol wedi ei thori! Yn nyddiau cyntaf ei gweddwdod, dywed wrthi ei hun: "Marw yw'r byd i mi,—a mi i'r byd!" Ond byrhoedlog yw hunanymwadiad y *widow*. Dan swyngyfaredd

Medrawd mae casineb yn troi yn gyfeillgarwch, a chyfeillgarwch yn ymddiried; a phan gasgl y bradwr ddigon o wroldeb i wneyd cais arall am ei llaw, nid yw yn cwrddyd â rhyw lawer o anhawster. Dyma ateb terfynol y frenhines:—

"Bydded i ti, gan hyny, yn ol dy gais:
Nis gallaf addaw i ti gariad mawr—
Mi gerais unwaith un na'm carai i,—
Ond cei fy mharch a fy edmygedd llawn."

Dranoeth arweiniodd Medrawd y frenhines at yr allor, a chyhoeddwyd ef yn frenin ar holl Brydain. Felly yr ysbeiliodd Medrawd ei deyrn a'i noddwr o'i wraig a'i frenhiniaeth. Dyna'r *climax* wedi ei gyrhaedd. Nid yw y gweddill ond *anti-climax*. Yn mhell draw ar faes y gâd daeth hanes y fradwriaeth i glust Arthur, a phenderfynodd yntau ddychwelyd yn ddiymdroi i ddial ar

"Y Cythraul bas
A'm difeddianodd o fy enw da."
"Yr eryr bychan hwn
A gludais ar fy aden pan oedd wan."
"Y corgi hwn
A'm brathodd yn nhyneraf fan fy mron."

Ymladdwyd brwydr Camlan, ac yno cwympodd y bradwr a chlwyfwyd y brenin hyd farw. Diangodd Gwenhwyfar i leiandy i geisio tawelwch i'w chydwybod. Er trymed ei glwyfau mynai Arthur i'w filwyr ei gludo yno i gael un golwg arni cyn ymadael o'r byd hwn. Wed'yn ceir *explanations*. Mae Gwenhwyfar yn ymostwng i'r llwch, ond gofala er hyny am fwrw y rhan fwyaf o'r bai ar ysgwyddau Medrawd:—

"Mi gredais ormod ar dwyll eiriau diafl."

Mae Arthur yn marw, a thyna'r diwedd.

Hwyrach y dylwn sylwi rhyw gymaint ar ffurf y gân hon—Seren Fore yr Arwrgerdd Gymreig. Fe gafodd y

Llew fyw i gyfansoddi glanach a grymusach caneuon na *Gwenhwyfar*. Gobeithio na bydd i 'w ysbryd aflonyddu ar fy nghwsg os meiddiaf amheu hawl ei hoff Wenhwyfar i le yn mysg ceinion yr Awen Gymreig. Cyfansoddiad amrwd ac amrosgo yw ar lawer ystyr. Mae yr awdwr yn newid ei fesur bron bob anadl. Cawn fod ei acenion yr fynych yn afreolaidd a chlogyrnog. Ni cheir cymaint ag un symudiad arwrol drwy yr holl gerdd. Darllena aml i ddarn yn debycach i ryddiaith gyffredin nag i farddoniaeth. Brithir y gân â brawddegau fel :—

"Gan hyny cofnodwn rai pethau neillduol."
"Byddwch bur
I'ch barn a'ch teimlad,—yna boddlon fi."
"Ferchedaidd ffwl."
"Os siarad wnaf, rhaid imi dy gondemnio."
"Paid a siarad gair
Os nad oes arnat eisiau 'ngyru 'n wallgof !"
"Dywedodd mewn llais dwfn, fel pe ar dagu."

Nid oes dim yn dangos anaddfedrwydd y gerdd yn amlycach na ffigrau yr awdwr. Rhoddais rai engreifftiau eisoes ; dyma ychwaneg :—

"Cawn ysgwyd dwylo yn *nghlorianau* Duw."
"Medrawd falch a'i wyr,
A safent oll fel cadarn *fur* di gryn,
Neu *lewod* pan ar fedr rhoddi *naid*."
"Ond gan im' gychwyn ar y *fordaith* hon . . . .
Euogrwydd bellach fyddo'm llyw a'm *hangor* . . .
Mae genyf dalent, craffder, grym, a dichell
At estyn a chryfhau cortynau *'mhabell*."

"Every dog has his day," ac nid gwahanol y Llew. Daeth syrthni henaint ar deyrn y wig, gafaelodd pydredd yn ei ddanedd, a rhyw ddiwrnod fe ddarganfu llu y mânfwystfilod nad oedd dychryn yn ei lais. Yn sydyn iawn hefyd daeth cyfnewidiad dros ffurf ac ysbryd y gerdd arwrol. Diflanodd arwyddlun y Llew oddiar len y

ffurfafenau, a gwelwyd arall yn meddianu sedd ei ogoniant. Gwron y cyfnod newydd oedd

Yr Arth.

Nid hawdd fuasai digwydd ar ddau greadur mwy anhebyg i'w gilydd,—y Llew yn frenhinol, yn ddewr, yn ergydlym; yr Arth yn fawr, yn gryf, ond yn araf, llaprwth, a chwmpasog ei symudiadau. Nid ydych yn ei ofni; yn hytrach teimlwch yn hollol gartrefol yn ei bresenoldeb. Mae rhywbeth yn nghil ei lygad yn gwneyd i ddyn dybied ei fod yn llawn o natur dda. Ac nid ydych yn camsynied. Cofleidia chwi nes bo eich cymalau yn ymddatod, a chrochleisia, "Dan nawdd Duw a'i dangnef." Y mae ei ddelw yn amlwg ar holl arwrgerddi yr ail gyfnod.

Yn mysg lliaws ser y Cysawd hwn mae'n ddios mai y ddisgleiriaf yw cerdd goronog Lerpwl yn 1884. Y testyn yw "Madog ab Owain Gwynedd." Mae'n werth sylwi ar ddull y bardd o agor y pwnc:—

> "'Rwy'n canu cân clodforedd Pwyll ac Antur,
> Y Gwron giliodd o Gynhenau Brodyr."

Fe gafodd y cyweirnod hwn y fath effaith ar y beirniaid fel y penderfynodd y bardd lynu wrtho byth wedyn. Yn y flwyddyn 1886 dechreuodd arwrgerdd goronog arall—*Cystenyn Fawr*—yn yr un modd:—

> "'Rwy'n canu cân clodforedd eirf a'r Gwron
> Fu'n borth wrth angen i breswylfod Seion."

Yn mhen blwyddyn wed'yn enillodd goron arall am arwrgerdd i *John Penry*, dan ddilyn yr un dull byth:—

> "Rwy'n canu cân arwriaeth sel a Cariad
> Y gwron feiddiodd dros ei Dduw a'i fam-wlad."

Tybed mai yr un person oedd Cystenyn, Madog, a John Penry? Safai arwr y gerdd hon, un o feibion Owain Gwynedd, ar drothwy Llys Aberffraw yn Môn. O'i flaen

gwelai y môr mawr yn ymestyn i'r gorllewin. Wrth sylwi ar y tonau yn codi a disgyn, ymollyngai i athronyddu ar fywyd dyn. Canfyddai yn yr olygfa ddarlun perffaith o draws-symudiad yn ol hen ddysgeidiaeth y Derwyddon. Yr oedd yr hyglod Owain Gwynedd wedi marw ac ymrafael blin wedi tori allan yn mysg ei feibion am orsedd Gwynedd. Diflasodd Madog ar y gynen a hiraethai,

"Am ryw dawelach byd, dan gliriach nefoedd."

O weled dydd a nos yn dilyn eu gilydd daeth i ymholi, "Ai nyni yn unig wasanaethant?" Deffrow'd ysbryd anturiaeth ynddo, ac yn hytrach na dihoeni yn ei hen-wlad ei hun penderfynodd fyned allan i chwilio am eangach gwlad yn y gorllewin pell. Adrodd hanes yr hynt feiddgar hono yw amcan y gerdd. O Fon ac Arfon, o Glwyd a Lâl, o ddyffryn Aled a chymoedd Hiraethog dylifai yr ymfudwyr, nes gwelwyd mintai fawr wedi pabellu ar Forfa Rhianedd, lle rhed y Gele i'r môr. Dywedir hefyd fod yno lu o "feirch pynorog" ac "asynod llwythog". O ble daeth yr asynod nis gwn. Yn mhen tua phedair canrif wedi'r cyfnod hwn y daethant yn bethau adnabyddus yn Nghymru. Rhaid mai creadigaeth arbenig oedd yr asyn arwrol. Ceir disgrifiad bywiog a dyddorol iawn o freuddwydion yr ymfudwyr y noson olaf ar dir eu tadau. "Canfyddai un ei hun ar dywod Malltraeth" (rhaid mai bod dwbl oedd hwn) yn ymladd gyda rhyw ddrychiolaeth :—

"A gwaeddai Môn, a Môn, a'r Ddraig, ac Owen!
Nes y'i deffröid gan angherddol grechwen."

Un arall, brodor o Ardudwy, a freuddwydiai weled Olwen ei wraig yn syrthio yn aberth i haid o "Sacsoniaid arfog," a llefai nerth esgyrn ei ben :—

"Ymladdaf, lladdaf, lleddais dri yn barod!
Hen gledd fy nhad—mae tru'gain eto'n dyfod!
Gadewch fy nhy ar dân, a minau'n gelen,
Ond, ond, gollyngwch, Ah!—Gollyngwch Olwen!"

Ond erbyn deffro yr oedd y lloer yn wincian arno dwy ddôr y babell,

"A gwelai leuad arall yn ei ymyl
Mor dlos, mor wen, mor syn, a mil mwy anwyl."

Pererin arall a freuddwydiai ei fod eisoes ar y cefnfor a'i fod ar suddo i grombil Dafydd Jones :—

"Griddfanai—Dyma'r diwedd—boddi! boddi!"

Pethau rhyfedd, onide, yw breuddwydion y beirdd?

Dranoeth hwyliodd llongau Madog—ddeg o honynt—dros y môr. Gwaith araf, araf, oedd croesi'r Atlantic yn y dyddiau hyny. Ni ddigwyddodd dim o bwys ar y fordaith. Ni welwyd na morfil, na morforwyn, na morneidr. Ni ddywedir beth gawsai yr ymfudwyr i frecwast nac i ginio. Nid oes son fod neb wedi cael salwch y môr. Nid oeddynt yn chware cardiau nac yn betio ar y *day's run*. Ond peidier a meddwl eu bod heb ddiddanwch. Yn ystod y fordaith fe gaed mwy nag un araith gan y gwron Madog. Bob Sul cynhelid gwasanaeth eglwysig ar fwrdd y llongau a chenid y "Te Deum." A phan oedd y llynges yn methu symud o ddiffyg awel, daeth Talog o Bowys yn mlaen a rhoddodd ddisgrifiad tanllyd o frwydr "Crogen". Dilynodd un o wyr Môn efo hanes buddugoliaeth "Tal Moefre", sef *Trafalgar* y ganrif hono. Yn y fan hon ceir llinell wedi ei chodi, heb wybod mae'n ddiameu, o gân Gwalchmai i Owain Gwynedd :—

"A'r Fenai fawr heb drai gan faint y gwyar!"

Gwell fuasai genym yr hen farddoniaeth fel yr oedd :—

"A Menai heb drai o drallanw gwaedryar
A lliw gwyar gwyr yn heli."

Nid oes dim yn gystal ei flas wedi ei ail dwymno.

Tra bo'r gwynt yn hepian, goddefer i mi wneyd sylw neu ddau parth arddull yr awdwr. Mae'n amlwg ei fod yn edmygydd mawr o bethau clasurol, a'i fod wedi darllen

Homer a Vyrsil yn Saesneg. Dyna, mae'n debyg, barodd iddo 'sgrifenu "Mona", "Arfonia", "Hibernia", "Lloegria". Hoff enw ganddo ar y gwynt yw "Euroclydon". Dyry *gatalogue* manwl o'r llongau yn ol dull Homer yn ail lyfr yr Iliad,—cawn wybod enw pob llong ac o ble y daeth. A thyna Vyrsil prif-fardd Rhufain, "Am eirf a gwron canaf" —Arma virumque cano, ebai ef wrth ddechreu ei gerdd anfarwol. "'Rwy'n canu cân clodforedd eirf a'r gwron", ebr awdwr Madog. Y mae y tipyn vanity hwn wedi ei hudo i brofedigaeth mewn un man. Deffroes yr awel o'i chysgadrwydd,

> "Ac ar ei hysgwydd gref y llongau iesin
> A frysient fel *dryadon* i'r Gorllewin."

Tardd y gair *driades* o'r Groeg *drys* (coeden), a'i ystyr yw duwiesau'r llwyn. Yr oeddynt yn hollol anghynefin a'r môr.

> "Soft she withdrew, and like a wood nymph light,
> Oread or Dryad, or of Delia's train,
> Betook her to the groves."
>
> (*Milton, P. L.*, ix, 387).

Mae'n ddigon tebyg fod y bardd yn ei afiaeth wedi camgymeryd y bodau dychmygol hyn am *Nereides* neu for-dduwiesau, arfer y rhai oedd marchog yr eigion ar geffylau. Ond perthyn i'r bardd hefyd ei neillduolion ei hun. Y mae yn hynod hoff o'r terfyniad aw,—*beiddiaw, trigaw, rhwygaw, blinaw, chwiliaw, heibiaw*, etc. Am yr un rheswm gwell ganddo *Madawg* na *Madog*. Ond nid yw yn hollol gyson. Weithiau ceir "godidawg" yn cyfodli a "Madawg"; bryd arall "godidog" yn odli efo "bywiog", a "Madog" gydag "enwog". Nid hawdd, hwyrach, fuasai dweyd "bywiawg" neu "enwawg".

Y mae'n rhaid ini ddychwelyd at Madog a'i anturiaeth. Cyfododd tymhestl enbyd, a dechreuodd y gwyr ofni, a grwgnach, ac anobeithio. Ond llefarodd Madog yn hyawdl wrthynt:—

"Dysgwyliaf fod o'n blaen gyfandir llydan.
A gwn fod genym fwyd am flwyddyn gyfan."

Felly, tawelwyd eu hofnau a bloeddiasant:—

"Er gwell, er gwaeth, dilynwn ein Tywysawg;
Rhad ar ein hantur: a byw byth fo Madawg."

O'r diwedd gwelwyd tir a bu llawenydd mawr. Yr oedd y llynges yn tynu at un o ynysoedd y Gorllewin. Glaniodd Madog a deg o'i wyr, ac aethant i chwilio'r wlad. Eu gwrhydri cyntaf oedd saethu ych, wedy'n blaidd, wedy'n oen llywaeth. Ow drychineb! Perthynai yr oen i deulu Toxtol, oedd yn byw ar yr Ynys. Pan weles Toxtol y creadur diniwed a'r gwaed yn rhuddo ei wlan, ymlidiodd a pharotodd i ymladd â'r dieithriaid. Ond troes Madog linyn ei fwa at Toxtol, ac estynodd iddo ddarn o aur. Yr oedd yr effaith yn syfrdanol. Caffael melynaur lle na ddysgwyliai ond mileiniwch! Maddeuodd Toxtol a dechreuodd ymson:—

"Mae'n rhaid fod rhai fel hyn, fel d'wedai'm tadau,
Yn disgyn oddiuchod—plant y duwiau!
Neu os yn ddynion, gwyrth o ddynion ydynt,
Ac O! fe garai Toxtol lynu wrthynt."

A hyny a wnaeth—gadawodd ei fwthyn, efe a'i wraig Heth, a'i ferch Wahwa, ac aethant i babellu ar y traeth gyda phlant y duwiau. Ymroes Toxtol i ddysgu Cymraeg, a thrwy gymhorth y geiriau *tir*, *afon*, a *mynydd* rhoes ar ddeall i Madog fod gwlad eang fras yn ei aros yn mhellach i'r Gorllewin. Yna codi'r pebyll a hwylio allan drachefn. Cyn hir cyrhaeddasant wlad Mexico, a glaniasant ar draeth Tampico. "'Rwy'n rhywun acw," ebr Toxtol, a dechreuodd adrodd ei hanes. Yr oedd yntau yn fab i frenin ac wedi ei eni yn ninas Tampico. Dros ugain mlynedd teyrnasai gyda rhwysg, ac ymladdasai yn erbyn y Tamoïniaid a'r Tamantiaid. Ond ymosodwyd arno gan yr Asteciaid a'r Chichemecasiaid, cwympodd caerau Tampico, a bu gorfod

i Toxtol a'i deulu ffoi dros y môr i'r Ynys hono lle daeth Madog o hyd iddynt. Mawr oedd y llawenydd pan ddychwelodd Toxtol gyda'i gyfeillion y Cymry. Ond yr oedd yn rhaid ymladd. Yr oedd y gelynion yn nerthol a lliosog. Hwyliodd Madog a'i wyr i fynu'r afon i ryfela yn erbyn y gormesdeyrn Mexicana. Brwydr hynod oedd hono a ymladdwyd o amgylch hen gaer Panuco. Ymosododd Mexicana yn chwyrn ar y ddinas efo'i longau rhyfel, ond profodd *tactics* Madog yn drech na chynddaredd y lluoedd anwar. O dyrau y ddinas taflai y Cymry sypynau o dân, ac yn mhob sypyn yr oedd costrel yn llawn o olew. Dyna longau y gelyn yn goelcerth, a'r fuddugoliaeth wedi ei henill. Wrth ddisgrifio'r frwydr hon—*Brwydr y Botel*—manteisiodd y bardd gryn dipyn ar ei wybodaeth o Homer. Yn niwedd Llyfr 14 o'r Iliad ceir y dernyn a ganlyn:—

> "A mab Atreus a glwyfodd yn ei ystlys Hyperenor, bugail y bobl, a'r bicell gan ei wanu a *yfodd ei goluddion*; a'i *enaid a ffodd ymaith drwy yr archoll*, a thywyllwch a gymylodd ei olwg."

Yn awr gwrandawn ar y bardd Cymreig:—

> "Ymruthrai'n mlaen yn orwyllt a chynddeiriog,
> Ond picell arall, o ddeheulaw Talog,
> A suddai'n ddwfn yn nhrwch ei fynwes lydan,
> *A'i enaid drwy yr archoll, lifodd allan!*"

Eto:

> "O'i galon fradus, falch, ei *ysbryd euog*
> *A nofiodd allan ar y ffrydlif gwridog.*"

Eto:

> "A'r *bicell ddigllon*,
> Drwy'r claspiau pres, *a yfodd waed ei galon!*
> A Mexicana syrthiodd yn ei wrthol,
> Gan guro'r ddaear efo'i goryn marwol."

Mae y syniad o "goryn marwol" yn curo'r ddaear yn —wel, yn anfarwol.

Cododd Madog ddinas newydd i drigo ynddi. Wrth ddymuno llwydd i'r gwladychwyr, bloeddiai Toxtol:—

> "Tra fyddo haul—Tangc ichwi, byth Tangc ichwi."

Ac ateb Madog oedd: "Tanquichi boed ei henw." Yr oedd llediaith eisoes wedi disgyn ar ei dafod.

Y Golomen.

Bellach esgynwn i gysawd "Y Golomen". Mae yr enw hwn yn dynodi diniweidrwydd, glendid, a gwarineb. Rhaid ini ymwadu yn llwyr â'r hen anianawd filwrol, dreisiol, lofruddiog sydd mor amlwg yn y ddau ddosbarth y buom yn ymdrin â hwynt. Hyd yma yr ydym wedi cysylltu arwriaeth â thrwst arfau, â chelanedd, â buddugoliaeth, ond fe lwyddodd y Bardd Newydd i ddyfeisio math arall o wroldeb nas gwyddai yr hen feirdd ddim am dano. Y gerdd a ddewisaf o fysg ser y Cysawd hwn yw Pryddest Goronog Rhyl 1892—"Dewi Sant". Gwrandawn ar y bardd yn taro Cyweirnod ei gân:—

"Am Wron Sanctaidd—Gwron gras a bendith,
Yr hwn gyfunai grefydd ac athrylith—
Goleuni cynhes, ysprydolrwydd iraidd,
Fel awel haf mewn coedydd paradwysaidd,
Amynedd gwlithog ffydd, gwroldeb llariaidd,
Fel penderfyniad prydferth gwawr garuaidd,—
Gwybodaeth wylaidd, cariad anorchfygol,
Mawrhydi hynaws, ymgysegriad grasol,
Mewn un cymeriad llawn o fywyd nefol,—
Dymunwn ganu dan arweiniad dwyfol."

I feddwl cyffredin dichon yr ymddangosai y gwaith o lunio arwr o'r fath ddefnyddiau yn gwbl anobeithiol. Ond nid gwr cyffredin sydd wedi ymgymeryd a'r dasg. O'i flaen ef nid oedd neb wedi anturio gwneyd cyfiawnder â Dewi Sant:—

"Ni threuliodd un athrylith hanesyddol
Ei hunan allan ar ei oes ryfeddol;
Ac ni chysegrodd Awen fawr, Homeraidd,
O chwaeth Virgilaidd ac o nerth Miltwnaidd,
Ei hun i ddangos, yn hawddgarwch lliwiau
Enfysau nefol, i ni holl adnoddau
Ei natur eang oedd yn fyd o ddoniau—

Hyawdledd roddai fywyd i eneidiau,
Dirnadaeth rasol welai dragwyddoldeb,
A chalon bur gofleidiai anfeidroldeb."

Ond o'r diwedd, dyma'r awr, a thyma'r dyn. Er mwyn profi ei bwnc, ffugia ias o amheuaeth :—

"Y dyn bendigaid—ydoedd ef yn wron ?"

Yr oedd yn "un o ser disgleiriaf Cristionogaeth", yr oedd yn "lloer i Haul yr Iachawdwriaeth", yr oedd yn "awel ber a sanctaidd", yr oedd yn "angel—angel glanaf Gwalia." A oedd efe yn wron ? Yr oedd yn "gerub",

"A daeth yn arwr—arwr myg angylion :
A ydyw ef i ddynion yn arwron ?"

Wedi boddloni ei hun ar y pen hwn, ymhola'r bardd, "Ai Rhyddiaeth ai Barddoniaeth yw," ac etyb y cwestiwn fel hyn :—

"Mae Dewi Sant i mi yn awr yn bod,
Ac enill mewn bodolaeth mae o hyd . . . .
Medd i mi hanfod fel meddylddrych myg—
Fel deddf, neu enaid, angel—rhywbeth uwch
Na Phlenydd, Alawn, Gwron, beirdd Cymreig—
Mwy dilys na gwroniaid Homer hen."

Cychwynodd y bardd, fel y gwelsom i chwilio am "ysprydolrwydd iraidd". Wedi esgyn i uchelderau mor anherfynol na synwn, ac na feiwn arno, os gwelwn ef yn dechreu gwanychu ar ei adenydd ac yn chwilio am dir cadarn dan ei draed. Gwrandawn eto :—

"Am ddyn mewn cnawd yr ymofynwn ni—
Mae arnom arswyd gweled yspryd noeth."

Y cam nesaf yw profi ei fod yn meddu ar briodoleddau a theimladau dynol. Dyma'r prawf :—

"Cyflawnai ryfeddodau yn y groth . . . .
A hoff fu o ffynonau drwy ei oes—
Cynhesodd liaws, purodd fwy na mwy,
A chreodd lawer—rhai o ddyfroedd clir,

A rhai o win rhinweddol. Ar ei air,
Llewyrchai tân ddiddymai nos ein byd;
Agorai lygaid deillion wrth ei bwys—
Gwnai nurhyw beth a phobpeth fynai byth."

Os tybiasom mai gwr ysgafnben, yn byw a bod mewn *abstractions*, oedd y bardd, fe wnaethom gamgymeriad. Gwelwn y gall, pan ddewiso, ddisgyn i lawr i'r manylion manylaf. Dyma fel y gesyd allan amryfal ansoddau y dyn yn mherson Dewi Sant:—

"Oni lifai gwaed *Iuddewig*, llawn o ysprydoliaeth gras,—
Byw o ffydd ganfyddai olud dwyfol mewn anialwch cras . . . . .
"Trigai hen *Iberiad* gwelw, gwalltddu, gydag enaid gwyn,—
Bychan, oediog, hirben, athrist, llawn o feddylgarwch syn . . . . .
"Syllai *Celtiad* tal, llygadlas, grymus, coch ei wallt, trahaus—
Gwrol, bywiog, ymherodrol, drwy ei lygaid yn barhaus."

Dyna ddigon o amrywiaeth, onide, i foddhau y *stock-breeder* mwyaf gofalus. Ond nid dyna'r cyfan. Dywed y bardd yn mhellach fod yn cwrdd yn natur ddofn ei wron, nid yn unig *dderwyddon* a *merthyron* ond hefyd, *Brythoniaid*, *Gwyddelod*, a *Rhufeiniaid*. Hwyrach yr ymhola rhywrai, i beth y bu y gwastraff hwn? Dyma ateb y bardd ei hun,—

"Buasai Duw, fel hyn, am lawer oes
Yn darpar defnydd pur dynoliaeth fawr
Archesgob Cymru."

Modd bynag, mae y bardd wedi setlo'r cwestiwn, a fu Dewi Sant yn bod yn y cnawd:—

"Ofynir eto, ai prydyddiaeth wyllt,
Ai ffaith ddaearol oedd fy Ngwron myg?"

Wedi hyn, hed dychymyg yn ol i'r cynoesoedd i ddisgrifio bywyd a chenhadaeth Dewi Sant. Dyddorol, os nad dymunol i'n balchder cenedlaethol, yw ei ddarlun o Gymru Fu:—

"Pa beth ganfyddai? Gwelai Walia gu
Yn gorsydd lleidiog, neu ddiffaethwch prudd;
Yn fyd o ddrain, mieri, eithin, grug,
Neu wigoedd heigient o wylltfilod blwng . . . .

"Bugeiliaid gorthrymedig, gwreng, tylawd,
Mewn gwisg o grwyn neu frethyn cartref bras,
Yn byw bob tymhor ar ryw ymborth syml,
Anwadal gaent—o law i enau byth . . . . .

"Gwyndodiaid llwythog o gynddaredd boeth,
Powysiaid dan arglwyddiaeth dreigiau llid,
Dyfedwyr byw o drydan rhyfel erch;
Siluriaid llawnion o ddichellion dieifl,
A meddwon byth ar ysprydoliaeth eirth."

Na sonier mwy am "godi'r hen wlad yn ei hôl". Gwaith mawr Dewi Sant oedd dwyn trefn ar y tryblith hwn. Nid anffawd ddigymysg, yn marn y bardd, oedd ymosodiad "eirth y Gogledd—Peithwyr a Gwyddelod certh, a haid ar haid o wancus fleiddiaid môr, Saxoniaid dreng"—ar ein gwlad. Gorfu i'r Cymry anghofio eu cwerylon cartrefol. Apostoliaeth Dewi Sant wnaeth y gweddill. Dyry y bardd ddisgrifiad ohono ar drothwy ei yrfa eglwysig yn ymson fel hyn:—

"Pwy ydwyf fi—
Pa beth a ddylwn ac a allaf wneyd?
Yr wyf yn bod: pa beth yw gwaith fy oes?
Rhaid fod rhyw reswm dros fy mod o gwbl—
Fy mod yn Mhrydain, a fy mod yn awr
Oblegyd mae rhyw ddyben i bob peth."

Nid heb lawer o betrusdod a digalondid yr ymgymerodd â'r gorchwyl o wareiddio Cymru. "Ymgreiniai fel abwydyn yn y llwch." Meddianwyd ef gan ddychryn gorlethol:—

"A theimlai dân yn ysu mer ei fôd;
Ei wallt gan arswyd safent ar ei ben,
A berwai chwys cywilydd drwy ei gnawd."

Ond clywodd lais, adenillodd ei nerth a'i wroldeb, a "dechreuodd ar ei waith o efengylu". Nid oedd dim allai atal ei gerddediad—ymdeithiai yn mlaen "drwy wres difaol, eira dwfn, tymhestloedd, afonydd, mellt, creulondeb anuwiolion, a diafliaid cethin". Mewn amser profodd ei hun yn "brif bregethwr Cymru Fu". Ac nid rhyfedd, ag

yntau yn cyfuno y fath gyflawnder o amryfal adnoddau a doniau. Yr oedd yn "athraw myg", yn "eos ber", yn "llew mawreddig", yn "awel falmaidd", ac yn "gorwynt gwrdd". Cyflawnodd Dewi Sant lawer o wyrthiau, ond nid oeddynt amgen na chware plant wrth effaith ei apostoliaeth ar foesau ac arferion y bobl:—

"Gwnaeth wibiaid creulawn yn ddinaswyr llariaidd,
A hen baganiaid yn gredinwyr sanctaidd.
Iachaodd fywyd brwd ei genedl wrol,
A bwriodd ymaith ei hestroniaid ysol.
Angylion iddi drwyddo ddisgynasant,
A dieifl o honi i uffern ddiangasant."

Newidiodd wyneb y wlad, hefyd, fel petasai rhyw ddewin wedi estyn ei hudlath drosti:—

"Cydweithio ynddynt wnaent wrth ddeddf y nefoedd—
Cyd-sychu corsydd, cyd-ddileu coedwigoedd,
Cyd-ladd torfeydd o faeddod ac o nadroedd;
Cyd-droi diffaethwch, llwythog o glefydon,
Yn ddolydd iraidd ac yn erddi ffrwythlon."

Os gwnaeth hyn i gyd, rhaid i bawb gydnabod fod Dewi Sant nid yn unig yn "arwr myg angylion", ond hefyd yn "arwr cyfandiroedd". Un diffyg a welaf arno. Gresyn oedd gadael cynifer o esgobion a beirdd i aflonyddu ar y wlad. Petasai wedi difa y rhain, buasai wedi gwneuthur ei waith yn llwyr.

Mae gan y bardd hwn, yntau, rai *mannerisms* a lynant wrtho fel croen am fochyn. Nis gall symud braidd gam heb gymhorth yr ansoddeiriau "myg", "dreng", "derch", a "blwng". Serch ei fod yn moli mwyneiddiwch yn ei arwr, ymhyfryda ar brydiau mewn iaith eithafol o grâs ac afiednais, megys "bwystfilod a chythreuliaid", "cythreuliaid celanedd", "diafliaid cethin", "anwariaeth ddrelaidd",

"Barbariaid dreng o adar ac ymlusgiaid,
A dynion oedd yn llewod ac yn ddiafliaid."

Heblaw hyny, y mae yn dueddol i ail-adrodd yr un syniadau drachefn a thrachefn. Pan dybiech ei fod wedi

agor penod newydd, cewch yr hen bethau yn codi i fyny fel drychiolaethau aflonydd na fynant eu gostegu. Mae yma ymgais amlwg i efelychu dull mawreddog Miltwn, ond methiant sobr yw. Rhodres yn hytrach na rhwysg, gwynt yn hytrach nag yni a bywyd, mympwy yn hytrach na chrebwyll, sydd yn nodweddu pob adran o'r gerdd. Yr un yw y gwahaniaeth rhwng "Coll Gwynfa" a "Dewi Sant" ag sydd derwen lydanfrig a thâs wair.

Rhaid cloi y pwnc i fyny. Os caniateir ini eistedd enyd ar sedd barn, pa ddedfryd a roddwn ar y dull o farddoni a elwir "Yr Arwrgerdd Gymreig"? Fy marn onest yw ei fod yn fwy o golled nag o elw i lenyddiaeth ein gwlad. Nid yw y cerddi hyn fawr well nag efelychiadau o ganeuon enwog y gwledydd ereill. Pob dim sydd dda ynddyut, benthyg yw. Os oes ynddynt rywbeth newydd, mae'n ddiwerth a diaddurn. Daeth yr arwrgerdd yn rhy ddiweddar i Gymru. Hwyrach nad yw yn cydweddu âg athrylith ein cenedl. Beth bynag fo'r rheswm, nid yw hyd yma wedi gwreiddio yn y tir. Os cyfaddefir y gwirionedd, gwron yr Arwrgerdd Gymreig yw y Bardd Coronog. Prin y mae yn meddwl llai o'i deganau nag y bydd yr Affricaniad du o'r het silc a'r *patent leather boots* fo'n darnguddio ei noethni. Mae y pethau hyn hefyd yn rhoi llawer o foddhad i dorfeydd yr Eisteddfod. Ond yr anffawd yw fod y ffasiynau newydd a lusgwyd i mewn i Farddas Gymreig, cyn i'n beirdd haner eu deall, wedi llindagu athrylith, llygru chwaeth, a difwyno arddull. Gall Cymru ymdaro yn eithaf heb arwrgerddi; ei hangen mawr yw gwell amgyffred o'r berthynas rhwng bywyd a barddoniaeth, rhwng barddoniaeth a chelfyddyd.

THE MELODIES OF WALES.[1]

By ROBERT BRYAN.

We Welsh people love to call our country "the land of the hills", "the land of the white gloves", and "the land of song". These names reflect the beauty of nature, the beauty of life, and the beauty of art. Wales has no monopoly in these names; the Alps are grander and as full of beauty as the hills of Merioneth and the mountains of Caernarfon. Norway leads a life as full of innocent beauty as the land of the white gloves; and Germany, Italy, and Hungary are as full of music as the land of song. Still, let us Welshmen retain these epithets, not in disparagement of other lands, but out of respect and love for our own country.

If we love Wales on account of these attributes—natural beauty, moral beauty, and artistic beauty—we will thereby keep our eyes clear to gaze on nature and its manifold beauties, our hearts pure to feel its charms, and our mental abilities bold and strong to cope with its mysteries and to bear our burden of life and fulfil our duty to the world at large.

It is not my intention to dilate on the grandeur of our mountains or the beauty of our vales, nor to comment on the moral aspect of our land, but to offer a few remarks on our love of music, more especially as exemplified in our National Melodies.

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at The Clothworkers' Hall, on Tuesday, the 11th of July 1905; Chairman, The Right Hon. Lord Tredegar, President of the Society.

Strangers state that one of the chief characteristics of our nation is its love of music. The sweet sounds of music are heard as the ploughmen till the fields, and the same sweet strains are sung in the depths of the earth by those who labour among the ways of darkness and the shadow of death. Song is the chief charm of the Eisteddfod, and singing makes the multitude forget its woes on the field of the "Sassiwn". Music sets a divine seal on marriage and baptism, and sweetens the sorrows of death on the brink of the grave.

Neither is our joy the vapid laugh of the foolish, nor our sorrow the cry of those without hope, for it is the language of the soul that is on the strings of our harp, the language of a healthy soul that can rejoice in felicity and weep in adversity. Our national joy and sorrow are expressed in national melodies that yield in beauty and depth of feeling to those of no other nation, and our gladness for the moral triumph over evil, and the yearning of the soul for the eternal, are embodied in sacred melodies that no other country, except Germany, has their equal.

Before dealing with our national melodies, a few words on the sacred melodies of Wales are due. Generally speaking, they are the product of the religious Revival in Wales which commenced in the fourth decade of the eighteenth century, a few only hailing from the Protestant revival in the sixteenth. They, like our national melodies, are the products of non-trained musical natures, stirred in this case to their uttermost depths by the joys and terrors of the world to come. The conventional idea of these sacred melodies is that they are woe-begone and melancholy products, barbarous, crude, and artless, and much blame has been attached to the Puritan tendency of our religion for destroying the natural buoyancy of the people.

It is true that the sounds of woe and of mourning are heard in many of these melodies, the cries of a soul in the agony of repentance, the moans and anguish of a prodigal son leaving the husks and returning home. Undoubtedly the following tunes belong to this category: Caerllyngoed, Nebo, Alexander, Jabez, Twrgwyn, Talybont, Old Derby, Delyn Aur, and others. At the same time, it must be stated and emphasised that our spiritual sorrow as expressed in such melodies is not of an intenser and darker hue than that depicted in the German chorales, with this important difference, which is our misfortune more than fault: Germany has had a galaxy of composers of the greatest calibre to harmonise its sacred melodies, to soften and assuage their agony with an art that can never perish. Wales, on the other hand, until a few years ago, had few means of musical culture, and consequently it had to depend on men with an innate talent for music, but with scarcely any musical culture, to clothe its melodies as best they could in decent home-spun. Hitherto we have not been gifted, and, as a matter of fact, no other country has been so favoured, with a musician of the calibre of J. Sebastian Bach, to harmonise sacred melodies with an art so consummate that time can never rob of its infinite variety and charm. But the sacred music of Wales has another mood and another mode of expression, and no country can boast of finer triumphant strains than our little land of hills and dales.

If the sacred muse inspired the grand and fiery airs of the Teuton, "Nashville", "Amsterdam", "Ein Feste Burg", "Wachet auf nuft uns", "Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern", it also inspired the stirring heroic, moral strains of the Cymro—Llangoedmor, Llangeitho, Gwalia, Lledrod, Llanfair, Moriah, Andalusia, and Crugybar. Who is not conscious of overcoming all earthly troubles

and sorrow as he sings these melodies, and hears their tones of grandeur swelling from the vale of woe unto the serene heights of the heavens above with the majesty of the everlasting hills? And whose soul has not been strengthened with the heroism of the noble army of martyrs to keep their lives pure in a contaminating world, and to face the Valley of the Shadow of Death and all its terrors without quailing?

Let us now glance at our national melodies. What a wealth of beauty and expression lies in the twelve hundred melodies that have escaped the ravages of time. There is not a note in the gamut of human and national existence that is not touched by these melodies, from the sombre gloom of "Rhuddlan Marsh" to the exultant defiance of the "March of the Men of Harlech". The Welsh Muse hath longed "Through the Night" for "The Dawn of Day", and hath rejoiced in the early morn for "The Rising of the Sun". She has heard the sweet song of "The Blackbird" on the tree, and the thrilling lay of "The Lark", in the realms of the dawn. She hath listened to the sighing of the breeze in the branches of "The Ash Grove", and harkened to its whisper as it sped gently over the ripening ears of the "White Wheat". It has cheered our country through the long night of oppression, and charmed "The Queen's Dream" with alluring hopes of the dawning days of liberty and joy. It sang a lullaby of life to "The Mother and Babe", and wailed a mournful dirge to the dying bard, "David of the White Stone".

Before dilating on the history and characteristics of some of these melodies, one is tempted to ask a question: As these sacred and secular melodies display such charm and beauty and such genius, how is it that no great musical composer of world-wide fame has appeared yet

in Wales? It would be sheer folly to attempt to enumerate the brilliant musical stars in the firmaments of Italy, France and Germany. Other countries of lesser fame have had sons that enriched the world with the fruits of their genius. Liszt rendered the plains of Hungary famous, and compelled haughty nations to respect the genius of his race. Chopin expressed the agony and hopes and the dreams of oppressed Poland, and the world sympathised with the country whose liberty vanished, as Campbell says, "when Kosciusko fell".

The pathos of Russian serf life flowed through the music of Glinka, Rubinstein and Tchaikowsky, beyond the far extending Russian boundaries, and the hearts of the free nations of Europe and America throbbed with the accents of grief of the Russian moujik.

The Oratorios and the Stabat Mater of Dvorak re-embody the intense spirit of the Czechs of Bohemia, the land of the reformer John Huss and the patriot Stitny. Grieg, in his songs and suites, gives an idea of the moral energy and purity of peasant life among the secluded fiords and crags of Norway. Yet no one can deny that the national melodies of Wales are as full of charm, as full of genius, as the national melodies of any of these countries so renowned for music, and no one who knows the peasants of Wales and the peasants of these other countries can deny that the former are as highly gifted musically as the peasants of the most highly gifted musical nations in the world. Where do we as a nation fail?

It is an exploded theory that we lack perseverance. A nation that could defy the Norman and Saxon power—England, Normandy and vast territories in France—for two hundred years after the Saxons had been vanquished in one battle on the field of Senlac, does not lack in perseverance. A nation that adheres to its language and cus-

toms for centuries, in spite of the aggression of a powerful nation, does not lack in perseverance. A nation that could throw off the moral shackles of an Established and long revered Church, when this Church forsook its duty, does not lack in power and persistency. We must seek an answer elsewhere; it is near at hand. Music is an art, and requires gift and culture for its highest development. Wales does not lack in genius, but in culture, and that through no fault of its own. No country in Europe has craved more for education, nor sacrificed more for the benefits of culture than our little hilly Wales, and the day hath at last dawned upon our long-benighted land.

During the period of darkness following the Restoration, many a bright effulgent star beamed in our atmosphere.

John Parry, the blind harpist of Ruabon, the domestic harpist of Wynnstay, had great renown in England about 150 years ago: "That son of harmony who delighted the world," wrote Gray from Cambridge to a friend, "Mr. Parry, has been here, and scratched out such ravishing blind harmony, such tunes of a thousand years ago, with names enough to choke you, as to have set all this learned body a-dancing, and inspired them with due respect for my old bard, his countryman, whenever he shall appear. Mr. Parry you must know has set my ode in motion again and has brought it at last to a conclusion."

The ode mentioned here is Gray's celebrated ode on "The Last Bard", who survived the reputed massacre of the Bards by Edward the First at Conway. The skill of Blind Parry so influenced Handel that he composed several concerti for the Welsh harp, and the MSS. of these are, I believe, in the King's collection of Handel's works in the Royal Library, Buckingham Palace. It is a pity that they are not unearthed by some of our present day executants on the triple harp; they cannot fail to be interesting to

Welshmen as the tribute of one of the Titans of music and the greatest choral writer, to the talents of one of the sons of a country since become known as the home of some of the finest choral singers in the world.

Then Edward Jones, *Bardd y Brenhin*, gained great fame by his collections of Welsh Airs; it was he who first issued in this country a selection of the national melodies of the world. He was followed by John Parry, *Bardd Alaw*, of Denbigh, a great authority on band music in his day, who introduced Handel's *Messiah* to Denbigh, and also composed "Jenny Jones". After him came Richard Roberts, the blind harpist of Carnarvon. I will read you a passage descriptive of this celebrated harpist out of Fetis' *Histoire Générale de la Musique*, one of the greatest French authorities on the history of music; this quotation appears in a standard book at a period when the tendency of our nearest neighbours, the English, was to pooh-pooh or ignore almost everything Welsh. The whole passage is worth quoting:—

"In 1829, I was present at one of these Eisteddfodau in London. It commenced with an overture composed of Welsh Airs, remarkable for their individuality. Divers airs and choruses were subsequently sung, but they had little interest because they were modern productions. It was different with the ancient air, "Ar hyd y nos", sung with a haunting charm by an able English songstress.[1] Two pieces announced by the programme above all excited our curiosity; the one was a song called pennillion, sung by three inhabitants of the country of Wales, and accompanied on the Welsh harp; the other an English theme (?) "Per Alaw, Sweet Richard", with variations, played on the Welsh harp, with triple row of strings, by Richard Roberts, a blind minstrel from Carnarvon. This minstrel

[1] Miss Paton.

had two little harps suspended from his neck, one of silver, the other of gold, gained as prizes for his talent at the Eisteddfod of Denbigh.[1] Our expectations were not in vain—nothing more curious than these pieces could be heard. The pennillion were sung by three inhabitants of Manafon, every one delivered a couplet and took a quite different accent from the preceding. Among them, an old man distinguished himself by the ardour he put in the delivery of the barbaric songs, and one could see on their faces the conviction that their melodies were the finest in the world. These pennillion roused the enthusiasm of the audience. The blind bard of Carnarvon was neither less interesting nor less applauded, his ability upon a difficult instrument was truly extraordinary. The modern harp of Wales has no pedals for the semitones and modulations, they are supplied with three rows of strings, those on the left and right give the diatonic tones, and that in the middle the semitones; nothing more inconvenient could be imagined. Nevertheless, the minstrel, in spite of his blindness, touched the strings in the middle row with marvellous surety in the most difficult passages. The ability of this musician of nature, his serenity, and the goodness depicted on his countenance, rendered him an object of general interest."[2]

Richard Roberts published a small collection of Welsh Airs called the *Cambrian Harmony*, in 1829, which contains a very fine arrangement for two harps of the melody mentioned by Fetis. He died at the great age of eighty-six, and was buried at Llanbeblig churchyard; but like many others of the sons of song, and like many great benefactors of the world, his grave is unknown.

[1] This should be "at the Eisteddfodau of Wrexham and Denbigh respectively".

[2] *Fetis*, tome iv, pp. 364-5.

Many other harpists flourished in Wales and verified the epithet "The Land of Harps".

In sacred music, other "musicians of nature" as Fetis described these untutored geniuses, though they were of less fame and of less ability than those mentioned above, also flourished.

Such were John Williams of Dolgelly, a flautist and Church precentor, and a good writer of hymn tunes and anthems ("Sabbath" and "A bydd arwyddion"); John Jeffreys of Llanrhaiadr, Vale of Clwyd, a schoolmaster; and John Ellis of Llanrwst, who published a book of sacred compositions *circa* 1818; some of his compositions, such as "Elliot", "Llanrwst", and "Molwch yr Arglwydd" are popular to this day.

These musicians and their *confreres* sacrificed much by travelling from place to place to teach singing, gratis in most cases; they did not reap the fruits of their labour, but we in this age owe these local musicians a deep debt of gratitude. They went forth weeping, but bearing precious seed, and we are joyfully bringing the sheaves with us.

After their days, a new school of music lifted up its head; John and Richard Mills in Llanidloes, Alawydd in Bethesda, and Ieuan Glan Geirionydd. Then followed a fine group of musicians of great ability—men who would have left imperishable names in the history of music had their advantages for musical culture been at all equal to their natural gifts. Amongst them we find Stephens, Tanymarian, the composer of the first Welsh Oratorio "The Storm of Tiberias", a work containing the exceedingly fine double chorus:—"Dyna'r gwyntoedd yn ymosod"; John Ambrose Lloyd, a chaste and fine composer of anthems, choruses and hymn-tunes; J. D. Jones, a melodious writer; Ieuan Gwyllt, originator of the congregational Musical Festival; Gwilym Gwent, the com-

poser of sprightly glees and part-songs; and Owain Alaw, the composer of many anthems and the compiler of a fine collection of Welsh Airs called *Gems of Welsh Melody*.[1]

Neither must we pass by the labours of Miss Jane Williams, of Aberpergwm, who rescued some of the finest South Walian melodies from oblivion; and the late estimable Brinley Richards; nor forget one who happily remains to charm us with his exquisite art, Mr. John Thomas, harpist to His Majesty the King. Nor should we forget the late Nicholas Bennett, who published a very valuable collection of Welsh airs; nor the poets Ceiriog, Talhaiarn, and Mynyddog, who wrote charming lyrics to our national melodies, and did much to popularize them.

Meanwhile Tonic Sol-fa had brought music home to the hearth and made it the art of the Band of Hope and of the day and Sunday School. Also, by the labours of Sir Hugh Owen and his contemporaries, University education was brought into Wales, and we have now somewhat realised the ideals of Owain Glyndwr five centuries ago. Then followed the movement for secondary education, led by the late Thomas Edward Ellis and his colleagues. Nowadays we have an excellent system of education, and the beautiful exhortation of Morgan Llwyd o Wynedd is applicable to Wales:—"The dawn hath broken, and the sun hath arisen, the birds are singing; Awake, O Welshmen, Awake."

Before I call attention to the musical value and characteristics of the National Airs, it will be advisable to make a few remarks upon them historically.

Many people take the national melodies of a country for granted, just as the thoughtless do the forces and beauties of nature, without troubling to inquire whence and when

[1] The late Dr. Joseph Parry belongs more to the future than the past, for he has not yet "come to his own".

they came into being. Every melody has its origin, has emanated from some one at some period, and has been transmitted by various means to us, and sometimes transformed in the process.

When were the majority of the national melodies of Wales composed, and by whom?

Alas, the answer must be very vague, a mere guess. We have contemporary evidence of the love of music in Wales in the days of Giraldus Cambrensis; and the Welsh Bards of yore were both harpists and poets, being, in truth, troubadours; as a matter of fact, they were more highly gifted with poetic genius than their more renowned *confrères* of Provence. Whether any of the celebrated mediæval bards of Wales were the composers of any of our present day national melodies remains unknown. We must for the nonce rest satisfied with the statement that if their best musical compositions were equal in merit to their best poems, they were equally worthy of preservation, for these bards had the knack of anticipating the nature poetry of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, and their technique is simply a marvel of ingenuity and perfection.

Though history is almost silent on this point, there remains the somewhat unsatisfactory means of estimating their age by the internal evidence of mode, tonality, rhythm and cadence.

Ernest David, in *La Poésie et la Musique dans la Cambria*, has thus endeavoured to locate many of these melodies to periods varying from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries, vaguely characterising a few as of great antiquity. According to this learned Frenchman, many of our finest melodies, such as "The March of the Men of Harlech", "Y Gwenith Gwyn", "Y Deryn Pur", must belong to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a most suggestive

and interesting speculation, as that period has hitherto been considered one of the most barren in the musical annals of our country. However, the subject is too vast to be dealt with adequately to-night.

Another interesting topic connected with this subject can only be referred to, *i.e.*, the musical influence of nations on one another, and their interchange of melodies or the adoption of the melodies of one another. Thus "Captain Morgan's March" is the "Siege of Gwengamp" in Brittany, "Ymadawiad y Brenin" is "Malgré la Bataille" in France, "Can y Melinydd" is "The Raven" in England. These are only a few examples of the migration of melodies between these countries. I have also found melodies claimed by Hungary and Provence, others claimed by both Russia and Croatia, and by both Spaniard and Basque. One instance of commandeering the musical wealth of another country amused and amazed me—the celebrated solo on the "Death of Nelson" is in reality based on a French melody,—this seems very much akin to adding insult to injury.

I also wish to draw attention to the value of national melodies as means of culture, and to point out how an intelligent acquaintance with them is valuable to help the mind to project itself into ages long passed away, and to assist us to realise life as it then was, and to feel the emotions that swayed mankind in auld lang syne.

A halo of romance seems to hover around many of these airs, and the mere mention of their names calls vividly to our minds some scenes in our national life. These airs may be classified as "historic", or, if you insist upon it, as "romantic".

Others, again, rouse our martial spirit at the first strain that falls upon our ears, and set long untouched chords in our souls vibrating, and we seem to hear the voices of our

forefathers and the heroes of the days gone by mingling in the rousing tones of these melodies. These may be classified as "martial" or "military" airs.

Then we have airs that recall social life among our forebears: the joys of winter's eve, the hunting of the hare, and the boar, the dances of the youths and maidens, the lullaby for the babe, and the dirge for the dead. These may be classified as "social".

Then we have airs dealing with aspects of nature: the dawn of day, the rising of the lark, or with beautiful incidents in life. These may be termed "poetic" or "æsthetic".

"It would have been a loss to the music of the world if the Welsh Airs had never come into existence, and that not only on account of their excellence, but because they have peculiarities which distinguish them from the airs of other nations." Such is the opinion of Dr. John Rhys, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford.

What are the characteristics of these airs?

1. Well conceived melodies, well developed and maintaining their character throughout; these melodies often have fine sequences, and no tones are omitted, such as the fourth and seventh, as in old Irish and Scotch melodies. There are no repetitions of the initial phrase, such as we find in Breton and Hungarian, Russian and Servian melodies, as if the composer, though on a path, preferred to mark time than to march forward; but a melodious flow always in character with the underlying idea. These melodies are capable of sustaining the most refined and expressive harmony.

2. Regular modulations and transpositions, or good musical form. The general plan is A. B. A.

A in the minor.	B in the major.	A in the minor.
A in the major.	B in the minor.	A in the major.
A in the tonic.	B in the dominant.	A in the tonic.

3. Very few irregularities in final cadence: a much larger percentage of Russian and Servian melodies are in a different key to the initial phrase. A few Welsh airs end, like Provencal melodies, either on the dominant or on a note suggesting dominant harmony, such as "Dydd Gwyl Dewi Sant". "Dadl Dau", on the other hand, ends on the sub-dominant, a very rare occurrence in Welsh melodies.

4. Regular rhythm, well sustained, and no mixed metres such as the mixture of three-four and two-four time in Hungarian, Breton, and Russian melodies. There are two examples of thrilling effect in sacred music, "Old Derby", "Andalusia".

5. Very little use of the "snap", though Fetis maintains that it is characteristic of Celtic music (compare "The Last Rose of Summer" in Irish and "Robin Adair" in Scotch airs). But the snap, with abrupt defiant effect, is much more prevalent in Hungarian music than even in Gaelic or Erse. Yet it would be quite a natural rhythm in Wales considering the prevalence of short penultimate accents in the Welsh language. These airs exhibit this characteristic occasionally, "Mentra Gwen", "Bore Glâs", "Eös Lais", "Gwyr Harlech", and that exquisite gem "Y Deryn Pur", and the lullabies "Suo-gân" and "Y Fam a'i Baban"; in sacred music, "Old Derby", and "Crugybar".

6. Exquisite expression of feelings, sweetening the accents of mourning, and softening the hard triumphant notes of exultation into a charming poetic tenderness or nobility.

These are the words of Ernest David:—

"*Men of Harlech*": I deem it my duty to make this song known; it is in fact very fine and of alluring grandeur."

These are his words on the "*Gwenith Gwyn*":—"It is not

on account of its antiquity that I give this melody, for I cannot deem it prior to the second half of the seventeenth century, but it is so beautiful, it exhales a perfume so tender, a sentiment so profound, that I could not omit it here. If it be sung with taste, with soul, without forcing the voice, without seeking to produce effect, while contenting to give it its own simple accent, this melody will awaken in its hearers the most tender feeling, even ravishment."

At the conclusion of his learned work, Ernest David exhorts the Welsh to retain the harp upon which these exquisite old Welsh airs were first heard. These are his words:—"What confronts you, shades of Meilir, Gwalchmai and Cynddelw? In its conquering march, the piano invades your mountains, and threatens to dethrone the harp, your beloved harp. To the rescue, you Welshmen; resist this invasion with the same determination, the same courage which your forefathers displayed against the Anglo-Saxons. If not, the reign of the harp will end with you as elsewhere; alas, who knows if in a given time this noble instrument will not figure in a museum as a curious and superannuated item? However, I hope this sorrowful supposition will not be realised. Also, in ending this work, too imperfect for my wish, I most sincerely hope that for a long time again the descendants of the Cymry will keep their noble banner flying, and that they will triumph in their artistic struggle—'yn nawdd Duw a'i dangnef'—with the protection of God and His peace. These victories are alone desirable, they are those which profit most and cost least to humanity."

A few words, and my task to-night will be at an end. We are often told that Wales is too small to wield much influence in the world, therefore it ought to be satisfied with being submerged by a more numerous nation; as if quan-

tity and not quality were the true criterion of excellence. Palestine was a small country, about the size of Wales, but its religious and moral influences have been a potent factor in modern civilization, and they will continue so through endless ages. Greece, in the hey-day of its glorious culture, was a small country; but its influence pervades and will pervade the world. Have not the numerically weak nations of Europe to-day as much intellectual greatness as those nations of countless millions?

Mere physical bulk is no criterion of moral, intellectual and spiritual worth. Herein lies the hope of all true Welsh patriots. Wales has, in fact, already proved herself capable of attaining supreme excellence in several spheres of intellectual labour. The glorious series of tales known as the *Mabinogion* are as perfect in form and matter as any that human lips have ever uttered, whether in Ireland, Iceland or Arabia. Welsh hymns, less known to the world at large, can also be truly classed with the finest extant, whether Latin, German, French or English. Our national melodies are also of the finest and the rarest quality, vying with the best national productions of the world.

In two other spheres, Welsh genius is fast attaining supreme excellence—in lyric poetry and spiritual power. German critics of the calibre of Dr. Zimmer and Dr. Kuno Meyer maintain that the Welsh lyric poetry of the present day is the finest in any civilized country. And the late Dr. Jowett many years ago predicted that Wales was destined to lead the world back to spirituality; and do we not now seem to hear the first rustle of the movement.

It is true that in most of these spheres there is a certain disadvantage, that of language, which immediately limits our influence to those conversant with it. But the cultiva-

tion of our language, one of the most ancient, noble and euphonious in Europe, is a debt we owe to our ancestors, as well as a duty to our posterity, and we intend fulfilling our obligations to the uttermost. Competent native and foreign scholars will arise to interpret our thought to the world if we be worthy. On the other hand, in music we have the universal language of civilization, and through it we can speak directly with other nationalities, without the medium of interpretation.

If Wales is to achieve these triumphs, which Ernest David says profit most and cost least to humanity, it must first of all be true to itself, and develop naturally its own traits of character and mind. It is not by weakly imitating another nation, no matter how able and powerful that nation may be, that we can gain the experience and strength of character that will enable the Welsh nation to do full justice to its noble gifts, gifts to be used and not hidden like the talent of the unprofitable servant in the parable.

Let Wales bear in mind the beautiful simile of one of its poets—"Môr o gân yw Cymru i gyd"—"The whole of Wales is a sea of song", and endeavour to develop to the utmost its noble gift of song. Then, perchance, multitudes will hie thither from all quarters of the globe, to walk on the shore of this sea, to listen to the message of the waves, and to return home strengthened and invigorated by the inspiring breezes of Wales—"The Land of Song".

SIR JOHN PHILIPPS; THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE; AND THE CHARITY-SCHOOL MOVEMENT IN WALES, 1699-1737.

By the REV. THOMAS SHANKLAND.[1]

It is a matter for surprise that Sir John Philipps, a man so influential and prominent in his time, should have been so unaccountably neglected by our historians and biographers. His name does not appear in any of our Biographical Dictionaries, and is only casually mentioned in the literature of our day. Yet, as a patriot, as a pre-eminent Christian philanthropist, as a religious and educational reformer, and as a great Welshman who accomplished a great work in the Principality, Sir John Philipps, of Picton Castle, certainly deserves to be counted among the greatest benefactors of the Welsh nation in the eighteenth century.

I am not going to attempt, in the present paper, to prove the whole of this thesis. The scope of this paper is limited to a brief sketch of his life and character, and to one aspect of his work, viz., his work for elementary education in Wales in the period that extends from 1699, the date of the foundation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to 1737, the date of his death.

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion on the 11th of May, 1905, at 20, Hanover Square. Chairman, the Rev. W. Osborn B. Allen, M.A. (*Secretary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*).

Sir John Philipps of Picton, Fourth Baronet, 1662-1736.

(Reproduced from the Portrait at Picton Castle, by permission of Sir Charles E. G. Philipps, Bart.)

Photo. by Messrs. D. Bowen & Son, Haverfordwest.

Sir John Philipps, of Picton, inherited a great name. Fenton, the historian of Pembrokeshire, speaks of Picton Castle and its traditions in the following glowing sentences:—

> "Picton Castle owes its beauties to circumstances that wealth cannot supply or titles confer, circumstances that age and an unbroken line of ancestry in its possessors have given value to and have made venerable; and an ancient structure that nothing can so much disfigure as an attempt to modernise and make less so; a castle (and I believe a solitary instance) never forfeited, never deserted, never vacant, that never knew a melancholy blank in its want of a master; which had always the good fortune to be inhabited by lords of its own, men eminent in their day as warriors, as statesmen, and as Christians; from whose walls hospitality was never exiled, and whose governors might be said to have been hereditary. A castle in the midst of possessions and forests coeval with itself, and proudly looking over a spacious domain to an inland sea, bounding its property and its prospects beyond them, for such is Picton Castle."[1]

In this ancestral home it is presumed that Sir John Philipps was born. He was the second son of Sir Erasmus Philipps by Lady Catherine his second wife. His father, Sir Erasmus Philipps, was a man of reputation. He played an important part in the affairs of the Principality under the Commonwealth. He was a Commissioner under the "Act for the Better Propagation and Preaching of the Gospel in Wales (1650-3)", and under the Ordnance of August 1654. And it is very interesting to note here in passing that Sir Erasmus Philipps had a prominent share, under these Acts, in the first organised movement for Elementary Education in Wales on a national scale.[2] He was a member of Parliament in

[1] Fenton's *Hist. of Pembrokeshire*, p. 278.

[2] The name of Sir Erasmus Philipps appears often on the Orders of the Commissioners. The following is an interesting example:—

"By the Com^rs for propagacon of the Gospell &c.: Swansey 2 August 1652.

"Llanbedr: Itt is ordered that a free Schoole be created and settled in the towne of Llanbeder in the County of Cardigan for the Educacon of

1654-5, and again in 1659. In addition to these, he held many other honourable appointments. His mother, Lady Catherine, was the daughter and co-heir of the Hon. Edward Darcy by Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield. The precise date of Sir John's birth cannot be stated with certainty. All that we can say is that the date inferred from the handsome marble monument erected to his memory in the parish Church of St. Mary, Haverfordwest, cannot be correct. It is there said that he "departed this life Jan. 5, 1736, at London, in the 77th year of his age". This would give us either 1659 or 1660. But Sir Erasmus Philipps's second marriage is known to have taken place on September 1, 1660.[1] Therefore, since we know that Sir John was the second child of that marriage, 1662 is probably nearer the mark than 1660. Of Sir John's youth and education we have at present no records. That he was a very well educated man, his correspondence amply proves.

In 1695, on December 30, John Philipps was returned

Youthes in Englishe and Latine Tongue. And that the yearely summe of twenty poundes bee allowed for the keeping of the said freeschoole. And Mr. Thos. Evans is hereby authorised to keep the said Schoole and to receive the said stipend till the Comrs shall take further order therein, and John Price Esqr Trear for South Wales is hereby enabled to pay and allow the said summe of twenty poundes, att such time and Seasons as the same shall grow due and payable, the first Quarter to commence the five and twentyeth of March last past.

"Rowland Dawkins, Erasmus Philipps, James Philipps, Sam. Lort, John Lewis, Jo. Browne, Jo. Daniell."

Lambeth MS. 1006, p. 56.

[1] "1660 Sept. 1. Sir Erasmus Philipps Bart., of Picton Castle, co. Pembroke, about 37, and Katherine Darcy, Spr., about 19, dau. of Edward Darcy, of Drury Lane, London, Esq., with the consent of her parents, at St. Clement Danes, or Islington, Middx."—Allegations for Marriage Licences issued from the Faculty Office of the Archbishop of Canterbury at London 1543-1869.

Harl. Soc. Pub., vol. xxiv, p. 47.

to Parliament for the borough of Pembroke, and continued to represent that town till 1702. He re-entered Parliament on March 4, 1718, as member for Haverfordwest, and sat till 1722. His epitaph briefly sums up the quality of his service in Parliament in these words:—"He serv'd with great reputation and honour for the Town of Pembroke, and for this Town [Haverfordwest] and County, in several Parliaments, where his constant aim was to promote the cause of virtue and religion, and the real good of his country."

John Philipps succeeded to the Baronetcy, as fourth Baronet, on the death of his venerable father, Sir Erasmus Philipps, on January 18, 1696-7. Sir John Philipps also succeeded his father as Custos Rotulorum of the county of Pembroke, January 18, 1696-7.

On December 12, 1697, he married Mary, the daughter and heir of Antony Smith, a rich East India merchant of Surat and London, who died November 18, 1722; he had issue by her three sons and three daughters. Erasmus, (1700-1743), the eldest son, succeeded his father as fifth Baronet. The second son John (1701-1764) succeeded his brother, Sir Erasmus, as sixth Baronet, on his death in 1743. His third and youngest son, Bulkeley, who erected the marble monument "to the pious memory of their late excellent father" at St. Mary's, Haverfordwest, had his seat at Abercover, in the county of Carmarthen. The three daughters, Catherine, Elizabeth, and Mary, all died unmarried.

From 1695, the year of his entry into Parliament, to 1737, the year of his death, it may be truly said that Sir John Philipps devoted himself with noble zeal and persistent industry to the great work of his life. He had the command of great wealth, and he laid it out munificently in multifarious schemes of philanthropy. Indeed,

few men can be found in the United Kingdom during this period whose personal labours and charitable designs were at once so varied and lofty in character, and so benevolent and far-reaching in their results. Of Sir John Philipps's many worthy contemporaries no one's name is more respectfully mentioned in the various records of the period. Therein he is very often described in such terms of admiration and affection as "that great and good man", "the champion of virtue", "the ornament of the Society", "the pattern of enlightened patriotism", etc. His high character and noble philanthropy are always represented as the fruit of his deep and truly evangelical piety, for Sir John Philipps was a convinced and pronounced Evangelical Churchman, and, as I have already suggested, pre-eminently a Christian philanthropist.

His epitaph admirably summarises his various ways and methods of doing good in these words:—"He was one of the most active Commissioners for building the fifty new Churches in and about the City of London, and a leading Member in that Metropolis of many Charitable Societies, to which he was a very ample Benefactor. To attempt a Character of this great and good Man, so well known and admired at home, and in foreign Countries, would be an injury to it: his good Works speak eloquently for him, particularly his extensive Liberality on all occasions, to this Town and County."

Sir John was a "leading member" and one of the most liberal benefactors of the religious and charitable institutions of his time. He was a member and patron of several of the Religious Societies, and of many of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners; a leading member, a great benefactor, and a frequent Chairman of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; an original Trustee and an enthusiastic supporter of the

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; a liberal contributor to Dr. Bray's design for the establishment of Parochial Libraries; a Commissioner for the Relief of the Poor Proselytes appointed by Queen Anne; a member of the Commission for Building fifty new Churches in London and Westminster; and a great supporter of charity schools, parochial workhouses, and missionary work in the gaols.

One of the characteristic landmarks of the age of Sir John Philipps was the rise and progress of the above-mentioned religious and philanthropic societies. The sources of these institutions are to be sought long before the time indicated in the majority of our histories. Small communities of Christian believers, gathered together under a voluntary covenant to live a holy life and walk in good works, were numerous in the days of the Tudors, and to these obscure congregations—Anabaptist and Independent—modern society owes infinite obligations. Dr. Charles Borgeaud recognises in these free and autonomous religious societies the origins and models of our modern democratic and free institutions.[1] They taught the people the great value of the principles of association and co-operation for the attainment of common religious objects. During the Civil Wars, and under the Commonwealth, the scope and number of these societies were largely increased. The Restoration of 1660 has been described as a moral catastrophe, a revolution of reaction, benumbing in its influence, paralysing effort, a deathblow to national aspiration, to all those aims which raise man above himself.[2] Although such a cataclysm may seem to interrupt the continuity of history, yet in fact there is no interruption. The Revolution was but an incident in the

[1] *The Rise of Modern Democracy in Old and New England.*

[2] Mark Pattison's *Milton*, 140-1.

historic evolution of the nation through one of its successive stages. The reactionary movement gradually spent itself, and the regenerating forces of the nation recuperated. The moral paralysis of the Restoration was unquestionably great, and it is not difficult to exaggerate the immorality and corruption of the age, but it is erroneous to state that the Religious Societies, which had flourished so luxuriantly during the Commonwealth, fell to pieces at once with the advent of the "Merry Monarch". Hundreds of the Religious Societies survived, not without great damage, it is true, the Restoration and all its reactionary forces. In tracing the filiation of the religious and philanthropic societies of the end of the seventeenth century, many of our Church historians seem to have entirely overlooked these earlier societies. The evidences, however, show that the first stirrings of the reaction of the religious sentiment, and the first signs of the rekindling of the religious consciousness of the people, that followed the culmination of the "period of shameless moral depravity and political corruption",[1] appeared first among the remnants of the older societies. This revulsion from the open vice of this period of "rebuke and blasphemy" grew, and the hearts of men of true piety of all shades of opinion were kindled with a new enthusiasm. The spirit of toleration growing stronger and stronger during this time, allowed small bands of enthusiasts to associate for the cultivation and diffusion of higher standards of life, and the promotion of good works. When these enthusiasts for religious and moral reform organised themselves into societies, the new societies were constituted on the model of the older and existing societies. The number of new societies increased steadily from 1670 onward. During the reign of William and Mary these

[1] Mark Pattison, *Essays*, vol. ii, p. 110.

voluntary associations with religious, moral, educational, and various other philanthropic aims became very numerous under the patronage of the King and Queen and the leading people of the land, who greatly encouraged and stimulated their formation.

The first of these Associations was established for the education of "poor Welsh children". This work had been started in 1671-2 by the venerable Thomas Gouge alone, but in 1674, on account of the magnitude of the work, a trust was formed for the printing and distribution of Welsh religious literature, and also for "the teaching of poor Welsh children to read English, write and cast Accompts, in such Towns where Schools are not already erected". The first Committee of this society contained the names of John Tillotson, Benjamin Whichcote, Edward Stillingfleet, Richard Baxter, Matthew Poole, Thomas Firmin, Thomas Gouge, and many others of great influence and wealth. The society was formed on the principle of comprehension, which was in the air at the time. It contained the leading men of all sects. The story of the charitable and educational work of Thomas Gouge and his society in Wales were so widely circulated by the society's reports, and the appreciative notices of such men as Richard Baxter, John Tillotson, John Owen, and Thomas Manton, that it became known on the Continent and in New England. There are evidences to show that this Welsh society and its work exerted a far-reaching influence, the significance of which is not yet fully appreciated. The mixed character of its membership was, however, objectionable to many Churchmen, and from the death of its founder, Mr. Thomas Gouge, in 1681, the contributions and the work of the Welsh Trust were gradually withdrawn from Wales. In his account of the rise and progress of the Charity-School movement in London

and Westminster, John Strype gives us the reasons for this withdrawal. The account is so interesting, and the evidence is so important in its bearings, that I give it in full:—

> "There is yet another sort of Charity in this City (maintained by the *Society* before mentioned, *viz.*, *for promoting Christian Knowledge*) very singular and extraordinary; the like whereof is hardly practiced in any City of *Christendom* besides, and for which the Citizens concerned therein deserve to stand upon lasting Record; And that is, the erecting of Schools in many Parishes of *London* and *Westminster* (especially the great Parishes in the Suburbs) called *Charity Schools*, for the free Education of poor Boys and Girls, and also for their Maintenance in Apparel; and afterwards disposing of them abroad in honest callings.
>
> "This favour of the *Londoners* toward poor Children began divers Years ago in *North* and *South Wales*. When about the year 1670 the Poverty and Ignorance of those Parts raised a Compassion in the Hearts of many good Citizens (which must be recorded to their Honour). So that they and their Interest contributed such Sums of Money as maintained a great number of poor *Welch* children at School, to read *English*, Write, and cast Accompts. And Schools for that purpose were erected and settled in many Places in those Countries. And this pious Practice so flourished, that in the Year 1674 or 1675, Certificate was made, that in 86 of the Chief Towns and Parishes in Wales, 1162 poor children were put to School, over and above 200 put to School the last Year by the Charity of others. And this Charity had already provoked divers Landlords and Inhabitants of several Towns and Parishes in Wales to put 863 of the poorest Welch children to School upon their own Accounts. So that 2225 in all were already put to School to learn as before.
>
> "And this Charity extended not only to poor Children, but to the Rest of the poor *Welch* Inhabitants to furnish them with Christian Knowledge. For by this Charity they had distributed freely among them a great number of pious Books translated and printed in the *Welch* Language. So that in the Year 1674, there had been bought and distributed in several Families 32 *Welch* Bibles, and 479 *Welch* New Testaments; Which were all that could be bought up in *London* or *Wales*; Besides 500 *Whole Duties of Man* bought and disposed in like manner. And 2500 *Practice of Piety*, with some Hundreds of Licenced Treatises translated into *Welch* were then printing, and almost finished; which were to be freely given also to the Poor People in those Parts.
>
> "This became a Trust, and was connected to several Eminent Ministers of London, viz.: Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Whichcote, Dr. Simon Ford, Dr. Bates, Dr. Outram,

Dr. Patrick, afterwards Bishop of Ely, Dr. Stillingfleet, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Fowler, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, Mr. Durham, Dr. Meriton, Dr. Hezekiah Burton, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Matthew Poole, and Mr. Thomas Gouge, sometimes Vicar of St. Sepulchres, London; which last also devoted himself and his Estate to this Service and Labour of Love; Going himself divers Years successively into Wales from Place to Place, enduring in his old-Age all the Fatigues of Travelling in that Mountainous Country to oversee and manage this great Public Work.

"There were also in the same Trust some Eminent Citizens of the Laity, as Thomas Firmin, Henry Norton, John Du Bois, and some few others.

"But this Charity, however it lessened in Wales, afterwards began nearer Home; as I proceed now to shew."[1]

It will be seen, therefore, that the Charity-School movement in London and Westminster was the offspring of the Gouge movement in Wales. The new London movement received its first impulse and resources from the Welsh Trust. This establishes the historical continuity of the work. I have failed, so far, to establish a direct official connexion between the Welsh Trust and the founding of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1699. The principles, objects, plans, and methods of work of this society are so like those of the Trust that it is impossible to deny filiation. The only notable differences being that membership in the new society seems to have been entirely restricted to members of the Church of England, and that its work was to be more directly related to that Church.

This is sufficient to show that the Welsh Trust was the mother society of the great philanthropic institutions of this period. I have failed to establish any direct connexion between Sir John Philipps and the older society. Still, there are reasons for believing that he must have heard much of its work in his early days at Picton. His father, Sir Erasmus Philipps, would naturally support the work of Gouge in Wales. He had taken a leading part

[1] Strype's 1720 Edition of Stow's *Survey of London*, Bk. v, p. 43.

in the Commonwealth educational movement in the Principality, and Stephen Hughes and other colleagues of Gouge had been fellow-workers with him in that movement.

I come now to the numerous religious and philanthropic societies which Sir John Philipps actively supported by his membership and liberal benefactions. The notices must be necessarily brief.

1.—The Religious Societies.

In order of time and importance the first place is due to the Religious Societies. Dr. Josiah Woodward, the historian of these societies, refers their beginning to the preaching of Dr. Anthony Horneck at the Savoy Chapel, and Dr. Smithies, at St. Michael's, Cornhill, somewhere about the year 1678.[1] The account of Dr. Woodward is very scanty. The following extract will help to give an idea of their origin and methods of work.

> "Besides all the Societies before spoken of there be *The Religious Societies*, voluntarily entered into by some good People of the City, on purpose to employ a Part of their Time in Religion, and to quicken one another in Good Things. These had Methods and Orders to be observed among them. Which being laid before the late Queen and the late Archbishop Tillotson were enquired and approved by both, and greatly esteemed by several of the Archbishops and Bishops since. These are Superior in Time to any of the other *Societies*, and perhaps gave occasion to the rest. The Beginning of them was thus: When in King Charles II's Time, there

[1] *An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies of the City of London*, etc., and their endeavours for Reformation of Manners. The 1st edition appeared in 1697, the 2nd in 1698, the 3rd in 1701, and the 7th in 1801. Jablonski, the Chaplain of the King of Prussia, translated the work into German. The translation spread the Account of these Societies in Germany, and it influenced the Pietistic movement. It also influenced Howel Harris and the Methodist movement in Wales, as the following extract proves:—"I began to Establish Religious Societies. In the formation of these Associations I followed the Rules given by Dr. Woodward in a work written by him on the subject." (*Whitefield's Journal*, p. 164.)

were many infamous Clubs of *Atheists*, *Deists*, Socinians, &c., set up; (too many of which by their scandalous Lives, endeavoured to destroy all Sense of Divine Things, and of the Difference of Good and Evil) Some serious Persons of the Church of England thought it necessary to oppose their *Proceedings*, and formed themselves into *Societies* that should assist one another in their most holy Faith, and in a Practice agreeable thereunto. These Considerations, and the like, brought together a considerable Number of pious Persons about the year 1680, who met often to Pray, sing Psalms, and read the Holy Scriptures together, and to reprove, exhort, and edify one another by religious Conferences. And their Number daily so encreased, that they made, about the Year 1700, Thirty Nine Societies in and about *London* and *Westminster*. And their Examples have been followed in divers Parts of this Nation, and in *Ireland*, especially *Dublin*, where there were some five or six Years ago about Ten Societies.

"And lastly there be *Societies* of *Young Men*, that enter themselves voluntarily into Companies on purpose to preserve and keep up in themselves a Sense of God. And have their set Meetings both in Private, for Religious Conference, wherein they have the Counsel and Conduct of some grave pious Minister of the Church of *England*, for the directing of their Consciences; and for the instructing of them in any Matters of Doubt or Scruple, for the better keeping of a good conscience both toward God and Man; and observing Justice and Truth in all their Dealings and Callings. And also meet publicly in some of the Churches of *London* and *Westminster* commonly on *Sundays*, at five or six o'Clock in the Afternoon; where they have lectures preached to them by Godly Ministers, appointed and paid by themselves; And in some Places the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered to them."[1]

We have ample evidence of the rapid growth and extension of these religious societies in North and South Wales during the period between 1699 and 1737, preserved in the Minutes and Abstracts of Correspondence of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which, through its members and correspondents, encouraged their organisation in the Principality with great zeal in the first decade of that period. Of that evidence, only a very small portion, selected mainly to illustrate the progress of the Charity-School movement, one branch of their manifold work, could

[1] Stow's *Survey of London*, Strype's 1720 Edition, Book v, pp. 40, 41.

be given in the appendix to this paper, and this must suffice for the present to support the statements herein made as to the issues of their work.

The extent and value of the excellent religious and philanthropic work of these societies in Wales during this important, but unknown, period of its history have as yet received hardly any recognition at all. I will venture to say, after a study of their multiform activities in the literature of the period, and of the original sources referred to above, that we observe, in the rise and progress of these societies and their work, the antecedent causes, and the agencies that produced the great revival movement of the eighteenth century in Wales, in all its various forms. Of this movement Sir John Philipps was at once a splendid product and a moving cause of the first importance. For more than forty years of his busy life, he constantly advocated and encouraged the formation and the work of religious and kindred societies in this country, often in face of great jealousy, and faithfully attended their meetings in spite of the jeers of men of his rank, and munificently subscribed to their various funds.

That the devotional exercises and fellowship of these societies satisfied a real craving of his nature, and had a great influence in developing and enriching his singularly pious and spiritual character, that they fostered his intense hostility to the irreverence, loose morals, and bad manners of his age, and intensified his zeal as a moral and religious reformer, is abundantly proved by his own testimony. The genuine delight which he experienced in the spiritual companionship of the humblest members of the religious societies, is well described in a letter which he writes to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, from Picton Castle, on June 7, 1712, relating a casual visit to a Pembrokeshire society:—

"That he was very lately very agreeably surpriz'd with a conversation of a Religious Society, that he providentially fell into; that there were at least 9 of these happy Souls who were mett together for ye 2nd time to entertain one another in a Xtian Manner, but that he could not describe ye humility and heavenly mindedness that appear'd in every one of them."[1]

Sir John Philipps, by his own strenuous efforts, and by devoting most of his income to the support of the religious and philanthropic work of these associations, and to acts of private and unostentatious benevolence, rendered great services to the revival movement of his age. His influence on this general movement can only be gauged by a full acquaintance and just appreciation of the extent of those services, both direct and indirect. We are not yet in possession of all the necessary facts. We have, however, sufficient evidence for stating, with scarcely any exaggeration, that that influence was great. His influence over Griffith Jones, the leader of the Evangelical Movement in Wales, and over the Oxford Methodists, must have been very considerable, for we have their own testimonies on record that he nobly supported them with his purse, inspiration, and his guidance. It may be said that he discovered Griffith Jones, and that he ushered him into his philanthropic work. For some years before he conferred on him the benefice of Llanddowror, he had befriended this pious and earnest young clergyman. Sir John seems to have had very high opinion of him from the first, for he introduced him to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge as a likely schoolmaster for the first Charity School established by the Danish Missionaries at Tranquebar, India,[2] in which Sir John was deeply interested. In a

[1] Abstracts of Correspondents' Letters, 3103.

[2] The following "Postscript" is added to the Society's Report for 1711:—"Nor does Europe wholly confine this design of Charity Schools, but it begins to extend as far as the Eastern Countries. For at *Tranquebar*, on the coast of *Coromandel*, two of the Danish Missionaries, Natives of *Ger-*

letter of his, from Picton Castle, dated 24th Oct. 1712, he writes:—

> "In answer to the Society's of the 18th instant. That he had rec'd the Copy of Mr. Ziegenbalg's L^re^ to Mr. Hoare with which he was very much pleased, that he had remitted his Subscription for last Quarter to Mr. Shute: That ther's a very worthy Clergyman in Carmarthensh^e^ whose name is Jones that has lately discover'd an inclination to goe to Tranquebar, and for that end is desirous to acq^t^ himself with the Portuguese Language and would gladly receive a Portuguese Gram^r^ if it can be procur'd. Refer'd to the Malabar Committee."[1]

In another letter from Picton Castle, dated 20th Nov. 1712, he writes:—

> "That he is very much pleas'd wth the kind reception Mr. Plutscho found wth the Society, and that there were a Short Purpose Prayer composed to be constantly used at the Society for the Protestant Miss^nrys^ in India. That he had communicated the Society's proposal to Mr Jones for going as a Schoolmaster to the East Indies. That he was under some tyes by the affect^ns^ of the people where he is, however that he w^d^ consider of it and by the latter end of this month make his answer."[2]

In a further letter from Picton Castle, dated 6th Dec. 1712, he writes:—

> "That he is very glad to hear Mr. Prof. Frank[3] at Hall is sending a Missionary Printer and an Assistant to India, and is of opinion that it might be of Service to the design if Mr Frank and Mr Plutscho were desir'd to testify to their ffriends & Fellow Labourers in the work, the very grateful sence that is entertained here for the Encouragers of it. That he shall gladly receive a Portuguese Dictionary and Grammar for the use of Mr Jones whom the Society have invited to go to India."[4]

In the next letter from Picton Castle, dated 13th Dec.

many, the one *Bartholomew Ziegenbalgh*, and the other, *Henry Plutscho* by Name, have begun a small Charity School for the *Malabarian* Boys." Quoted in *Two Hundred Years*, p. 123.

[1] Abstract of Letters of Correspondents, No. 3322.

[2] Abs. No. 3383.

[3] August Hermann Francke, the German Pietist Reformer and Educationist—a friend of Sir John Philipps.

[4] Abs. No. 3403.

Picton Castle, in the County of Pembroke, in the time of Sir John Philipps, Bart., c. 1662-1736.

(From the Collection of the Rev. Sir James Erasmus Philipps, Bart., Canon of Salisbury.)

Picton Castle, at the Present Day.

Photo. by Messrs. D. Bowen & Son, Haverfordwest.

Sir John seems to be convinced in his own mind that Griffith Jones would proceed to India, for he writes :—

> "That Mr Jones is inclin'd to imbrace the Society's proposal of going to Madras, but will not declare himself absolutely determin'd before he has been in London, not to make the best terms for himself (wherein he is altogether passive) but to be furnish'd with the properest means to fit him for so great a Trust. That he has already made considerable progress in the Spanish Language wch will facilitate his understanding the Portugese. That when he goes, he shall desire some part of what the Society allows him may be paid to his mother, who is very tender of him, & yet willingly resigns him up to the hand of Providence."[1]

Fortunately for Wales, Providence had decreed that the sphere of the labours of Griffith Jones was not to be on the Coasts of Coromandel, and frustrated these plans by making it "impractical" for the new schoolmaster to proceed on a certain date. Sir John writes from Picton Castle on Jan. 8th, 171¾ :—

> "That Mr. Jones intirely acquiesces in the opinion of the Society as to the impracticableness of going by the present fleet to the East Indies."[2]

After this time, although Griffith Jones continued to receive urgent letters from the Society, the Missionaries, and others, such as Patrick Cockburn, Minister of the English Church at Amsterdam, and Anthony Will. Böhme, Chaplain of Prince George of Denmark and Translator of Professor Franke's *Pietas Hallensis* into English, it is clear from the correspondence of Griffith Jones[3] and Sir John

[1] Abs. No. 3404.

[2] Abs. No. 3420.

[3] The following letters are interesting :—"Griffith Jones at Laugharne, Carmarthenshire, 29 May 1713, In answer to a letter wrote to him by the direction of the Malabar Committee: That the great Love and Zeal the Society discovers to the Immense Glory of God, and their Compassion for the good of Souls, deserves to be acknowledg'd by all good men. That it is one part of the Saints communion, that they are all at work for one another, by frequent prayers and good offices, throughout the whole earth, and that it is no small comfort to good men, that they are able to prove their sincerity and truth of being God's Saints by such evidence. That the

that he had decided to remain and work "in his Native Country". This final decision was communicated by Griffith Jones to the Society in a letter from Laugharne, where he lived at this period, dated Nov. 22, 1713, in these brief but significant sentences:—

> "That as to ye invitation of going to the Indies as a Missionary, he thinks himself obliged to decline it upon the prospect he has of doing more service to religion in his Native Country than he can propose to do abroad."[1]

If friendship is, as Addison says, "a strong habitual inclination in two persons to promote the good and happiness of each other", then, during these anxious negotiations, a strong friendship was formed between Sir John and Griffith Jones, which lasted until they were separated by the death of the former. Sir John had formed a remarkably correct estimate of the future revivalist even at this time. In a letter, written to the Society for Promoting

great advantage he proposes to himself from the conversations of such excellent Xtians has long induced him to see London, though he labours under many inconveniences, and among others that the little flock committed to his charge would be depriv'd of the Ministry of God's Word during his absence. That for his own part he confesses himself more wanting to be fedd, than qualify'd to feed other people, and that besides much tribulation he has few other marks of being in favor with God. That 'tis not the belief of his unmeetness and insufficiency only which hinders him from resolving upon the Mission to Malabar, but likewise the extreamly miserable blindness of his own country; but that as to this, he shall resign himself to the Will and Providence of God. He proposes very speedily to set out for London the shortest and most convenient way as he shall be advis'd in order to wait upon the Society."—Abs. No. 3583.

"Griffith Jones, at Laugharn, Carmarthensh., Oct. 9, 1713. That he cannot sufficently express his gratitude to Mr. Boehm and Mr. Cockburn for their kind instructive Letters, by means of which the Protestant Mission to the East Indies is render'd more easy to his mind, and he patiently waits the direction of Providence therein. That he hopes Dr. Saunders has 'ere now signify'd his thoughts in relation to another impression of the Welch Bible, and that if he has not, the proposal being orphan like, he hopes it may claim a greater regard and compassion from the Society to promote it."—Abs. No. 3690.

[1] Abs. No. 3803.

Christian Knowledge, from Picton Castle, dated Nov. 7, 1713, he says:—

> "That Mr Jones of Laugharne lately made him a visit in which his family were much edified by his conversation, and Sr John is more confirmed in his opinion of his abilitys and sincerity for a successful labourer in whatsoever harvest the Providence of God shall determine him to."[1]

A local revival of some magnitude broke forth under the eloquent preaching of Griffith Jones in the churches of Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire in 1714. No such preaching had been heard within the walls of the Established Churches since the days of the Puritans, and the people flocked from all parts in thousands to hear the Gospel proclaimed in the real Welsh "hwyl". His splendid voice, attractive personality, and earnest desire for the salvation of men took the people by storm. The traditions of his marvellous preaching remain in Carmarthenshire to this day, but the story of his first revival has never been written. But it created jealousy and roused the opposition of some of the clergy of the Diocese against the revivalist. He was arraigned before his Diocesan, Adam Ottley, at Carmarthen. Sir John's friendship proved itself a real boon to Griffith Jones in this crisis, for his influence in the diocese was very powerful. In a letter from Picton Castle, dated 9 Oct. 1714, giving an account of the trial, Sir John says:—

> "That Mr Jones of Laugharne has lately undergone a Sort of Tryal before the Bishop of St. David's at Carmarthen, where several of the clergy appear'd against him, whose principal accusation was his neglecting of his own Cure, and intruding himself into the churches of other Ministers without their leave, the contrary whereof was manifestly prov'd, viz., that he never preach'd in any other place without being invited either by ye Incumbent, Curate, or some of ye best inhabitants of the Parish. That he had indeed preach'd twice or thrice without ye walls of

[1] Abs. No. 3773.

> ye Church, the reason of wch was because the church was not large enough to contain ye hearers, which sometimes amounted to 3 or 4000 people. That his defence was so clear and satisfying that the Bp declar'd he was willing Mr. Jones should preach any where, having an invitation from the Min^r^ of ye place. That Mr. Jones is very importunate with him to procure some more Bibles and other good Books from Mr. Auditor Harley, to whom he desires a tender of that charitable request may be made with his humble service."[1]

From this time forward the relationship between the two reformers became very intimate. In 1716, Sir John placed Griffith Jones in the living of Llanddowror, and in 1720, Griffith Jones is married to Sir John's sister Margaret.[2] We have several letters of Sir John showing how he encouraged his young friend to take up the increasing burden of his own life—the moral reformation of his country. One of these letters must suffice here. Writing to Griffith Jones, in an undated letter, Sir John says:—

> "I believe that there has been scarcely any age, since the first publication of the Gospel, wherein men talked and wrote more irrationally (that is, on the subject of religion) and lived and acted more immorally, than at the present time. There might have been more superstition formerly; but now much more profaneness. O! my dear friend, let all the servants of God be exhorted (as the excellent Bishop of Sodor and Man used to do his auditory) to pray earnestly to God for those who do not pray for themselves, and to resolve with Joshua, that whether men will part with their idols or not, they themselves and their houses will continue to serve the Lord; and who knows how far their faithfulness and charity may prevail with God to withhold the vials of his wrath, ready to be poured out upon this rebellious nation."[3]

Now, it seems true to say, after the examination of the foregoing evidence, that Sir John Philipps had a powerful influence over Griffith Jones, who profoundly influenced the subsequent developments of the revival movement in Wales.

It seems equally true to say that Sir John's influence

[1] Abs. No. 4163.

[2] All the biographies of Griffith Jones call her the half sister of Sir John. This is an error. She was his sister.

[3] *Letters of the Rev. Griffith Jones*, 1832, pp. ix, x.

over the leaders of the revival movement in England was powerful and far-reaching.

In the year 1729, a small religious society was formed at Oxford. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the formation of this little society was a red-letter day in the history of this country, for it transformed the revival movement and the history of the world to a very large extent. At first it consisted of four members only, viz., William Morgan, commoner of Christ Church; Samuel Wesley, student of Christ Church; Robert Kirkam, of Merton; and John Wesley, Fellow of Lincoln. These young men were subsequently joined by John Gambold, servitor of Christ Church; John Clayton, of Brazenose; Benjamin Ingham, of Queen's; George Whitefield, servitor of Pembroke; and several others. The association of Sir John Philipps with these eminent leaders of revival and reform is alone a sufficient title for distinction. If we can in addition prove his influence over these Oxford Methodists, and his service to them, we shall make good his claim to a glory of which Welshmen, at any rate, may well be proud. The direct testimony of the leading Oxford Methodists, in their letters and journals, is sufficient to prove beyond doubt Sir John's beneficent influence over these revivalists during the most critical and formative period of their lives. At a time when the religious societies were regarded with jealousy, and their members with prejudice, and often with derision, he sustained these leaders of new movements with a liberality so noble and a hospitality so benevolent that must have left a deep impression on their minds. It is no wonder, then, that they always mention his name, and his acts of kindness to them, with deep affection.

It is very difficult to determine the time when Sir John began to encourage and support the Oxford Religious

Society. It is very probable that he knew several of its members before the formation of the society in 1729. John Gambold, for instance, who entered Christ Church College in Oct. 1726, hailed from Sir John's own county—Pembrokeshire—and was a brilliant son of his first schoolmaster at Llanychaer and afterwards at Puncheston, viz., William Gambold, the author of a Welsh Grammar, who subsequently became the rector of these parishes. William Gambold was a schoolmaster and clergyman after Sir John's heart, a man of "unaffected piety and purity of manners". It is certain that Gambold and his two sons, John and William, both of whom became great scholars and great revivalists, knew Sir John's "constant course of private donations". John Gambold joined the Oxford Methodists in March 1730.[1] John Clayton, who entered Brazenose in 1725, became a member of the "holy club" in April 1732.[2] A letter from Clayton to John Wesley, dated from "Oxon, Aug. 1, 1732", proves that both Wesley and Clayton were on terms of close friendship with Sir John before that date; he writes:—

> "I hope you will not forget to pay my due compliments to Sir John Philipps, Mr. Wogan, and all my other good friends."[3]

Benjamin Ingham also joined the band in the year 1732. He was one of the Missioners to Georgia in 1735. On the Sunday before he embarked, viz., Oct. 12, 1735, he writes of his visit to Sir John in these words:—

> "Thence I went to Sir John Philipps, a very worthy gentleman, and a devout Christian, who showed me a great deal of respect, and did me many favours when I was in London, where, having exhorted one another, we kneeled down to pray, and so parted."[4]

---

[1] *The Works of John Gambold*, 1789, p. ii.

[2] John Wesley's letter to R. Morgan, sen., in *Wesley's Works*, vol. i, pp. 13, 14.

[3] Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists*, p. 29.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

Another event occurred at this time which profoundly affected the course of the revival movement. The Governors and Trustees of the new Colony of Georgia persuaded John and Charles Wesley and Benjamin Ingham to go as Missioners to that Settlement, and on the 14 Oct. 1735, they left London in a boat for Gravesend to embark on the transport ship Simmonds for Georgia.[1] Sir John Philipps was deeply interested in the promotion of that philanthropic Settlement, mainly composed of discharged prisoners and Salzburg fugitives. The story is too long to relate here. It is an error to say that the Society at Oxford "practically collapsed" when John and Charles Wesley left Oxford in 1735.[2] The leadership was for the time entrusted to Richard Morgan, a pupil of John Wesley, and a brother of William Morgan, one of the first members. It is difficult to say whether these Morgans were remotely connected with the Principality or not. Tyerman, the historian of the Oxford Methodists, confuses several Morgans in his various accounts.[3] William Morgan, the first Oxford Methodist died in Sept. 1732.[4] Richard, his brother, entered Lincoln College on the 23 Nov. 1733.[5] Richard Morgan writes to John Wesley from Oxon, Nov. 27, 1735:

> "I do not doubt but we shall be able to send you a colony of thorough good Christians. I have undertaken the care of Bocardo. I go there three days in the week, and Mr. Broughton a fourth, etc."[6]

In this letter he expressed an earnest desire to go to Georgia,[7] but his father ordered him "to study physic at

[1] *Wesley's Journal*, vol. i, under the date.

[2] Perry's *History of the English Church*, 2nd Ed., vol. iii, p. 63, and Lecky's *History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii, p. 553.

[3] Compare Tyerman's *Whitefield*, vol. i, pp. 14, 56, 173, and 174.

[4] Tyerman's *Wesley*, vol. i, p. 84.

[5] Foster's *Alumni Oxon.*

[6] Tyerman's *Wesley*, vol. i, p. 131.

[7] C. H. Cruikshank's *History of Methodism in Ireland*, vol. i, p. 12.

Leyden."[1] He married soon afterwards and lived in Ireland. Wesley visited him in 1769.[2] The object of this elucidation is to prove Sir John's interest, influence, and services to the movement at a critical period in its history. When Richard Morgan was about to leave Oxford, George Whitefield assumed the leadership of the Oxford Society. George Whitefield entered Pembroke College on the 7th Nov. 1732, and joined the Oxford Methodists early in 1735. He left Oxford in 1735, and returned again early in 1736. He shall now tell his own story of the circumstances of his return :—

> "But when I came to Oxford, my friends there urged several reasons for my continuing at the University. The 'Mr. Wesleys had not long gone abroad, and now no one was left to take care of the prison affairs,' etc. They further urged that God blessed my endeavours *there* as well as at Gloucester; that the University was the fountain head; that every gownsman's name was legion; and that if I should be made instrumental of converting one of *them*, it would be as much as converting a whole parish. At the same time, unknown to me, some of them sent to that great and good man, the late Sir John Philipps, who was a great encourager of the Oxford Methodists; and though he had never seen, but only heard of me, yet he sent word he would allow me £30 a year, if I would continue at the University. Upon this, finding the care of the prisoners would be no more than, under God, I could undertake with pleasure, and knowing the University was the best place to prosecute my studies, I resolved, God willing, to wait at Oxford a blessing on the first fruits of my ministerial labours."[3]

In a letter to John Wesley, dated London, Sept. 2, 1736, Whitefield informs Wesley that Richard Morgan had recommended him to Sir John Philipps, and praises the faithful support of Sir John Philipps to the Oxford Methodists at this period :—

> "The Lord put it into the heart of our dear friend Mr. Morgan to inform Sir John Philipps of our affairs; who immediately sent

---

[1] Letter of Hutton to J. Wesley in Tyerman's *Wesley*, vol. i, p. 132.

[2] *Wesley's Journal*, July 15.

[3] "A Short Account of God's Dealings with George Whitefield." Tyerman's *Whitefield*, vol. i, pp. 42, 43.

me word that he would allow me £30 a year, if I would continue at Oxford and superintend the affairs of the Methodists. Providence directed me to accept of his kind offer; accordingly I preach every Sunday to the prisoners, and follow your steps as close as possible. . . . . Sir John Philipps is very much in our interest, and a blessed instrument of supplying our wants, and of encouraging us in our weak endeavours to promote the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."[1]

This letter to Wesley was written during Whitefield's first visit to London. Whitefield met Sir John Philipps for the first time on this occasion. He records the event as follows:—

"In the evening [of Aug. 4, 1736] I reached the Tower, and was kindly received by my dear friend [Thomas Broughton]. The remainder of the week was spent in visiting Sir John Philipps, etc., who were very glad to see me."[2]

He returned to Oxford early in October 1736. The Religious Society during that winter met at his room, and it flourished as it had done under Wesley's superintendence.

"Several dear youths were quickened greatly, and met daily at my room to build up each other in their most holy faith."[3]

These young men were supported in the University by Sir John Philipps, Sir John Thorold, and Lady Betty Hastings. In the following account Whitefield refers to these, and especially to Sir John's further support to himself.

"God raised up friends for our temporal support. The late Honourable Betty Hastings, that elect lady, allowed some of them two or three small exhibitions. I also partook of her ladyship's bounty; and a gentleman, whose heart was in an especial manner knit to me when in London, was stirred up, without being solicited, to send me, not only money for the poor, but also a sufficiency to discharge debts I had contracted for books before I took my degree. Upon his recommendation, also, I was chosen a corresponding member of the Society for Promoting Christian Know-

[1] Tyerman's *Whitefield*, vol. i, pp. 56-57.

[2] *Further Account of God's dealings with George Whitefield*, 1747, p. 7. Tyerman's *Whitefield*, vol. i, p. 55.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 9. Tyerman's *Whitefield*, p. 57.

ledge,[1] which I rejoiced in, as it gave me an opportunity of procuring books at a cheap and easy rate for the poor people."[2]

Charles Wesley returned from Georgia in 1736. Two days after his arrival in London, he visited Sir John Philipps, whose house in London seems to have been the sanctuary of the leaders of religious and moral reform in this and other countries during this time. The record of this visit is preserved in *Charles Wesley's Journal*:—

"1736, December 6. I waited upon good old Sir John Philipps who received me as one alive from the dead. Here I heard a most blessed account of our friends at Oxford; their increase both in zeal and number."[3]

There is a note in *The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon*, to the effect that Sir John Philipps was one of the first members of the Methodist Society at Fetter Lane.[4] Now, "the little Society", which afterwards met in Fetter Lane began at the Rev. Mr. Hutton's house in College Street, Westminster, on May 1st, 1738.[5] Sir John Philipps died on January 5, 1736-7. The Methodist-

[1] The authors of *Two Hundred Years* are inaccurate in the following statement:—"When the religious meetings at Oxford—began in 1729—issued in the movement (1738) headed by John Wesley and George Whitefield, the S.P.C.K. did not take the side of the innovators, but rather opposed them, as we gather from its publications at the time. It was adverse to "enthusiasm", and one is prepared to find no representative of Mr. Wesley's School on its list of members. Although John Wesley's father had been a member of the Society until his death (1735), neither of his sons, John or Charles, appear on its lists. The name of Fletcher of Madely, Grimshaw of Haworth, Berridge of Everton, and Whitefield are likewise absent. The Society, like the rulers of the Church, was under the deadening influence of the Whig policy," pp. 127-8.

John Wesley was made a member of the Society on August 3rd, 1732, *Tyerman's Wesley*, vol. i, p. 83.

The Society supplied Wesley and Whitefield with books for the poor, and for the prisoners at Oxford.

[2] Tyerman's *Whitefield*, vol. i, 58.

[3] *Charles Wesley's Journal*, vol. i, p. 56.

[4] Vol. i, p. 77.

[5] *John Wesley's Journal*, under date.

Moravian Society formed on May 1st, 1738, was really a reconstruction, under the guidance of John Wesley and Peter Böhler, of one of the older religious societies, a society over which the Rev. Mr. Hutton had presided for many years. John Wesley preached to this society in 1735, from the text "One thing is needful"; and his sermon was the means of the conversion of James Hutton, the eminent Moravian, and of his sister.[1] Sir John Thorold and Sir John Philipps were members of this older society. In a letter written by Sir John Thorold to John Wesley, dated from "St. James's Palace, May 24, 1736", he informs Wesley that:—

> "Sir John Philipps has been for several weeks hindred from attending the Societies, by reason of sickness, and infirmities."[2]

The inference from the foregoing testimonies is clear and convincing. Sir John Philipps was a friend and patron of some of the members of the Oxford Methodist Society before its formation in 1729; John and Charles Wesley were on terms of close intimacy with Sir John before 1735; when the Wesleys left Oxford for Georgia, Richard Morgan was entrusted by John Wesley with the superintendence of the society and its prison work; Richard Morgan knew Sir John, and when his father insisted upon his going to Leyden to study physic, he wrote to him recommending young Whitefield as his successor; Sir John offered Whitefield an annuity of £30, and more if necessary, whilst he would remain at Oxford; from 1735 to 1737, Sir John became the chief patron of the Oxford Society and its young members, supplying nearly all their wants; his house in London became during this period the meeting-place and asylum of all the young leaders of the new Oxford movement which forms an epoch in English history. It is difficult to estimate Sir John's influence over these young

[1] Tyerman's *Wesley*, vol. i, p. 108. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 132.

men during this critical period of their lives, but we are safe in saying that it was powerful, for all agree in specially emphasising his strong personality, his saintly character, and his genuine anxiety and efforts to promote the revival of religion and the moral reformation of the people. They found in him a father, who had been engaged in the movement for over a quarter of a century, full of wisdom and practical experience. His encouragement, example, and protection was instrumental in inspiring them to activities along many separate and varied lines of action.

A friend and patron of John and Charles Wesley, the founders of Wesleyan Methodism; of George Whitefield, the founder of Calvinistic Methodism; of John Gambold, the eminent Moravian bishop and poet; of Benjamin Ingham and John Clayton; and of Griffith Jones, Llanddowror, the Welsh Church Evangelical revivalist, and founder of the Circulating School movement in Wales, etc., deserves better fame than he has hitherto obtained among his own countrymen. I have dwelt on this aspect of Sir John's life and work for the reason that all his religious and philanthropic efforts were entirely due to his religious motives.

2.—The Societies for the Reformation of Manners.

The Societies for the Reformation of Manners were offshoots of the Religious Societies. They came into existence about 1692. Queen Mary addressed a letter to the Justices of the Peace of Middlesex, on July 9, 1691, recommending the administration of the laws "against profaning the Lord's Day, drunkenness, profane swearing and cursing, and all other lewd, enormous, and disorderly practices". In January 1692, the King issued a proclamation against vice and immorality. The first Society for the Reformation of Manners was formed to secure the objects aimed at in these

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

royal proclamations. A central organisation was afterwards established, composed of the leading men of London, Members of Parliament, eminent lawyers, magistrates, etc., who banded themselves together to inform and secure information against the transgressors of the laws of the realm. They agreed to pay over the fines to charities, and to defray all the expenses of prosecutions from the subscriptions of the members. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the leaders of the denominations encouraged and stimulated the clergy to join these societies. The association of Churchmen and Dissenters in this work, although objectionable to some, was an effective agency for spreading the spirit of toleration which was characteristic of this period. Sir John Philipps was one of the leading and most active members of the central organisation for the Reformation of Manners, and a large subscriber to its funds from its commencement. The short notice of his death in *The Gentleman's Magazine* records that he was "one of ye Society for Reformation of Manners."[1] Affiliated societies were organised throughout the land.

These societies were formed in many of the counties and towns of Wales. Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire had both central and local associations as early as 1699. The first record is a letter addressed to Sir John Philipps, dated Nov. 29, 1699, from Pembroke, which "Saith, the Clergy are zealous to promote Reformation, and intend to unite very speedily".[2] Another letter from Carmarthen is worth quoting in full:—

> "(Lay) Mr. Lloyd, of Alty Cadno, Carmarthenshire, South Wales, to Mr. Chamberlayne, Aug. 1st, 1700. That the Clergy and Members of his Society are much encouraged by their Correspondence wth this Society. Himself gratefully accepts the Correspondence, & promises his best assistance. That some of the prime Clergy are cautious abt Associating, he Supposes they

[1] *Gent. Mag.*, 1737, p. 60. [2] Abs. 4.

> delay it till the Bishop is appointed. That some cavil at the word Association, & that has retarded several Gentlemen. That they are so dispersed that they have few meetings unless accidentally, and some promise to do their Duty without entering into any Society, & those that have entered themselves do meet once a month or Six Weeks. That the proceedings at the Quarter Sessions hath had a visible effect on the Gentry. That the Design of Schools is most likely to take effect, when the Manners of the people are reformed which they are now endeavouring. That he will from time to time give account to the Society of their success & difficulties."[1]

Another letter from Carmarthen, dated 19 May 1701, is a fair example of the reports of the effects of these associated efforts to reform the manners of the Welsh people at this time :—

> "There are some Societies for Reformation of Manners which have been so successful, that Drunkenness, Swearing, Profanation of the Lord's Day, &c., are generally suppress'd and the State of Religion very much mended."[2]

The movement created and circulated its own literature, and the amount dispersed was immense.[3] The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge rivalled the Society for the Reformation of Manners in its promotion of this movement, and particularly in the circulation of special literature. The first step taken by the S.P.C.K. to provide Welsh literature was an order for the translation of pamphlets relating to this crusade against immorality and law breaking. The following Minute is recorded under 24 February 1700-1 :—

[1] Abs. 146. [2] *Ibid.* 299.

[3] The following is an example of one distribution in London and Westminster:—

> "Mr. Serjeant Hooke reported that the Society for Reformation of Manners had dispersed about thirty thousand printed Papers throughout all the publick Houses in and about London and Westminster, and that these Papers were well received in all these Houses, tho' between six and seaven thousand in number, except in about twenty of them."—*Minutes of S.P C.K.*, June 16, 1701.

"Ordered that Dr. Evans be desired to find out a fitt person who may translate into Welch the following Books and Papers, vizt.:—

"1. A Perswasive towards the Observation of the Lord's Day.[1]
"2. The Caution against Swearing.[2]
"3. The Caution against Drunkenness.
"4. A Rebuke to uncleanness."[1]

The circulation of so much literature, and the prosecution of so many persons for Sunday trading, profane swearing and cursing, drunkenness, and immorality, must have done an appreciable amount of good in preparing the way for the great revival. Sir John warmly advocated and supported this movement with his purse, and by his own noble example. Defoe attacked the movement, and suggested to the superior classes to try the effect of a little good example in reforming their inferiors. Sir John's actions could not be taunted thus; he attacked the vices of the upper, as well as the lower classes. We have one striking example of this; for some reason Mr. Harcourt, Clerk of the Peace for Middlesex, had challenged Sir John to a duel. Sir John, in a dignified manner, refused the challenge, in spite of the greatest provocation. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge sent him a vote of thanks on that occasion in the following words:— "Resolv'd that the thanks of this Society be given to Sir

[1] No. 1 and 4 of these were translated by Sion Rhydderch at the request of John Vaughan of Derllys under the following title:—

"Cilgwth neu Ergyd at Halogedigaeth. Ymmha un yr Annogir hen ac Jeuaingc i gwbl ymroi i wellhâad Buchedd, Gan droi at yr Arglwydd Mewn pryd, cyn iddo ef dywallt ei Farnedigaethau trymmion yn ein herbyn: Ynghyd a chymhelliad diragrith i gadw 'n Sanctaidd y Dydd Sabboth, neu un Dydd mewn saith; yr hyn a Orchymmynodd yr Hollalluog i gadw ai dreulio'n ddilwgr; Troseddiad pa un yw 'r Mwyaf O Bechodau ein cydwladwyr y *Cymru*. O gyfieithaad ac Argraphiad John Rhydderch. Ac ar Werth ganddo ef."—Ashton, *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymreig*, t. 201.

[2] "Na thwng ddim." Llundain 1703. *Llyfr Cym.* 272 and 283.

John Philipps for the Noble and Christian Example he has shown in refusing a Challenge after the Highest Provocation Imaginable, and that the Lord Guilford be pleased to acquaint him therewith."[1]

3.—Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Sir John Philipps was one of the earliest and most distinguished members. This venerable Society was established on March 8, 1699, by Lord Guilford, Sir Humphrey Mackworth, Justice Hook, Dr. Thomas Bray, and Colonel Colchester.[2] The two main objects to which the new Society immediately addressed itself were the establishment of Charity-schools and the circulation of religious books.

On April 5, 1699, the new Society "Resolv'd that Sir John Philipps and Mr. Yates be desired to be Members of this Society, as also Mr. Martyn".[3] This was the first requisition for additional members, and it will be noticed that Sir John was the first name added. He was, therefore, all but one of the original founders. His first attendance and payment were made on Oct. 11, 1699. From this date forward, it is no exaggeration to say that Sir John was one of the most active and liberal members of the Society. The Minutes and Correspondence show that he was, by turns, elected to its honorary offices, and was from time to time entrusted with much executive work requiring personal weight, and skilful negotiation, in its prosecution. What he was to the Society is admirably described in the resolution of the Committee on hearing of his death. They express their "great concern for the loss of a Gentleman who had so many years been the Ornament, and in a great measure the

[1] *Minutes of S.P.C.K.*, 21 Dec. 1699. [2] *Minutes* under date. [3] *Ibid.*

Support, of the Society; and to whose Example, liberal contributions, and indefatigable endeavours, the success which by the Blessing of God, the Society had met with was very much owing".[1]

Sir John took an active share in every branch of the Society's work at home and abroad. He contributed liberally to its various enterprises. Still, it is true to say that he was more specially interested in promoting its work in Wales. The prominent part which he took in the organisation and support of the work of this Society in Wales, is one of the first among his many claims to be remembered. Before I proceed to exhibit his special interest and labours in promoting its work in Wales by a series of extracts from the records of the Society, it will be interesting to give a selection of extracts to illustrate his interest in its general work.

We find that on March 10, 1700-1, the Society—

> "Order'd that Sr John Philipps be desired to speak to Sr George Rook [Admiral Rook, who captured Gibraltar in 1704] about dispersing the Seaman's Monitor, together with the Kind Caution against Swearing, and the Perswasive to the Observation of the Lord's Day amongst the Saylors in his Majesty's Navy."

And, it was reported in the next meeting, on March 17, 1700-1—

> "That Sr John Philipps has spoken to Sr George Rook about dispersing the Seaman's Monitor, &c., amongst the Seamen, which Sr George ha's readily promised to do to the utmost of his power."

It is interesting to learn that Sir John was the first to suggest the establishment of the Westminster Workhouse. The London Workhouse in Bishopsgate St. was one of the first of these institutions, and as a social reformer, Sir John had been deeply interested in the experiment. On March 2, 1703-4, we read that—

[1] *Minutes*, Jan. 11, 1736-7.

"Mr. Nelson acquainted the Society that he had recd a letter from Sr John Philipps, wherein he propose's the Erection of a like Workhouse in the Liberty of Westminster, as ha's been Erected in the City of London, he being of opinion that the same Act of Parliament which empower'd the City of London to set up such a Workhouse, extend's also to the Liberty of Westminster."

The following is a further example of his genuine sympathy with the poor. At the Committee on January 24, 1705-6—

"Sir John Philipps moved that a Poor's Box may be sett up in some convenient place at the Societie's Meetings where such Gentlemen as are so disposed may putt in their Charity with Secrecy: especially since it appear's that great mercy may be shewed to the poor, with small sums of money, which motion was refer'd to the Standing Committee; And the Committee is also to consider of some proper Book which may with advantage be putt into the hands of poor people, lately redeem'd from Prison."

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes drove hundreds of thousands of French Protestants into exile. Many of the refugees came into this country. The story of their settlement, churches, and industries is an interesting chapter in English history. Sir John Philipps for many years led, in this country, in providing hospitality and in relieving the poorer classes of these persecuted people. He introduced a Bill to naturalise foreign Protestants into Parliament;[1] this passed into an Act of Parliament in 1712.[2] When the Palatine Christians were exiled in 1709, and the Queen voted a sum of money to support them, Sir John was one of the Commissioners who were appointed by Letters Patent under the Great Seal.[3] He was also one of the leading supporters of the Salzburgers, and contributed largely to the fund for settling them in Georgia. There are many references in these records to Sir John's philanthropic work among these refugees.

[1] *A Chapter in English Church History*, p. 2.

[2] *A Letter to Sir John Philipps, Bart., occasion'd by a Bill brought into Parliament to Naturalise Foreign Protestants.* London, 1747.

[3] *Two Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 386-7.

He was greatly interested in foreign missions. Reference has already been made to his efforts to persuade Griffith Jones to go to Malabar as a schoolmaster under the Danish missionaries. He writes to the Society on the 13 Sept. 1711 :—

> "That if a present of the Portuguese Testamt were made to the more considerable Benefactors to ye Malabar Mission, as also to the E. India Company, and Portuguese Merchts, whether it might not be of Service to ye Designe."[1]

On the 7 Oct. 1729, he writes and

> "Encloses a Bill for £100 on Mr. Herne toward the support of Mr. Schultze[2] from a private Benefactor."[3]

This private benefactor, we presume, was Sir John himself, for he generally concealed his name in cases of large donations.

He was a great supporter of the Arabic impression of the New Testament published by the Society. He writes on the 17 July 1725 :—

> "Recommending it to ye Society in order to gain Sir Robert Walpole's good offices for procuring the King's Bounty to ye Arabick Impression, to draw up a fresh representation of that undertaking and to lay it before Sir Robert, and to present him with a Copy of the largest Arabick Psalter, finely bound, and a copy of ye Extracts of Letters relating to the Impression; and at the same time humbly to put Sir Robert in mind of his kind promise to him[4] about that affair."[5]

The Society had supplied Wales with a large impression of the whole Bible in 1717-8. The Principality responded worthily to its appeal for subscriptions to print this Arabic New Testament. The following is one example out of many :—

[1] Abs. 2,801.

[2] Benjamin Schultze, the Danish missionary, and the famous Indian linguist.

[3] Abs. 10,450.

[4] Sir John was uncle to Sir Robert Walpole's Lady.

[5] Abs. 8,361.

"Tho. Richards at Llanfyllin Montgomrᵉ 16th Decr 1726. That towards encouraging the Impression of the N. Test. in Arabick he has not been able to collect in near 2 years time more than 16*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* wch with his own makes the whole 17*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* which he will return in a short time."[1]

The first attempts of the Society to introduce hymns and popular sacred melodies into the services of the Churches in England and Wales were zealously opposed. Sir John, however, was in this, as in other matters, on the side of reform. He writes on the 27 July 1729:—

"That he can't comply with those Gentlemen's sentiments, who object against the last paragraph in the Society's Circular Letter relating to Divine Musick, and gives many reasons for the same, and quotes several Texts, both in the Old and New Testaments, of the good effect Divine Hymns have had, and how acceptable they are to Almighty God &c."[2]

His son, John Philipps, writes further on this subject, on July 31, 1729:—

"That as to the last paragraph in the letter, he is very sensible the corruption of youth is not a little owing to prophane and loose Songs and Ballads, and wishes there could be a composition of wholesome and pious authors in their room, and if any Member of the Society is engaged in an undertaking of that nature he shall readily subscribe for a quarter of a hundred to disperse occasionally."[3]

The records of the Society are full of references to Sir John's great work for education. He was one of the most progressive educationists on its Committee. He made several attempts to establish a training institution for teachers. On the 25 Oct. 1708 "he proposed a method for training up Schoolmasters for yᵉ Charity-Schools". This was referred to a committee, which reported on Nov. 11, 1708, that "The Society agreed that Mr. Skeate and Mr. Gardner be desired to favour the Committee with their company to consider of Sʳ John's 1st Proposal, for training up Schoolmasters for Charity-Schools".[4]

[1] Abs. 9,092. [2] *Ibid.* 10,278. [3] *Ibid.* 10,301. [4] *Minutes*, Nov. 11, 1708.

The Committee decided against his proposal on the 18 Nov. 1708, on account of the expense.

On the 13 Sept. 1711, he writes to the Society:—

> "That some passages in Dr. Snape's Sermon seem to countenance the design of introducing Xtian Authors into Grammar Schools as p'ticularly in page 25 & 26 which he recommends to the Society's serious consideration."[1]

He pursues this subject further in a letter dated 22 Sept. 1711, in which he desires

> "To congratulate the Society on her Majties late gracious Letter to both the A. Bps, which if duly attended to and comply'd with by the persons concern'd therein would render us the happiest nation upon earth. That he can't but observe what encouragemt there is given in this Letter to the design of recommending Xtian Authors to Grammar Schools when we are so plainly told in it:—*That the pious Instruction & Education of Children (in general) is the surest way of preserving & propagating the knowledge & practice of true religion &c.* which with relation to ye Charity-Schools is there called *an excellent work*. That he is so much affected with what her Majtie and Dr. Snape have sd upon this subject, that he can't forbear any longer to propose the reprinting an excellt Latin Author hardly known in this Kingdom vizt Cœlius Sedulius. It contains the Mirabilia Divina of the Old and New Testamt and at the close of every Story or Miracle will be found some bright thought of the Author's. 'Tis in Hexameter, wrote in imitation of Virgil. That it is a small Book and a large impression will not cost much. That he thinks the Society cannot well bestow a little money to more advantage than by printing and recommending this Book to the Teachers of Grammar Schools thro'out the Kingdom."[2]

On the 20 October 1711, he writes:—

> "That Dr. Snape's promotion to the Mastership of Eaton School is a very happy incident, and may conduce much to ye adopting of Xtian Authors into such Seminarys."[3]

On the 3 Jan. 1711-2, he writes to congratulate the Society on its despatch of so many references:—

> "And that he hopes they will now have time to consider of the method of recommending Xtian authors to Grammar Schools: That our Learned Seminaries seem to have forgot the main end of

---

[1] Abs. 2,801. [2] *Ibid.* 2,802. [3] *Ibid.* 2,854.

their institution wch undoubtedly was to instruct our youth in the Xtian, and not in the pagan Philosophy and Religion; that the former is a solid and substantial thing leading to inward peace & comfort among all ye difficulties of this world, and to everlasting Glory in the life to come, but the other without this is vain and empty, good for nothing but to put mankind up & swell yt pride wch already burns too fiercely in human nature."[1]

When the Society proposed to publish the first part of Munro's *Work on Education*, Sir John writes, on Jan. 10, 1711-2 :—

"That he is very much pleas'd to hear that the Society have under consideration the printing of the first part of Mr. Munro's Book of Education by itself. That if it be resolv'd on he supposes ye worthy Author is to be made acqted wth the Designe, and yt the Society's affaires would receive a manifest advantage by corresponding with a person that has so distinguished himself from other writers by engaging the youth in an early piety."[2]

He writes again on May 26, 1712 :—

"That he is glad to understand Mr. Munro's Book is order'd to the press, and he hopes the number will be increased to 1500."[3]

Our last extract under this head is from a letter dated 20 Sept. 1712, in which Sir John says :—

"That he has lately heard that the Society of Schoolmasters in London was like to drop for want of some assistance, & therefore he recommends it to the Society to consider whether it would not be worth their while to abridge their expence in some branch of their design as could best admit of it, to support a Society which seems to promise most happy consequences, and instances one branch of the Society's expense as what may bear to be abridged, namely, the printing a less number of the larger Accounts of Charity Schools: that as the case now stands the most effectual way to raise more Schools is to take care of those already erected: that they be frequently visited by the Reverend Clergy and other sober Trustees and Contributors; that the Children be strictly examin'd as to their proficiency not only in reading and having their Catechism by heart, but also in the right understanding & sincere humble practice of what they know; & that the Masters and Mistresses be seriously admonished of their great Trust, & exhorted to be faithful to it, on which (under God) depends all hopes of good success."[4]

[1] Abs. 2,940. [2] *Ibid.* 2,942. [3] *Ibid.* 3,083. [4] *Ibid.* 3.254.

To Sir John Philipps belongs the honour of first directing the attention of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to the Principality, and the credit of encouraging its first efforts to supply the needs of its poor inhabitants. In his advocacy of the claims of the poor people of Wales on the new society, he was nobly supported by a number of influential and patriotic Welshmen, who, happily for Wales, were among its early members and correspondents. Of these, the most notable were Sir Humphrey Mackworth, one of the five original founders; Dr. John Evans, the auditor of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; Bishops W. Lloyd, of Worcester, John Evans, of Bangor, and Humphrey Humphreys, of Bangor and of Hereford; Dr. John Jones, Dean of Bangor; John Vaughan, of Derllys, the father of Madam Bevan; Griffith Jones, of Llanddowror; and Moses Williams. A full account of the labours of the Society in Wales, in association with these and other eminent Welshmen, during the lifetime of Sir John Philipps, would form one of the most romantic chapters in its early history. These early labours, which mark an epoch in the history of Wales, were conducted along the lines of the Society's work in other parts. They comprised the organisation of the Principality into districts for the purpose of correspondence; and into voluntary associations and bands for various designs; the erection of charity-schools; the provision of parochial and diocesan libraries, and the distribution of good books.

The charity-school movement will be noticed separately. The influential part which Sir John Philipps took in the organisation of Wales into districts for the purpose of correspondence, and into voluntary associations of various kinds for the cultivation and support of the devotional life, and the promotion of good works, has been touched upon

already. I shall only add a word here on the historical significance of this part of the Society's work in Wales. It deserves more attention than it has received. The religious status of Wales in the beginning of the eighteenth century was in many respects far from ideal. The state of religion in the Established Church in Wales in this period was undoubtedly very unsatisfactory from many points of view. Nevertheless, the state of things in the Principality was not so bad as they are imagined to be by our historians. The truth is, our historians have not yet written the history of this period from original sources. The period is not yet properly understood, and therefore is not properly appreciated. Besides, what Mark Pattison said in his essay on the "Tendencies of Religious Thought in England", which appeared in the famous *Essays and Reviews* in 1860, is still true of Welsh ecclesiastical history:—"We have not yet learnt, in this country, to write our ecclesiastical history on any better footing than that of praising up the party, in or out of the Church, to which we happen to belong."[1] The Evangelicals and the Methodists of Wales revolted against the spirit of the eighteenth century, and they have made a byeword of it by pouring unmeasured contempt upon it by way of contrast with the spirit of their own movements. Their grotesque representations of the moral condition of Wales, and the condition of the Established Church in Wales during the period preceding the Methodist movement, have been hitherto accepted as historic truth. And there are no symptoms that the period of passionate hostility to the eighteenth century is at an end, for in the short *History of Wales*, by Mr. Owen Edwards, just issued, we read:—

"The eighteenth century was a century of indifference in

[1] *Essays by Mark Pattison*, vol. ii, p. 43.

> religion in Wales, the nineteenth century was a century of enthusiasm. The church at the beginning of the eighteenth century, at any rate as far as the higher clergy were concerned, was apathetic to religion and alive only to selfish interests. The Whig bishops were appointed for political reasons; they hated the Tory principles of the Welsh squires, and they neglected and despised the Welsh people they had never tried to understand. In England, the Defoes and the Swifts of literature were encouraged and utilised by the political parties; in Wales, where clergymen were the only writers, the Whig bishops distrusted them, and silenced them where they could, because they wrote Welsh. The Church did not show more misapplication of revenue than the State, perhaps; but, while the people could not leave the State as a protest against corruption, they could leave the Church. And during the middle of the eighteenth century, a great national awakening began. The trumpet blast of the awakening was Howel Harris."[1]

One could easily quote a lot of this kind of thing, always beginning and ending in the same strain, with this little, but important, variation, that a strong Evangelical always burns incense before the shrine of Griffith Jones rather than that of Howel Harris.

The official records of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge appended to this paper contain sufficient fresh evidence to alter these findings, and to substitute for a theory based on hearsay evidence, one founded on facts.

The Society's minutes and correspondence show that very early in the eighteenth century the whole Principality was rapidly organised into districts for the purposes of correspondence with the Society. By means of its correspondents the Society distributed its circulars and its packets of books. That the circulation of its literature stimulated the clergy and laymen of the Welsh Church to unite themselves for the promotion of religion, and to a reformation of some of their obsolete methods of conducting public and private worship; that it introduced to the

[1] Pp. 103-4.

Clergy and Laity of Wales new and more popular methods; that it directed their united energies into new channels of work—all these things are abundantly clear from the records.

As early as November 18, 1701—

> "Sr John Phillips reported that he had lately received a Letter sign'd by 31 Divines and Lay Gentlemen, some of them Correspondents with this Society, desiring the Ld Arch Bishop of Canterbury to issue out his Circular Letter to the Clergy of the Diocess of St. Davids enjoyning them upon all occasions to excite the Gentry to promote the Erection of Charity-Schools, the Catechising of youth, and Family Devotion at least twice a day. Also that his Grace had been pleased to promise to issue out such a Circular Letter within a fortnight."

This sort of record does not betoken utter "indifference to religion" or the utter "apathy of the clergy" in Wales, even at this early stage of this "century of indifference in religion in Wales". Many others of a similar nature may be read in the appendices to this paper.

One of the main objects to which the society addressed itself in Wales was the distribution of good books. As early as Feb. 24, 1700-1, the society ordered Dr. John Evans "to find out a fit person who may translate into Welch" four books and papers, already named. On the same date the society—

> "Ordered that Dr. Evans do bring to the next meeting a List of such Welch Books as are proper to be sent to the Correspondents in Wales."

This List was immediately drawn up and submitted.[1]

[1] The following is the List submitted by Dr. John Evans:—

"XXVIII. Dr. Evans's Catalogue of Books printed in the British Tongue, which he thinks proper to be sent to the Correspondents in Wales.

1.—Bishop Jewel's Apology.

2.—Dent's Plain Way to Heaven.

3.—Practice of Piety.

4.—Not mentioned.

5.—A.Bp. Usher's Method of Self-Examination.

Another "Catalogue of all Religious Books Printed in Welch" was drawn up for the Society in 1705, by Humphrey Humphreys, Bishop of Hereford, but I have failed to find it among its records.

The Society in its first years distributed all the suitable Welsh books it could lay hold of, and it very soon exhausted the sources of supply. There are records showing that its members bought up hundreds of copies of particular books

6.—A Discourse to the same purpose, Originally in Welch, by Mr. Owen, then sequester'd Vicar of Wrexham.
7.—Brough's Devotions.
8.—Quadriga Salutis, by Dr. Powel, originally in Welch, and by him Translated into English.
9.—Whole Duty of Man.
10.—Baxter's Call to the Unconverted.
11.—Mr. Gouge's Book.
12.—Shepherd's Sincere Convert.
13.—Several Small Tracts by Morgan Lloyd, originally in Welch.
14.—Hannes y Ffydd, originally in Welch.
15.—Bp. Griffyth on the Lord's Prayer, & on the Creed, originally in Welch.
16.—Bishop Ken on the Catechism.
17.—Oxford Catechism.
18.—Bp. Williams's Catechism.
19.—Plain Man's Way to Practise and Worship.
20.—A Dialogue between a Protestant & a Papist.
21.—Christian Monitor.
22.—Dr. Sherlock on Death.
23.—Bp. Prideaux's Euchologion.
24.—Vicar of Llanymddyfri's Religious Poems.
25.—Answers to the Excuses for not coming to Sacrament.
26.—Foulk Owen's Collection of Religious Poems.
27.—Tho. Jones's Collection of Religious Poems.
28.—Familiar Guide.
29.—Help to Beginners.
30.—Ashton's Methods of Dayly Devotion.
31.—Pastoral Letter.
32.—Dr. Beveridge's Sermon.
33.—The Best Companion.
34.—Unum Necessarium, A Discourse of Prayer, originally in Welch. There's now in the Press:—
35.—Bp. Taylor's Holy Living.
36.—Christian Guide.
37.—The Best Guide."

from authors and booksellers for free distribution in Wales. When the supply was entirely exhausted the Society encouraged the issue of new editions of the old standard devotional works, and set its members to inquire for unpublished works in manuscript, several of which were found and printed. It also promoted translations of suitable English books, and a large number of this class was published during this period. The story of this branch of the Society's work in Wales is a glorious chapter. I have written a brief account of it elsewhere.[1]

Sir John Philipps took a leading part in the promotion and support of this work. He was an indefatigable distributor of the Welsh Bible, Common Prayer, Psalter, and devotional books and tracts. The records show that he dispersed as many as one thousand copies of the Psalter in Welsh at one time, and at another a whole impression of a devotional work by Bishop Gibson translated into Welsh.

It is now impossible to estimate the amount of his benefactions in support of this important means of the reformation of the Welsh people, for Sir John had the habit of always concealing his name in the case of his larger benefactions.

His interest and share in this work will be best exhibited by another series of extracts from the records of the Society.

The following extract seems to suggest that Sir John and his friends in Pembrokeshire had started book distribution before the foundation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1699:—

> "Mr. John Laugharne from St. Brides, Pembrokeshire, Dec. 7, 1700: That a Society is begun in that County, of Magistrates, Clergy, &c. Sr John Philipps having been the first Mover, & that

[1] *Seren Gomer*, January 1904, pp. 1-32.

they have disposed of Some good Books among ye Poor, a Charity continued in that County for Some Years, and that they have some hopes of doing good."[1]

The minutes of the Society for the 13 January 1703-4 record that—

"Sr John Philipps desiring some of the Societies Books and Papers, he being about to return into Wales: the Treasurer was Order'd to furnish him."

On Thursday 27 April 1704—

"Sr John Philipps writing to Mr. Shute for a parcel of the Societies Books and Papers, Mr. Treasurer was order'd to send him a parcel whose value shall not exceed ten shillings."

19 July 1705—

"Another [Letter] from Sr John Philipps . . . . He wishes that more good Books may be translated into Welch; and that Lives of Good Men may be put into the Welch Libraries; and that a serious Treatise may be drawn up by way of Advice to all Schoolmasters, putting them in mind of their great Trust, etc."

In November 1705 the Society inquired "whether there be any Welch Common Prayers in a small volume", and on—

"6 Dec. 1705:—Mr. Fox certified the Society that upon inquiry he cannot meet with any Welch Common-Prayers in a small Volume. That Mr. Whitledge did disperse some Proposals for printing such a book, but did desist upon some notice he had that the Welch Bishops have this same matter under their consideration: whereupon, Sir John Philipps & Mr. Chamberlayne were desired to attend those Bps. in order to know what they have done in this affair, and also do desire the Ld. Bp. of Hereford to give them a List of Religious Books printed already in Welch.

"20 Dec. 1705:—Sir John Philipps reported that he had spoken to the Ld. Bps. of Hereford and Bangor, who were of opinion that the Welch Common Prayer might very well be printed in both great & small volumes, they being very much wanted, but did not say that they, or any other Bishops had that matter under their consideration."

On the—

"6 June 1706:—Sr J. Philipps proposed the buying a thousand of Mr Scougall's Life of God in the Soul of Man, since it may be

[1] Abs. No. 222.

thus bought at 6d. a book: which proposal was refer'd to the Standing Committee.

"Sr J. Philipps [also] proposed from the Standing Committee, that 'twas their opinion that the Secretary should be order'd to write to the Ld. Bp. of Hereford desiring his opinion whether Dr. Woodward's Confirmation, & Dr. Gibson's Family Prayer, may not be translated into Welch with good effect."

The following letter is a typical example of Sir John's method of promoting the work at this time :—

"Sir John Philipps 11 Aug. 1709 desiring that Mr. Williams, of Denbigh might be wrote to, to finish his Translation of Dr. Asheton's Treatise of the Sacrament into Welch. Mr. A. Deacon Tennison being dispos'd to give the value of 10*l.* in Carmarthensh. &c. in that book. And if he be not wrote to as from the Society, that the Secy. should write to him as from himself."[1]

The Society proposed, early in 1713, to print a new impression of 10,000 copies of the Welsh Bible. The Rev. Moses Williams was appointed editor and receiver. He spent a whole year in Wales, soliciting subscriptions towards this great undertaking. The work was successfully issued in 1717-8. Sir John Philipps liberally supported the Society in this work.

He writes to the Society from Picton Castle on the 28 Aug. 1714:—

"That ye Rev^{d} Mr. Williams did that week give him a visit and he had given him all the assistance he could, etc."[2]

Moses Williams writes to the Society on the same date, and says—

"That he had deliver'd the Society's recommendatory Letters with the Proposals for printing the Bible in Welch to all ye Correspondents in those parts with so good success that he had subscriptions for upwards of 300 copies, and has prospect of 500 more."[3]

The Society issued another impression of the Welsh Bible in 1727-8. Moses Williams had to stay in London on this occasion for some time to see the work through the

[1] Abs. 1,683. [2] Abs. 4,090. [3] Abs. 4,104.

Press. The Master of the Charterhouse offered him hospitality for the season.

Sir John writes to the Society on the 7 Oct. 1729, and—

> "Encloses a letter of thanks to the Master of the Charterhouse for his kindness to Mr. Williams."[1]

The Welsh impression of the Bible being successfully carried through, John Vaughan of Derllys, Carmarthenshire, the father of Madam Bevan, writes to Sir John Philipps on July 8, 1717—

> "Enclosing a Proposal which he formerly recommended to the Society for translating into Welch & publishing Dr. Gibson's, now Lord Bp. of Lincoln's, Exhortations to Family Devotions. That the subscriptions to the Bible in Welch being over, that design he conceives cannot be obstructed by promoting this as was intimated to him in answer to his last."

Part of the Proposal was as follows :—

> "Whereas the dispersing of small books of the same kind in Wales in the Welch Language, together with the addition of the Catechisme of the Church of England & Private Prayers for the use of Servants (who are upon diligent enquiry found over all the Countrey to be very ignorant of the said Catechisme & wholly unsupply'd with Private Prayers) and also at the end of the said book insert the Welch Alphabet, whereby Servants and others may the more easily learn to read, will in all probability be instrumental to promote the Knowledge of the Christian Religion, and the glory of God among many familys in Wales."[2]

Griffith Jones, Llanddowror, writes on 17 Sept. 1718—

> "That being informed that several Members of the Society have subscrib'd for a number of Welch Bibles, in order to distribute 'em among the poor, he recommends Carmarthenshire to their favour for a few, and if he may be entrusted with the distribution of them he'd pay the carriage, and return a faithfull acc^{t} of their disposal. That Sr John Philipps encourag'd him to move for some, and gave him leave to make use of his name: that Mr. H. Hoare promis'd upon Sr John's request to write to Mad^{m} Collins of Worcester about this affair who has subscrib'd for a considerable number, and he hopes will be prevail'd upon to bestow some among the poor in his neighbourhood."[3]

---

[1] Abs. 10,450. [2] Abs. 5,287. [3] Abs. 5,691.

Griffith Jones, Llanddowror, writes to the Society again on 10 April 1719—

> "That those Bibles which Sir John Philipps gave among his poor Tenants in that neighbourhood & elsewhere prevailed with many to learn to read, that before could not, and in some other respects to reform. That what Bibles can be procured for him either gratis or at prime cost, may be sent by water as Mr. Beale's 10 are, under cover to Mr. Philipps at Picton Castle."[1]

John Vaughan, of Derllys, writes on 2 April 1720—

> "That he hopes Sir John Philipps will endeavour to procure some Welch Bibles for him from Auditor Harley."[2]

When the Society proposed the publication of the Vicar of Llandovery's Poems, Sir John writes from Picton Castle on the 7 of Oct. 1729—

> "That he thinks it advisable to consult the Welch Correspondents for subscriptions towards printing Mr. Prichard's Poems, and will endeavour to get some knowledge of before he leaves the country."[3]

On the 10th of Oct. 1729, Sir John writes—

> "That he has spoke with several of his countrymen about publishing the Bp. of London's Advice to Persons recover'd from Sickness in the Welch Language, and doubts not of its meeting with encouragement in those Counties where that language is more used than in Pembrokeshire, and thinks that the publication of that Treatise ought not to be neglected especially at this time when these parts have been signally visited with feaver and small pox. That a person of his acquaintance, he has reason to believe, will be at the charge of an Impression of 750 Copies."[4]

There can be very little doubt as to whom he refers in the last paragraph of the above letter.

Griffith Jones, Llanddowror, writes on 9 Nov. 1731—

> "Signifying that the 50 Welch Bibles are come safe to his hands & that he thanks S[r] John Philipps for his great Charity in paying for his quota for them."[5]

It is difficult to estimate the number of Bibles and other religious works which the Society and its members cir-

[1] Abs. 5,992. [2] Abs. 6,338. [3] Abs. 10,450. [4] Abs. 10,456. [5] Abs. 11,466.

culated throughout the Principality in this period. Thousands upon thousands were freely given away. John Vaughan, of Derllys, writes on the 8 March 1704-5, "certifying that the 5,000 of A.Bp. Tillotson's Perswasives, in Welch, lately transmitted to him, are all to be distributed in Carmarthenshire". When Moses Williams was peregrinating in the Principality in 1714 in search of subscriptions and benefactions to his edition of the Welsh Bible, the secretary of the Society writes to encourage him, that "one member of the Society had a commission to subscribe for 1,000 copies" for free distribution in Wales. Bishop Beveridge and Thomas Williams freely distributed many thousands of their books and pamphlets in the Diocese of St. Asaph. It would be easy to multiply similar examples from other dioceses; we must, however, close with one example of a general distribution of 2,000 "books of piety" in Wales, in which Sir John's interest and liberality is strikingly exhibited—

> "Sub-Committee at St. Dunstan's Coffeehouse, Thursday, 28 Mar. 1728-9.
>
> "Prest Sr John Philipps, Dr. Pardo, Mr. Maddox, Mr. J. Philipps, Mr. Thomas.
>
> "The gentlemen present considering of the reference to them from the Committee last Tuesday, and an account of the Welch Books in the Society Store being laid before them; agreed to recommend it to the Committee :—
>
> "1.—That the Benefactions to the Society amounting to 40*l.* reported by the Rev. Mr. Hales and Mr. Tillard, be laid out in Welch and English Bibles and Whole Duties of Man to be divided between the 12 Counties in Wales.
>
> "2.—That Sir John Philipps's Benefaction of 1,000 Welch Psalters be equally divided among the twelve Counties of Wales.
>
> "3.—That 300 Pastoral Letters, 300 Bp. of London's Family Prayer, 48 Husband's Manual, all in Welch, and 96 Husbandman's Manual, in English, be taken out of the Society Store and sent in equal proportions to the 12 Counties in Wales.
>
> "4.—That the said Books be divided in the following manner, and sent the following persons, viz. :—

"Rev. Mr. Jno. Pember, Rev. Mr. Owen Philipps, Mr. John Philipps, for Pembrokeshire:—6 English and 4 Welch Bibles; 6 English and 3 Welch Duties of Man; 83 Psalters, 25 Pastoral Letter, 25 Family Prayer, in Welch; 4 Husbandman's Manual in Welch, and 4 in English.

"Rev. Mr. David Havard, Rev. Mr. Tho. Philipps, Rev. Mr. Griff. Jones, Mr. Edward Dalton, for Carmarthenshire:—6 English and 4 Welch Bibles; 4 English and 5 Welch Duties of Man; 83 Psalters, 25 Pastoral Letter, 25 Family Prayer, in Welch; 4 Husbandman's Manual in Welch, and 8 in English.

"Rev. Dr. Pardo, for Cardigan and Carnarvonshires:—10 English and 10 Welch Bibles; 8 English and 8 Welsh Duties of Man; 166 Psalters, 50 Pastoral Letter, 50 Family Prayer in Welch; 8 Husbandman's Manual in Welch and 16 in English.

"Rev. Mr. Rich. Davies, for Brecknockshire and Radnorshire:—10 English and 10 Welch Bibles; 8 English and 8 Welch Duties of Man; 166 Psalters, 50 Pastoral Letters, 50 Family Prayer in Welch; 8 Husbandman's Manual in Welch and 16 in English.

"Rev. Mr. James Harris, Rev. Mr. Geo. Maddox, Rev. Mr. Tho. Price, and Mr. Robt. Powell, for Glamorganshire:—6 English and 4 Welch Bibles, 5 English and 5 Welch Duties of Man, 83 Psalters, 25 Pastoral Letter, 25 Family Prayer, in Welch; 4 Husbandman's Manual in Welch and 8 in English.

"Rev. Dr. Robt. Wynne, John Miller, Esq., for Denbighshire and Flintshire:—18 Welch and 2 English Bibles, 8 English and 9 Welch Duties of Man, 166 Psalters, 50 Pastoral Letter, 50 Family Prayer, in Welch; 8 Husbandman's Manual in Welch, and 16 in English.

"Sr Jno. Pryce, Bart., Rev. Mr. Wm. Davies, Rev. Mr. Tho. Richards, Rev Jno. Harding, for Montgomeryshire and Merionethshire:—20 Welsh and 3 English Bibles, 14 Welch Duties of Man, 170 Psalters, 50 Pastoral Letter, 50 Family Prayer, in Welch; 8 Husbandman's Manual in Welch, and 16 in English.

"Rev. Mr. Tho. Holland, for Anglesea:—10 Welch Bibles, 8 Welch Duties of Man, 83 Psalters, 25 Pastoral Letter, 25 Family Prayer, in Welch; 4 Husbandman's Manual in Welch and 8 in English.

	£	s.	d.
"80 Welch Bibles with Common Prayer Books at 4/8 come to	18	13	4
"40 English Bibles with Common Prayer Books at 4/9 come to	9	10	0
"60 Welch Whole Duties of Man at 3/- come to ...	9	0	0
"42 English Whole Duties of Man at 1/4½ come to ...	2	17	9
	£40	1	1

"NOTE.—The Rev. Mr. George Maddox acquainted the Committee that £20 had been lately given by a Gentleman to be laid out in good books for Monmouthshire, which is the reason why that County is left out in the distribution.

"5.—That where more than one member is named for the distribution of the Books in a County, the Secretary do write to that member the Books are to be sent to, to desire him to meet the other gentlemen, that the Books may be divided equally among them, and that they may consult about the properest methods of distributing them."

Another of the main objects to which the Society addressed itself with great energy and conspicuous success in the Principality during this period was the erection of parochial and diocesan lending libraries. This project was originated by Dr. Thomas Bray, to whose public spirit the Church of England owes such infinite obligations. The designs of Dr. Bray for the erection of parochial and lending libraries were managed by a separate body of trustees, under the title of "Associates of Dr. Bray", who survive to the present day as a separate institution. These designs were especially applicable to the needs of the Welsh Church in this period. Many of the clergy and schoolmasters of the Principality were poor, and their parishes were so meanly endowed, and so remote, that they could not sufficiently supply themselves with the best religious books, and, consequently, could not "administer wholesome and sound doctrine to their flock, either by way of cathechising or preaching". The early journals of "The Associates of Dr. Bray" are now missing, and we are, therefore, unable to give full details of their efforts in Wales in this period, or of Sir John Philipps's personal share in their operations. We have, however, the records of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which show that the work in the Principality was mainly, if not wholly, carried on by the Society. Sir John Philipps's deep interest in this benevolent work is indicated in the

following Minutes and Abstracts of Letters of the Society. He was from the beginning a member of the committee which had charge of the work in Wales—

"18 Nov., 1703. Agreed that a Committee be appointed for considering of a proper method for erecting Lending Libraries in Wales, where they are extremely wanted.

"Agreed that the Ld. Bp. of Bangor, Mr. Lloyd, Dr. Bray, Sir Humfrey Mackworth, Sir John Philipps, Coll. Colchester, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Brewster, or any three of them, be the Committee for the erection of Lending Libraries in Wales: and they to meet at Mr. Brewster's Chambers, on Tuesday next, at 7 o'clock in the evening.

"22 February, 1704-5. Mr. Stubs' Proposals for erecting Lending Libraries in Wales were read, and with an Amendment approved and ordered to be printed forthwith. Sir H. Mackworth, Sir J. Philipps, Mr. Stubs, Mr. Hoare, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Bromfield, Mr. Wyndham were nominated as a Committee to fill up the blank spaces with the names of Receivers and Trustees.

"19 July, 1705. Another [Letter] from Sir John Philipps, certifies that at a Meeting of Gentlemen and Ministers in Laugharne in Carmarthenshire, 'twas resolved to promote the affair of Welch Libraries.

"24 January, 1705-6. Sir John Philipps reported from the Standing Committee, that they had further amended the Proposals for the Welch Libraries, and did think the same might be properly laid before the Bp. of Worcester, and the Welch Bps., for their concurrence before it be printed; the Society approved this and empowered the Committee to order these Proposals to the Press, after they shall receive the same back again from the Bishops. Sir John Philipps also reported that they had agreed upon a Letter to the Receivers for the Welch Libraries, and had ordered it to be sent.

"6 June, 1706. Sir John Philipps produced a Catalogue of Books from Mr. Woodcock, which he is willing to give to the Welch Libraries; and another from Sir Nich. Pelham. 'Twas referred to the Standing Committee to consider of a method of preserving the memory of these and such like Benefactors.

"13 June, 1706. Sir John Philipps presented a Catalogue of Books given to the Welch Libraries by Mr. De la Mothe.

"3 Oct., 1706. Another [Letter] from Sir John Philipps, desiring that no books of Religion may be admitted into the Welch Libraries, but what tend mainly to promote the love of God above all things, and our neighbour as ourselves. He commends Mr. Burkitt's Notes on the Evangelists, and wishes that the poor Clergy were furnished with them. He recommends Mr. William Powel of Llangadock for a Receiver for the County of Brecon.

"10 Oct., 1706. Sir John Philipps recommends Mr. Hugh Powel of Creek-Howel in Brecknockshire, Mr. Catlyne of Kerry in Montgomeryshire, and Mr. Lewis of Towyn, Merionethshire, for Receivers of benefactions to the Welch Libraries.

"23 January, 1706-7. Agreed that Sir John Philipps, Sir Humfrey Mackworth and Mr. Meller be desired to attend the Lords the Bishops with a number of the Proposals for the Welch Libraries.

"30 January, 1706-7. Sir John Philipps reported that he with Mr. Meller had attended several Ld. Bishops with Proposals for the Welch Libraries, who were pleased to promise their countenance and encouragement to the same."

By the year 1714, the Society had erected in Wales four Central Diocesan Lending Libraries, and eight Parochial Clerical Libraries. The following semi-official letter from a member of the Society will best exhibit the great work achieved at this date :—

"Another design which the Society has engaged in, has been the erecting Libraries in Wales, where they observing that there are a great number of Benefices which are insufficient for the maintenance of a Minister; that in many of them the Clergy are not well able to furnish themselves with books, they thought it would be a means of promoting our holy Religion to fix Lending Libraries in the several Market Towns within each County of the four Dioceses in Wales.

"Accordingly they printed proposals to encourage well disposed persons to contribute money or books for that purpose; and the Bishops of Worcester, Llandaff, Hereford, Bangor, St. David's and St. Asaph having been pleased to be Trustees in this affair, it met with that encouragement that the Society have set up four Lending Libraries, to the value of 60 pounds each and upwards in the cities of Bangor and St. Asaph, and in the Towns of Carmarthen, in the Diocese of St. David's; and Cowbridge in the Diocese of Llandaffe.

"An Account of the Diocese and Towns supply'd with Parochial Libraries since the passing of the Act for the better preservation of them, 1708-9.

St. Asaph.	Montgomeryshire.	Darrowen.
Bangor.	Carnarvonsh.	Eglwys Rhos.
"	"	Pwllheli.
St. David's.	Cardiganshire.	Llanbadarn Vawr.
"	Pembrokeshire.	Prendergast.
Llandaff.	Monmouthshire.	Trevethin.

Llandaff	Monmouthshire.	Newport.
"	"	Chepstowe."[1]

The exertions of the Society were so successful that, by 1720, many more were established. The Secretary of the Society, Mr. H. Newman, writes on 29 March 1720, to Thos. Jones, Esq., at Llantisilio, Denbighshire :—

> "S^{r} :—This accompanies a Bond and two Catalogues of the Parochial Library No. 57, herewith sent to Llantissilio according to your desire for the benefit of the present Min^{r} and his successors, and I am to request you would be pleased to direct the Min^{r} to execute the Bond in the presence of the Churchwardens or principal inhabitants of the Parish, and to sign the receipts endorsed on the two Catalogues, one of which is to be sent to the Bp of St Asaph according to the Rules prescribed by the Act of Parliament, and the other Bond with the Catalogue I must desire you would return to me for the satisfaction of the Founders. Please return them in a letter to me under cover to James Lowther, Esq., Member of Parliament, at his house in Lincoln's Inn, and you will thereby oblige Sir your most humble servant, H. N."[2]

For a fuller account of this Library movement in Wales I must be again allowed to refer to an article of mine published elsewhere.[3]

4.—Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was an offshoot of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It was organised as a separate society by Dr. Thomas Bray, and received its charter of incorporation on 16 June 1701. The main objects of the Society are stated in the charter to be the provision and maintainance of "Learned and orthodox Ministers to instruct our loving subjects in the principles of true

[1] *A Letter from a Member of the S.P.C.K.*, 2nd Ed., 1714, pp. 34-35 and 50-51.

[2] Secretary's *Letter Book*, No. 182.

[3] *Seren Gomer*, 1903, pp. 201-213.

religion", and "such other provision as may be necessary for the Propagation of the Gospel in our Plantations, Colonies, and Factories beyond the Seas". The corporation was charged with "the receiving, managing, and disposing of the Charity of our loving subjects, divers persons, who would be induced to extend their charity to the uses and purposes aforesaid".

Sir John Philipps's name appears in the list of the original members nominated by the charter, and he remained for life one of its most assiduous workers, and one of its most influential and munificent supporters. The journals of the Society are full of references to him. A summary of a few interesting records must suffice here. From these it appears that Sir John paid his quota of charges on account of the Charter on 21 Nov. 1701. On 6 March 1701-2, he subscribed five pounds. On 15 Jan. 1703, he "proposed Dr. John Bridges, a civilian secretary to the Lord Cornbury, Govr of N. York, for member of the society". On 19 February 1703, Sir John Philipps was "appointed Vice-President for the ensuing year". On 19 Nov. 1703, he paid to the society 50*l.* collected in Carmarthenshire, and 10*l.* 17*s.* 6*d*, collected in Pembrokeshire. On 17 Nov. 1704, he "presented the sum of ffour Pounds seventeen shill: & sixpence being return'd by some Gent^{n} in Wales by virtue of a Deputation to the said Gent^{n}. And he was desired to thank them."

On 16 Feb. 1705, Sir John was again "sworn in as Vice-President for the ensuing year, and was reported as having been appointed with some other Gent^{n} to wait on the Lord Mayor & Aldermen to invite them to the Anniversary Sermon", which invitation they accepted. On the 19th of Oct. 1705, he "reported that he had brought up from the country 26*l.* collected by virtue of the Society's Deputations to some Gentlemen of Carmarthenshire". On the 21st of

Dec. 1705, he moved the Society to consider of an application to some of the Lords the Bishops to Preach the next Anniversary Sermon. He was appointed on 15 March 1706, one of a Select Committee to attend on the Archbishop at Lambeth by his desire to consider of the papers about the destruction of the Colledge at Virginia. On 15 Nov. 1706, he moved the Society "that the fform of Prayer for schools in the Plantations may be communicated to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in order to be adapted by them to the Charity-Schools here, and to be publisht by the said Society, which was agreed to". On 26 Jan. 1711, a letter was read from Mr. John Norris, a Planter of South Carolina, to Sir John Philipps, saying "that he wished to breed up his son to the Ministry, and to send him among the Yamousee Indians at his own expence & representing the want of a Minister in his Parish of St. Bartholemew". On 19 Aug. 1715, Sir John Philipps was appointed on a committee "to examine & direct the printing of the Liturgy in German". On the 26th of May 1716, Sir John reported to the Society "that Mr. John Burnell, collector of Excise for Middle Wales, has promised to the Society a benefaction of two pounds per annum". On 15 August 1718, he was desired "to recommend a proper person able to preach in Welch & English, to be sent as a Missionary to Oxford & Radnor in Pensilvania".[1] From time to time Sir John paid to the

[1] The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was also solicitous of the spiritual needs of Welshmen in the American Colonies. Mr. Evans, the Curate of Wrexham, was sent as a missionary to the Welsh in Pennsylvania in 1700. A Committee was appointed "to consider of proper books to be sent with Mr. Evans to Philadelphia". Dr. Bray reported on 12 Sept. 1700, that he had perused and approved of "this List and that the price of the same amounted to twelve pounds eleaven shillings". In the Proposals for Printing the Welsh Bible issued by the Society in 1713, it is said that "there are 6000 Welsh in Pennsylvania and other parts of His Majesty's Dominions in *America*, where these Bibles are very much wanted".

society large sums collected in Wales, and from various charitable friends of the society. The last record is a "Benefaction of Five guineas from a person unknown", probably Sir John himself.

Sir John took a personal interest in the missionaries and the schoolmasters sent out by the society. His house in London was at all times open to them and to their converts. His private donations to these men are reported to be "very liberal". Sir John "was a philanthropist on the largest scale, the friend of man under all his wants". There was scarcely any movement for the redemption of man in any part of the known world which did not secure his sympathy and support.

5.—The Charity-School Movement in Wales, 1699–1737.

If the ordinary educated Welshman were asked to whom we chiefly owe our modern system of elementary education in Wales, he would answer without any hesitation, "to Griffith Jones of Llanddowror", and, further, would fix the year 1730 as the precise date of its origin.

So widespread is this view, that even such an authority as Owen Edwards propagates it without questioning its accuracy. In his delightful volume on *Wales*, he says:—

> "Fairly early in the eighteenth century Griffith Jones of Llanddowror, a clergyman, realised how ignorant the Welsh peasants were, and discovered that they were anxious to learn. The modern system of Welsh education, which found its completion in our own day, has its beginning in a little country school in Carmarthenshire, maintained by the pence offered by the poorest of the poor at the celebration of the Lord's Supper."[1]

In his recently published *Short History of Wales* he still believes that:—

> "Elementary education, in its modern sense, began with the circulating schools of Griffith Jones of Llanddowror, in 1730."[2]

[1] P. 386. [2] P. 112.

The year 1730 has been a great historical landmark with a certain school of Welsh historians. It has been looked upon as marking the beginning of an epoch—a great epoch—in the spiritual and intellectual life of Wales. According to these authorities, the great awakening of the nation, the Evangelical and Methodist revival, the revival of the Welsh language, the literary renaissance, and the rising of our modern system of education, all have their beginnings in that wonderful year. This school still believes, not only that our modern system of Welsh elementary education began with the circulating schools of Griffith Jones in 1730, but at the same time that the Welsh people before that marvellous year, when the famous Rector is supposed to have established his first little country school[1] at Llanddowror, were merely barbarians—"illiterate", "irreligious", and "dissolute",—destitute of every virtue, and wholly unprogressive. The eminent authors of *The Welsh People*, John Rhŷs and David Brynmôr-Jones, summing up the state of the nation in 1730, say :—

> "It is probable that the Welsh farmers and their families had hardly progressed intellectually as a class from the time of the Conquest. Every indication that we possess shows that hardly any one of them could read or write, and it is clear that the provision for education was of the scantiest possible description. Wesley, writing some years after the description given by Dr. Erasmus Saunders, to which we have referred, says that the people were as ignorant as the Creek or Cherokee Indians,[2] and

[1] The first Welsh School established by Griffith Jones could not have been established before Sept. 22, 1731. See his own letter, Abstract No. 11,373. Appendix I.

[2] Dr. Erasmus Saunders and John Wesley are valuable authorities for this period when properly used, but Welsh writers have glaringly abused their isolated facts. However, the context from which the above extract from Wesley is taken, neither supports the views of the Authors, nor justifies the use they make of it. The whole passage reads as follows :—

> "I have seen no part of England so pleasant for sixty or seventy miles together, as those parts of Wales I have been in. And most of the inhabitants are indeed ripe for the Gospel: I

allowing for rhetorical exaggeration, and applying it to their culture rather than to their acquirements as agriculturists, the phrase is probably true . . . . from the people as a whole, hardly a voice comes during the centuries from the Norman Conquest to the middle of the eighteenth century. They tilled their land, attended to their flocks and their herds, married and died in complete obscurity, without being to any great degree touched by the intellectual movement of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is obvious that we have here all the elements necessary for a sudden intellectual and moral expansion. The renaissance of Wales during the eighteenth century came, as might have been expected, in the form of a religious revival, which in its intensity and its consequences can only be compared to the analogous movement in Bohemia hundreds of years before, and the awakening of Scotland in the sixteenth century.

"In 1730 the Welsh-speaking people were probably as a whole the least religious and most intellectually backward in England and Wales. By 1830 they had become the most earnest and religious people in the whole Kingdom."[1]

Summing up the state of education before 1730, the authors say:—

"The country districts were entirely neglected, and down to the time of the religious revival of the eighteenth century, it is hardly too strong to state that no opportunity was afforded to the

---

mean, (if the expression appears strange) they are earnestly desirous of being instructed in it; and as utterly ignorant of it they are as any Creek or Cherokee Indians. I do not mean they are ignorant of the name of Christ. Many of them can say both the Lord's Prayer and the Belief; nay, and some, all the Catechism; but take them out of the road of what they have learned by rote, and they know no more (nine in ten of those with whom I conversed) either of Gospel Salvation, or of that faith whereby alone we can be saved, than Chicali or Tomo Chachi. Now, what Spirit is he of who had rather these poor creatures should perish for lack of knowledge, than that they should be saved, even by the exhortations of Howell Harries, or an itinerant Preacher."—John Wesley's *Journal*, under Saturday Oct. 20, 1739.

Wesley speaks of their ignorance of his own religion of experience. He himself would admit that he was as ignorant as a Creek Indian of the Gospel in the sense which he speaks of here, until he met Peter Böhler in 1738. The passage has no direct bearing on their ability to "read, write and cast accompts". Indirectly, however, this passage, and all the evidence of Wesley's Journal, contradict the views of the authors.

[1] Pp. 470-2.

> great majority of the Welsh-speaking people for the education of their children. All accounts show that the condition of the Welsh people in regard to education was most lamentably backward to comparatively recent times, but especially so until the time of the religious revival."[1]

These sweeping statements and conclusions, and the alleged facts on which they are based, are alike untrue from beginning to end. Indeed, they are an amazing reversal of the real facts. The more closely we search into the condition and character of our forefathers as they are preserved to us in the records of the time, the more we shall see that there is good reason to believe that what we call elementary education was much more widely afforded than people think, and that in proportion to the means at their disposal they were not more ignorant than the mass of the people at any other period of our history.

Our system of elementary education in its modern sense can be traced directly back to a time long before 1730. Griffith Jones of Llanddowror's circulating school movement was the fourth in a succession of well organized movements, on something approaching a national scale, for the primary education of the common people of the Principality.

The first of these organised movements was promoted by the Puritans under the "Act for the better Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, and the redress of some grievances" (1650-1653),[2] and was continued by the Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers from 1653 to the Restoration in 1660. Under the Propagation Act, Home Rule was granted to Wales in the management of her religious and educational affairs, and the Commissioners and their Approvers, with Major-General Harrison and Vavasor Powell at their head, on the whole, made good use of their powers. The Welsh Propagation Act was in the

[1] P. 480. [2] Dr. Rees's *Hist. of Non.*, 1861, pp. 501-505.

broadest sense an Education Act for Wales. By it the Commissioners were enabled and authorised to provide "for the keeping of schools, and the education of children in piety and good literature", and also to provide for a "fitting yearly maintenance", "that fit persons of approved piety and learning may have encouragement to employ themselves in the education of children", out of funds in their disposal, "provided that the yearly maintenance of a schoolmaster did not exceed forty pounds". Under this Act the Commissioners provided the thirteen counties of Wales with a well organized system of schools, staffed with the best equipped schoolmasters whom they could command. The Trustees maintained and perfected the system from 1653 to 1660. Free schools were established in every market town of any importance throughout Wales, and in many other towns and villages convenient to the children.[1] In most of the great towns two able, learned, and university men were appointed to prepare children for the universities if desired.[2] A sixth of the tithes of Wales was devoted to the maintenance of these schools. These were free schools, and their curricula provided for the teaching of reading, writing, and ciphering, and in the large towns they prepared for the Universities. The records of the Commissioners', and those of the Trustees' educational appointments, payments, etc., have been fortunately preserved, and it is possible to write a full account of the movement. These records have enabled me to locate seventy-two of these schools, eighteen of which had two schoolmasters, viz., a Master and an Usher, and also to recover the names of, and the salaries paid to, seventy-five of the schoolmasters engaged in

[1] Vavasor Powell's "Brief Narrative" in *Bird in the Cage Chirping*, Second Edition, 1662.

[2] Neal's *History of the Puritans*, 1837, vol. ii, pp. 633-5.

this work. This Welsh educational movement was essentially, and throughout, a State undertaking. It is often maintained that the State at this period had not as yet recognised its responsibility in helping to provide the means of instruction for the people, and that this important work was done by the Church, and by the Church alone. These statements are quite inaccurate as regards the Commonwealth. The Puritans manifested great enthusiasm for every grade of education, and their conception of the duty of the State with regard to popular and free education took practical shape in the Principality under the Propagation Act, etc. The question of a Welsh University College was also mooted by the Puritans, and the scheme would have been probably realised if they had remained in power a few years longer.[1] The importance of this movement to the student of historic evolution can hardly be overestimated. Our existing system of elementary education can be traced back directly to it. Ten years of the Puritan free school system, organized mainly by Vavasor Powell, gave the Welsh people a taste of the blessings of education which has never been entirely lost to them. The Restoration nearly paralysed the whole organization, many of the schoolmasters were deprived for Nonconformity, but a number remained at their work, and a few lived to inspire and to share in the new movement.[2]

This new movement was the second organized effort to provide elementary education for the people of Wales. The founder of this great and important movement was the venerable Thomas Gouge. The story of his choice of Wales as a field for his philanthropic work is very interesting. "God had given him a competent estate where

[1] *Wales*, March, 1896, pp. 121-124.

[2] For a fuller account of this movement, see *Seren Gomer*, 1901, pp. 314-28.

withal to defray the charge of the undertaking." After his ejectment from the living of St. Sepulchre, London, he had devoted himself to the relief of the necessities of the poor in the Metropolis, and to other philanthropic work. When the life of Joseph Alleine, the author of *An Alarm to Unconverted Sinners*, was first printed, it fell into the hands of Gouge. This book contained a short paragraph relating to Alleine's plan for the evangelisation of Wales.[1] "Reading this (said Mr. Gouge to me) it hath set me all on fire with zeal to prosecute that design."[2] In about three months he was on his first journey to South Wales on this beneficent mission. Now, Joseph Alleine was a great personal friend of Vavasor Powell, the leader of the educational movement under the Propagation Act. He had worked in co-operation with Powell and others in the evangelisation of the Principality.[3] Thus, the new movement received its first impulse from its predecessor. The two movements were otherwise interwoven. Such men as Richard Baxter, Stephen Hughes, Charles Edwards, William Jones, and Richard Jones, leaders or workers in both movements, were important links in their continuity. The Gouge movement at once succeeded beyond expectation, and, in 1674, a Trust was formed to prosecute the work on a larger scale. I have already given a brief account of this Welsh Trust. The work achieved by Thomas Gouge in Wales almost passes belief. In the first year of the Trust, 1674-5, fifty-one of the leading towns of North and South Wales were provided with schools. He died in 1681, having been the means in ten years of establishing between three and four hundred schools in the Principality. It has been proved

[1] *Life and Death of Mr. Joseph Alleine*, 1672, p. 33.
[2] *Lives of Eminent Persons*, by Samuel Clarke, 1683, p. 204.
[3] Stanford's *Joseph Alleine*, p. 308.

already that on the death of Gouge, the Trustees gradually withdrew their support from Wales, and began work of the same kind in London and Westminster. Thus, the Charity-School movement to which we now come was a continuity of the work of the Welsh Trust.

The educational work of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in the Principality from 1699 to 1737 is the third organized movement in the history of the rise and progress of our modern system of elementary education. I have already shown how this movement arose out of the previous one. There can be no doubt as to its historic continuity.

The Charity-School movement in Wales is well marked. It began with the institution of the S.P.C.K., and closed with the death of Sir John Philipps, and the inauguration of Griffith Jones's circulating school movement. It is further marked by the fact that it was almost entirely a Church of England movement. In view of the erroneous statements which are continually made as to the provision of education in the Principality at this time, it may be well to point out that Wales was provided with a large number of private schools at this period. The records of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge bear witness to this fact. In a letter written on 21 Jan. 1713, William Lewis, at Margam, Glamorganshire, informs the Society—

> "That tho' there 's hardly a Parish in that part of the world where there is not a private School for teaching children to read, yet there are few or no Charity Schools."[1]

The Dissenters had their own schools scattered all over the Principality. A large number of their ministers were schoolmasters. A list of these schools and schoolmasters for the same period exceeds in number the list appended to this paper. North Wales had in Dr. Daniel Williams's

[1] Abs. No. 3,843.

seven elementary schools, a system of circulating schools, even before the days of Griffith Jones. I write with some knowledge of the work of these schools, but I am not concerned in their history and work here, still, they ought to be taken into account in a fair estimate of the provision for the education of the people of Wales at this time.

The erection of Charity-Schools was one of the prime objects of the institution of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The question of "how to further and promote that good design in each parish in and about London" was the subject of the second resolution at the first meeting on 8 March 1698-9. For the first few months London and Westminster, and the great parishes in the suburbs of these cities, seem to have engrossed the attention of the new society. On the 2nd of Nov. 1699, it was—

> "resolved that the Society will establish a correspondence with one or more of the Clergy in each County, and with one Clergyman in each great Town and City in England, in order to erect Societies of the same nature with this throughout the Kingdom."

In pursuance of this object a circular letter to the clergy correspondents was approved of on 16 Nov. 1699, and was forthwith despatched to a large number of clergymen in England and Wales. This circular letter gives a brief account of the work done in London, and of its great success there, and recommends the plan to the country. The Society inform their correspondents that—

> "They have agreed to use their best interest and endeavours to incline the hearts of generous and well-dispos'd persons to contribute toward the erecting of Schools in these Cities, and the parts adjacent, for the instruction of such poor Children in Reading, Writing, and in the Catechism, whose Parents or Relations are not able to afford them the ordinary means of Education, and as they look upon this to be the most effectual method to train up the poorer sort in sobriety and ye knowledge of Christian Principles, so they assure themselves that the good effects which may be wrought

thereby will prove a powerfull argument to engage others in better circumstances to make so necessary a provision for their children.

"The success of this undertaking (whereby the education of above two thousand poor Children is already taken care for) encourages them to hope that, if the like industry and application were observ'd in other parts of this Kingdom, the Children and Youth might be universally well principled, and the growing generation make a conscience of fearing God; and these hopes have induced them to use their utmost endeavours to prevail with all pious and well-inclined Christians in ye several parts of ye nation to joyn their hearts and purses in advancing to perfection so excellent and glorious a work."[1]

Sir John Philipps and Dr. John Evans communicated this circular letter to the clergymen of the Principality. The response of Wales must have delighted them and the Society, for out of the first dozen replies recorded in the "Abstracts of All the Correspondents' Letters", eight are from Wales. In less than six months the movement for erecting Charity-Schools had spread into the four Welsh dioceses. The work was taken up with great zeal in North and South Wales. Mr. Arnold Bowen, of Pembroke, writing to Sir John Philipps on 29 Nov. 1699, says:—

"That the Gentry [of Pembrokeshire] have begun to Subscribe towards ye Design of Schools."[2]

Dr. John Jones, the Dean of Bangor, writing from Beaumaris to Dr. John Evans on 16 Dec. 1699, says:—

"That he has set up Schools for ye Poorer Sort at his own charge, but of late their poverty is so great that they cannot allow themselves time to learn."[3]

On 8 Feb. 1699-1700, the Society agreed upon a model of a second letter to the Corresponding Members, in which they urge them to—

"Subscribe liberally toward the setting up of Schools for poor Children, and to instruct them in the Principles of the Christian Religion, and fitt them for employments, which is the most probable method of making them sound members of the Church and usefull

[1] Secretary's *Letter Book*. [2] Abs. No. 4. [3] *Ibid.* No. 11.

ones of the State. As soon as you have intimated your carrier's direction, they will send you a packett of Books and Papers, together with the methods the Society has taken in raising Subscriptions and regulating the Schools which they have already sett up in and about London, which may possibly be usefull to you in your deliberations about the same things in the Country. They desire you would from time to time give them information of what progress is made in these matters."[1]

Mr. James Harries, of Llantrissant, Glamorganshire, writing to Dr. Evans on 19 Feb. 1699-1700, says:—

"That he hath put up two Schools."[2]

Mr. John Edwards, of Llwydiarth, Montgomeryshire, writes to Dr. Evans on 16 Feb. 1699-1700, that there was already "one Free School" in his district, and that—

"he obliges his Curate to teach ye youth of ye Parish where he resides not, and in his other Parish he has made some advances towards setling a Free School, which will be opened after Easter."[3]

The vicar of Wrexham, Mr. John Price, a non-juror, who was deprived of his living in 1715, writes to the Society on 18 Feb. 1699-1700, that—

"He desires to see our methods of raising subscriptions and regulating the Schools."[4]

The Society's educational work in Wales was thus fairly well started when the seventeenth century closed. The opening years of the eighteenth were busily occupied in the work of organization. Funds had to be raised, buildings had to be provided, schoolmasters and mistresses had to be discovered, and there were many other preliminary difficulties incidental to a new movement which had to be overcome before the schools could be opened. Societies of clergy and laymen were rapidly formed in many parts of the Principality for this work, and right well did they carry out their design. The Minutes and the Correspondence of

[1] Secretary's *Letter Book*.
[2] Abs. No. 33.
[3] *Ibid.* No. 35.
[4] *Ibid.* No. 39.

the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge do not supply us with the precise information necessary to give the exact number, and the localities, of the schools erected in the years 1700-5. They, however, give a wealth of general reference. From these records we gather that the Pembrokeshire Society had, before 9 March 1699-1700, "drawn up a scheme for taking subscriptions for schools, whereunto most of the justices subscribed at their Quarter Sessions, and that the roll was sent into the several parishes", and also "that Sr John Philipps his presence is much wanting to promote the work";[1] that the "Societies of the Clergy in the Diocese of Bangor highly approve ye good design"; and "that divers of ye Clergy have contributed towards schools, and others are disposed to do ye like", and that "great numbers have been lately taught to read", viz., before 15 April 1700;[2] that the Societies of the "Clergy in Denbighshire, Flintshire, and Montgomeryshire" had "agreed to endeavour to set up Free Schools for the Poor Children" before 29 April 1700.[3]

In the summer of the year 1700 Sir John Philipps personally visited the clergy and gentry of Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire in the interests of the Charity-Schools, and provoked many of the clergy to teach the children of the poor to read gratis, and some private persons to open and maintain small country schools at their own expense. The year 1701 presents many signs of progress. The "gentry are hearty and zealous enough in ye matter of schools" in the diocese of St. Asaph, and "one school was set up" in Wrexham before 4 Oct. 1701.[4] On 18 Nov. 1701, Sir John Philipps reports to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge a movement of great significance from the diocese of St. Davids, viz.:—

[1] Abs. No. 60. [2] *Ibid.* No. 84. [3] *Ibid.* No. 92. [4] *Ibid.* No. 352.

"That he had lately received a Letter sign'd by 31 Divines and Lay Gentlemen, some of them Correspondents with this Society, desiring the Ld Arch Bishop of Canterbury to issue out his Circular Letter to the Clergy of the Diocess of St Davids enjoyning them upon all occasions to excite the Gentry to promote the erection of Charity-Schools."[1]

The Archbishop was pleased to issue this Letter in a fortnight, and it was forthwith printed and widely circulated. This Letter was reprinted in 1703[2] and in 1705,[3] and many thousands of it were distributed, with the result that the diocese of St. Davids excelled, in its activities on behalf of the Charity-Schools, all the other Welsh dioceses. We have evidence of a general nature, that the movement gradually advanced in the years 1702-3, but the records do not give the definite number, or the localities of the new schools erected. The first printed "List of the Charity-Schools erected in England and Wales" appeared in 1704,[4] but in that very imperfect List, and in that of 1705, only one Welsh school was included, viz., "Aberguilly, Carmarthenshire". The discrepancy between the printed List and the "Minutes" and

[1] *Minutes*, 9 Oct. 1701. [2] *Ibid.*, 14 Oct. 1703. [3] *Ibid.*, 18 Oct. 1705.

[4] Lists of Charity-Schools appeared from this date forward in the following periodical publications of the Society:—(1) In the *Account of the Charity-Schools*", appended to the "Annual Sermon"; (2) In the issues of *An Account of the Charity-Schools in Great Britain and Ireland*, published separately from time to time; (3) In the *Methods used for Erecting Charity-Schools*, issued at short intervals for circulation in the Society's Packets. A mass of material relating to Wales appeared in these publications. This scattered material, that is to say all that I have discovered of it, is given in Appendix II. The periodical Lists are very imperfect. It is now probably impossible to recover a complete list of the Charity-Schools erected in Wales during this period. However, I have made an attempt at such a list in Appendices II and III. A careful and systematic reading of the Society's "Minutes", "Abstracts of Letters", "Accounts", and the "Methods", together with the Reports of the Several Commissions of Inquiry into the Educational Charities of Wales, will, I am sure, add considerably to the number of Schools erected in Wales under the spell of the Charity-School movement.

"Correspondence" in these instances is very great. We know from the evidence of the latter that at least more than ten, probably more than double that number, of Charity-Schools had been reported as opened in Wales by the close of the year 1703, and yet only one appeared in the printed Lists of 1704 and 1705. The discrepancy arose from the fact that the names, and the particular information respecting the schools, which appeared in the printed Lists, were especially supplied and authorised for publication; the information otherwise contributed to the Committee was considered private. The Circular Letters of the Society were used in 1705 and afterwards, as the means of soliciting from members and correspondents information for publication relating to Charity-Schools in their districts, and from this time forward the information becomes ampler and more exact. John Vaughan, of Derllys, one of the greatest patriots of the period, who did for Welsh literature what Sir John Philipps did for Welsh education, writes to the Society in July 1705:—

> "That in a Lordship belonging to him, He and the Free-Holders are building a Charity-School on the Common, & Enclosing part of the Common to be given for ever to a Schoolmaster for Teaching the Poor Children of the Lordship."[1]

This was the Llangunnog School, the Minutes of which, extending over a century, are still extant.[2] About the same time, Sir Humphrey Mackworth, of Neath, Member of Parliament for Cardiganshire, and Deputy-Governor of the "Mine-Adventurers of England", persuaded his Company to allow—

> "40*l.* p. ann. for the education of 40 children of the miners & workmen belonging to the said Company; whereof one moyety is allowed for a Charity-School in the County of Glamorgan, & the other for another in the County of Cardigan."[3]

---

[1] *Minutes*, July 26, 1705.
[2] In Sir John Williams's library, Llanstephan.
[3] *Minutes*, July 26, 1705.

The year 1706 witnessed a more earnest endeavour to advance the movement in every direction. The literature distributed in the preceding years began to make its influence generally felt. Detailed proof of the spread of an enthusiasm for the Charity-Schools are easily forthcoming. I can only give a few typical examples here. The Bishop of St. Davids, George Bull—

> "has subscribed 4*l.* p. ann. during his life towards erecting a Charity-School in Carmarthenshire."[1]

This "Charity-School set up by the Bishop, freeholders, and inhabitants" was the Llangadock school, and "about 30*l.* per annum" were subscribed towards its maintenance. The Bishop also issued out a letter recommending the Charity-Schools to the clergy and their parishioners.[2] The Bishop of St. Asaph, William Beveridge, and Thomas Williams, of Denbigh, are likewise reported to be active on behalf of Welsh schools in the Vale of Clwyd.[3] The Bishop of Llandaff writes a Letter to the Society in September 1706, saying that:—

> "he will distribute at his visitation of his Diocese in the Spring [the literature] sent to him and will then promote all the Societie's designs as far as he can."[4]

The Bishop and the Dean of Bangor, John Evans, and John Jones, who were ardent Welshmen and supporters of the Charity-Schools, were also active in erecting Welsh schools in the diocese of Bangor.

Sir John Philipps reports to the Society on 31 Oct. 1706:—

> "That there is a foundation laid for 6 Charity-Schools in Wales; two of them are actually opened; and he expects to hear of the opening of the other 4 in a short time."[5]

These schools were the first-fruits of Sir John's plan to extend the advantages of education to the poorest children

[1] *Minutes of S.P.C.K.*, Feb. 21, 1705-6. [2] *Ibid.*, 18 Oct. 1705.
[3] *Ibid.*, 4 July 1706. [4] *Ibid.*, 3 Oct. 1706. [5] *Ibid.*, 31 Oct. 1706.

of his own county, and Carmarthenshire. On 7 Nov. Sir John again reports :—

> "That 24*l.* p. ann. is actually Subscribed as a Foundation for the 6 Schools mentioned on the 31 Oct. last."[1]

Mr. Pember of Haverfordwest writes in May 1707:—

> "Giving an Account of the Charity-Schools sett up and maintained by Sir John Philipps in the Parish of Bigely, at Marloes, at Walton East, Walton West, and in the Parish of Boulston, all in Pembrokeshire; which was order'd to be inserted into the large Account of Charity-Schools, concealing the name of Sir John as is desired."[2]

In another letter of Mr. Pember he adds:—

> "That Sr John has very lately settled a Schole at Rudbaxton in the hundred of Dongledy (in Pembrokeshire) and gives the Master 4*l.* yearly to teach the poor Children to read, write and the Church Catechism; and allows 20*s.* a year for them."[3]

On the 4 Sept. 1707:—

> "Sr John Philipps related that a Charity-Schole is set up in Hascard in Pembrokeshire, where the Master is allowed a Salary of 5*l.* p. ann. with liberty to teach the Children of others who will pay for their Education. Also that a like Schole is setting up at Llanddowror in Carmarthenshire, where the Schoolm^{r} is to have the like Salary and allowance."[4]

Mr. Pember of Prendergast writes again in Dec. 1707, saying:—

> "That Sr John Philipps has subscribed 50*s.* a year towards a Charity-School in Llanychaer in Pembrokeshire, and has sett up a School at Llandourogh in Carmarthenshire at his own charge; and will sett up another in Pembrokeshire as soon as he can find a fitt Teacher. That Sr John wants a draught mentioned in Min. 6 of 4th Septr last for perpetuating Benefactions to Charity-Schools. That the same Sr John desires to cloathe six of the poorest Children in each School sett up by him in Pembrokeshire, upon condition that their parents do not take them from the School within twelve months after, unless they qualified for Apprenticeships or Service. Lastly that he, this Mr Pember, pays for the teaching of 5 poor Children in the Parish of Haraldston-West in

---

[1] *Minutes of S.P.C.K.*, 7 Nov. 1706.
[2] *Ibid.*, 5 June 1707.
[3] *Ibid.*, 19 June 1707.
[4] *Ibid.*, 4 Sept. 1707.

> Pembrokeshire; and partly for the teaching of six poor Children in this Parish of Prendergast, the rest being supplied by the offertory money."[1]

It is perfectly wonderful to observe the intense enthusiasm which moved Sir John Philipps and many other Welsh Churchmen, in these years particularly, to make such earnest efforts for the education of the poor children of the Principality. Several of the Pembrokeshire ministers are reported to be especially active. We are informed that "the Masters of these Schools [of Sir John] were recommended by some of the most active and zealous Ministers in the County, who also are pleased frequently to visit them, and to assist in what is necessary for the good regulation and improvement of them."[1] In some places the ministers teach the children of the poor to read gratis. Several ministers pay for all the children whom their poor parents will send to school. Other ministers apply the offertories, or Communion collections, to the Charity-School funds. The year 1707 witnessed the erection of a dozen schools in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire alone. Lady Granville opened a school "for 24 poor Children" at Monmouth, and a school was erected "by Subscription" at Abergavenny. The *Account of Charity-Schools* for this year gives the following note at the end of the Welsh schools:—

> "There are also (as is well known) great numbers of poor children maintained and educated in the Work-houses that have been of late years erected by Act of Parliament.
>
> "There are many Charities of the like nature in several other cities and villages in the country, and endeavours are using for setting up Schools in many places where there are none. But of these we can give no certain account."[1]

Mr. Pember of Prendergast, the correspondent for Pembrokeshire, writes in May 1708:—

[1] *An Account of Charity-Schools*, 1707, pp. 26, 27.

"That S[r] John Philipps has order'd Schools to be sett up at Maenclochogg & Penaly in Pembrokeshire, besides those mentioned in his former letters. And that Mr. Laugharne pays for the teaching of Ten poor Children of the Parish of St. Brides, and of Six Children of the Parish of Marloes, and buys Books for them. Also that 24 Children are now taught at Llanychaer, the Master's Salary amounting to 8*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.* p. ann."[1]

Sir John Philipps writes to the Society from Picton Castle on the 25 Oct. 1708:—

"That he and Mr. Pember had joined their interests to y setting up 2 Charity-Schools at Laugharne and St. Clears in which they had a prospect of success. That y[e] Rev[d] M[r] Meyrick having given a place at Carmarthen for y[e] Library and 22*l.* per ann. to the Charity-School there, a letter of thanks to him from y[e] Society might be of Service."[2]

On the 13 Nov. 1708 Mr. Pember writes:—

"That S[r] John Philipps and himself had lately visited several of y[e] Charity-Schools in South Wales, viz., at Boulston, Bigely, Penaly; and Tenby, Llanychaer, Rudbaxton, Marloes, Hascard, Walton East, Haraldston West and Prendergast; and that they had some hopes of seeing Schools erected at St. Clears & Laugharne."[3]

The passion for the education of the poor, which had now possessed the hearts of the leaders of this movement, did not equally infect the poor themselves. They were in many places awakened to its advantages, but there were also instances of supreme indifference and apathy. Mr. Pember writes to the Society on the 24 Sept. 1709:—

"That S[r] John Philipps had very kindly erected several Schools in that County, but that he found it difficult to perswade Parents to send their Children, and keep them there, their own want of Education making them stupid as to every consideration of y[e] advantages of it in their Children."[4]

Sir John Philipps, in spite of this indifference, persisted in his efforts to supply the opportunities of education to the children of the poorest people of his native county. Mr. Pember writes on the 19 Dec. 1710:—

[1] *Minutes of S.P.C.K.*, May 27, 1708.
[2] Abs. No. 1471.
[3] *Ibid.* No. 1500.
[4] *Ibid.* No. 1734.

"That Sr John Philippe's interest in the Charity-School at Llanychaer is upheld, and a School erected at Puncheston. Mr Jenkin Breckwell is ye Master of y^t at Llanychaer and Mr Gambold of that at Puncheston, which was opened the 8 Novem^r last. That three poor Children of Llangan in Carmarthensh. are taught at his own charge and 4 poor Children are taught at Dynas in Pembrokesh. at ye charge of Mr Laugharne, Rector of that Parish. That in each of these Schools & in others, as far as he knows, the Masters of every Charity-School in Pembrokesh. and Carmarthensh. has the liberty to take into ye Charity-Schools Children whose parents pay for their teaching that they may be better qualify'd to stick close to their business and carefully instruct the poor."[1]

On the 7 July 1711, Sir John, writing to the Society from Picton, reports another school visitation:—

"Mr Pember and he had spent some days in visiting the Charity-Schools in the County of Pembroke & returned last night very well satisfy'd with ye diligent attendance of the Masters and good improvem^t of ye children, several of whom he hopes will be cloath'd this Summer."[2]

Sir John's intense enthusiasm for the elevation of the poor in this period is further reflected in a letter dated 26 Oct. 1711, in which he reports:—

"That he has hopes of setting up a Ch. School at Templeton in Pemb. That he wishes there were a project for employing the Ladies in some charitable work; that the making of Caps, Kerchiefs, Aprons, Bands, and even Shifts and Shirts for the poor would administer truer Comfort to them one day than all the pains and time they spend at their Surbels and Embroidery; that he is glad to own y^t he has for some time past taken off his daughter from poring on her tent to busy her every day in making some provision for the Charity children."[3]

Sir John's fervour infected the clergy of Pembrokeshire, and aroused them to extraordinary activities. In a letter, dated 1 Jan. 1712-3, he says:—

"That a School is erecting in the Parish of Amroth in Pemb. That several Min^rs in that County Teach School, and there are about 6 worthy Clergymen that constantly visit most of the Charity-

[1] Abs. No. 2426. [2] *Ibid.* No. 2647. [3] *Ibid.* No. 2854.

Schools in that County to examine the Children & exhort the Masters and Schollars, and have several Times expressed their great joy for the proficiency of the latter. That he wishes there were a Law for building of Schoolhouses in such Parishes, as for want of that or some other conveniency are forced to make use of the Church, where in the Master's absence, children will sometimes do things unbecoming & injurious to that holy place."[1]

Sir John's beneficence to the Charity-Schools of Pembrokeshire was so great at this time that some persons in the county insinuated, in 1712, that he must have been supplied with funds by the Society in London. The erection of new Charity-Schools from year to year, the free education and clothing of so many charity children —it was stated in the *Account of Charity-Schools*, "that he had distributed, in 1712, at his own charge, 48 Suits of Cloaths among the greatest objects of Charity in Several Charity-Schools of that County"[2]—all this munificence was so much out of ordinary course and expectation, that to these persons it appeared almost past belief. When the secretary of the Society heard of this insinuation he wrote the following letter to the Correspondents in Pembrokeshire:—

"Bartlett's Buildings,
"London, 21 Feb. 1712-3.

"To the Rev. Mr. John Pember at
"Prendergast, Pembrokesh^re

"Approv'd by ye Soc. 19th Feb.

"It is with pleasure that the Society observe that though Pembrokesh. be one of the Smallest Countys in South Britain, that it outvies most of the larger Countys in Number of Charity-Schools.

"This the Society are very sensible is much owing to the zeal of their worthy Members in that county, and particularly to the charitable and generous Encouragement which many places have had from the Honble Sr John Philipps, tho' his modesty will permit nothing of it to be attributed to him.

"And upon this occasion I think myself obliged to acquaint you that whereas it has been insinuated by some persons in Pem-

[1] Abs. No. 3404.

[2] *Account of Charity-Schools*, 1713, p. 66.

brokeshire that Sr John has had a Fund from the Society for giving the Encouragement he has done yearly to this good work, I can assure You that in all the time I have had the Honour to serve the Society, and by the Treasurer's accounts which I have by me from the beginning of it, it does not appear that ever the Society contributed any mony towards the Erecting or supporting those Schools. But from the foundation of the Society it appears that Sr John has been a most liberal contributor to their designs in London, and other parts of the Kingdom.

"Although Sr John may not be solicitous to undeceive the Persons that have been imposed upon by this suggestion so he sees the happy fruits of his Charity, yet I am sure the Society would never be pleased to have the Reputation of such a Report at the Expense of Truth and a Detraction so injurious to one of their Excellent Members.

"It is therefore recommended to y^{r} Prudence to take occasion of removing this Conceit where you find it has prevailed, that those that feel the benefit of Sr John's Charity may know to whom under God they owe their Gratefull Acknowledgem^{ts}.

"I have signifyed this much to the Rev^{d}. M^{r}. Lloyd of Rose Crowther, not that I believe either he or you want to be satisfyed herein, but that it may be in your power to do justice to one of the greatest Benefactors in the County to this good work."[1]

Meanwhile, the streams of charity were becoming more abundant; the spirit of active benevolence had been aroused on behalf of the neglected poor; and noble exertions were made in all parts of Wales for the extension of Education. We see schools rise one after another in quick succession, and when we observe all the conditions we are ready to wonder how they were able to accomplish all these things in so short a time in some of the localities, but when we see the spirit by which the promoters were actuated our astonishment changes into admiration. The exigencies of space will not allow me to detail at length the efforts made throughout the Principality; a few typical instances may, however, be given here in illustration. The *Account of Charity-Schools* for 1709 reports, under Monmouth :—

[1] Secretary's *Letter Book*, No. 19, pp. 94-5.

> "Besides the School formerly mentioned to be set up here by a Lady of Quality [Lady Granville] there are two other Charity-Schools, one for Boys only, who are taught to read and write; and the other for Boys and Girls, who are taught to read by two Mistresses. And in these Schools are above 60 Children taught (besides the Scholars in the Lady's School), to which there is near Forty Pounds *per annum* Subscribed; Gowns and Coifs for the Girls; and two of the children are yearly to be put out to honest Trades with the Money collected at the monthly Sacrament. All the Children come orderly to Church, and are Catechised Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. The Schools are visited by the worthy Ministers and others very often, to see what progress the children make in learning, writing, and accounts, &c."[1]

Dr. Robert Wynne, the vicar of Gresford, and the Chancellor of the Cathedral of St. Asaph, and his parishioners, had established before 1710—

> "A Charity-School for 20 poor Children for some years past, 5 of which are paid for by the worthy Minister, and some of the best and ablest Parishioners pay for the rest."[2]

Margaret Strode, by her will dated September 1715, gave five hundred pounds in trust "for teaching, clothing, and (as far as the funds would allow) apprenticing three poor girls and three poor boys of this parish".[3] And in 1728 Dorothy Jeffreys, of Acton, also gave by her will fifty pounds, "the interest of which were to be applied towards educating poor children of this parish".[4] A school was built in 1725, bearing this inscription :—

> "Schola Eleemosyna Dnae Margaretae Strode Fundata 1725 ad pauperes ejus sumptibus erudiendos."[5]

In the year 1710 also :—

> "A Charity-School wherein 15 poor Children are taught to read and write"[6]

was erected at Towyn, Merionethshire. This was founded

[1] *Account of Charity-Schools*, 1709, pp. 14-38.
[2] *Ibid.*, 9th Edition, 1710, pp. 44-46.
[3] *Report of Lord Brougham's Commission*, "*Denbigh*", p. 118.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 118.
[5] Thomas's *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, p. 810.
[6] *Account*, etc., 1710, pp. 44-46.

by Vincent Corbet, and endowed with 4*l.* per annum. After the year 1717, Lady Moyer, the relict of Sir Samuel Moyer, a merchant of London, gave by a deed 200*l.*, the interest of which, 10*l.* per annum, was to be paid constantly to a Schoolmaster :—

> "To teach 20 children, boys and girls, to read and write, their friends finding them in such books as the master shall require, as Primers, Common Prayer Books, Psalters, and Catechisms. No one in holy orders shall be a Schoolmaster, and if by chance any such be chosen, he shall be immediately put out, without salary, and another chosen, for two reasons; first that no Romish priest may ever poison them with the damnable doctrine of the Church of Rome, and also that his whole time may be spent for the good of the children committed to his charge. The master shall be obliged to go to church with them twice every Sabbath-day, and every day that prayers are read, take care that they answer responsals, and sing their hymns after sermon, and be catechised as often as the minister thinks fit. The master must forfeit 5*l.* if he asks fee or reward from any of the parents of the poor children. The scholars must come to school at seven in the summer and eight in the winter, in the morning, stay there till eleven, return at one, and continue till five in the evening. The master must pray with them in the morning before he begins to teach, and in the afternoon before they be dismissed, that God's blessing being humbly asked, may be showered down on his endeavours for the good both of master and scholars."[1]

By the will of C. Wells, dated 1710, the *Account* informs us that "Five Hundred Pounds" were bequeathed to the Cardiff Corporation for a Charity-School.[2] This was the second Charity-School, J. Herbert having endowed the first in the year 1707. Humphrey Jorden, the Vicar of Glasbury, Brecknockshire, maintains four schools in which thirty children are taught gratis, and are supplied with books.[3] A school was opened in 1711 at Llanboidy, and "nine children were taught there at a private expence".[4] Another "School was opened Christmas 1711 at

[1] *Report of Lord Brougham's Commission*, "*Merioneth*", p. 242.
[2] *Account*, etc., 1710, pp. 44-46.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1711, p. 26.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1711, pp. 42-43.

Presteigne, Radnorshire, by a Person of Quality, for thirteen children, who were cloathed in March following". This school was "endow'd with 44*l.* per annum when a lease is expired".[1] A Charity-School was erected at Whitford, at the sole expense of Pierce Jones, of Whitford, Flintshire, in the year 1711.[2] A gentlewoman opened a school in 1712 "for twelve children to be taught and cloathed at her own expence" at Llangunnog, Montgomeryshire.[3] The Lord of the Manor, "who both pays the Master and provides him an habitation", provided a school for all the poor children of the parish of Marros in Carmarthenshire, in 1712.[4] The *Account* of 1714 gives the following interesting note under Pembrey :—

> "A School for 24 children erected Michaelmas 1712. The Salary for the Master is 6*l.* per annum. About 10 of the poorest of the Children have cloaths given them, and their dinner 5 days in the week at a Publick House near the School, at the charge of a Reverend Divine, who has an estate in those parts, in conjunction with the principal inhabitants of the Parish, to which the offertory is added, the whole amounting to about 15*l.* per annum."[5]

We assume that Sir John Philipps and his associates were the instruments whereby the following 300*l.* were given towards the foundation and endowment of St. Issell Charity-School :—

> "John Jones, who had for many years been a faithful servant in several good families, by his frugality in those services, and some chances in the Lottery, laid up above 300*l.* which after the payment of a few legacies, he left in trust, with the Bishop of St. Davids for the time being, and several honourable persons in Pembrokeshire, to be applied towards the support of a Charity-School in this [St. Issel], his native place, consisting of an equal number of Boys and Girls. The money, after the payment of his other legacies, amounts to near 300*l.* and is now out at interest till it can be vested in a proper purchase."[6]

---

[1] *Account of Charity Schools*, 1709, 1713, 1714.
[2] *Report of Lord Brougham's Commission*, "*Flint*", p. 199.
[3] *Account of Charity Schools*, 1712, pp. 53-54.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1714, pp. 70-72.
[6] *Ibid.*, 1713, pp. 64-66.

Sir John, who paid the utmost attention even to the details of the administration of the Charity-Schools, immediately exerted himself to secure the full benefits of this noble gift to the poor children of St. Issell. We shall give two extracts in illustration of this aspect of Sir John's services. Writing to the Society in London on 8 January 1712-13, he says:—

> "That the Bishop of St. Davids having accepted of being a Trustee for a Charity lately left to the Parish of St. Issell in Pembrokeshire, he hopes it will not be long before a School is erected there . . . . . That if the Bishop of St. Davids has no person in view to recommend for a Master of the Charity School of St. Issell he should be glad if his L^dp and the other Trustees in London would give leave to those in the County to appoint one.
>
> "N.B. The names of the Trustees are:—The B^p of St. Davids, John Barlow, of Slebech, Esq., John Laugharne, of St. Bride, now in London; John Philipps, at Picton Castle, Sr Arthur Owen, John Barrow, of Serring, Esq., James Phillips of Tenby, Esq., in Pembrokeshire."[1]

To avoid delay in the appointment of a schoolmaster, Sir John suggested the following circular letter to be sent to the Trustees:—

> "A copy of the Letter approving of Mr. Griffies to be Schoolmaster at St. Issell in Pembrokeshire enclosed to Mr. James Philipps at Tenby the 21st of April, 1713:—
>
> "S^r. Missing you yesterday makes me give you the trouble of this. Mr. Barlowe and myself think no man fitter for the School at St. Issell than Mr. Griffith the minister there. Knowing him to be a worthy, honest, well-principled clergyman; and as such we can and will recommend him to my Lord B^p of St. Davids. If you see his Lordship before we doe, pray let my Lord know that's our opinion of him, and therefore desire he may have his Lordship's order for that School.
>
> "I am, S^r. your very humble Servt.
>
> "19 April, 1713. "J. LAUGHARNE.
>
> "*Indors'd*:—"I approve of Mr. Griffies to be School^r of St. Issell. 21 April, 1713." "A. ST. DAVIDS."[2]

---

[1] Abstracts of Letters, No. 3420.

[2] S.P.C.K.'s Secretary's *Letter Book*, No. 19, p. 97.

The years 1713 and 1714 were particularly successful in the establishment of schools and endowments, several of which exist even to-day. It is peculiarly ungrateful of our historians to ignore the activities of these fruitful years, because, we are reaping the benefits of them up to the present time. In the *Account of Charity-Schools* for the year 1713 three schools are said to be "erected at Merthyr Tydvil at the charge of the Lord of the Manor", two for boys and one for girls.[1] This Lord of the Manor was Edward Lewis, of Gilfach-fargoed, who, by his will in 1715, endowed the Gelligaer school for the education, clothing, and apprenticing of poor boys.[2] The Meifod Charity-School was founded by the benefaction of a certain William Pugh, who by his will dated May 22nd, 1714, gave "3*l.* per annum for the instruction of twelve poor children".[3] The Vicar of Bettws-in-Rhos, Dr. Thomas Jones—he was a son of Bishop Jones of St. Asaph, and a canon of that Cathedral—erected a Charity-School in his parish in 1714, in which "ten children are taught and cloath'd at his own charge, and three girls are taught and cloath'd at the charge of a Gentlewoman".[4] Moses Williams, in a letter to the S.P.C.K., dated 26 April 1705, referring to this school, says that:—

> "The Rev[d] Mr. Jones vicar thereof has given 50*s.* per annum for ever for teaching Ten poor children to read Welsh. He also finds them Books, and bestows cloaths upon them at Christmas. Also Mad[m] Joanna Griffiths pays for the teaching and cloathing of three poor girls there."[5]

Some time after the vicar left this parish for Abergele, he challenged the parishioners to advance another 50*l.* to

[1] *Account of Charity-Schools*, 1714, pp. 70-72.

[2] Abstracts of Letters, No. 4306 and 4726.

[3] *Digest of the Reports made by the Commissioners of Inquiry into Charities*, 1844, p. 85.

[4] *Account of Charity-Schools*, 1715, pp. 24-28.

[5] Abstracts of Letters, No. 3353.

the like good use, and in 1722 an endowment of 100*l.* was settled on the Bettws school.[1]

The Kerry Charity-School, Montgomeryshire, was opened in 1714 with an annual subscription of 10*l.* John Catlyn, the minister there, writing to the S.P.C.K. on 2nd June 1712, says :—

> "That he hopes 'ere another 12 months goes about, something like a Charity-School may be set up in his parish. That he should be glad to know what is ye usual Salary to ye Master of a Charity-School, and whether one may be obtained from London, because it will be difficult to get one in those parts that has a just and necessary knowledge in the English Tongue."[2]

An English schoolmaster was appointed, and the school flourished greatly, and before 1713 it had received six small endowments in aid of its work.[3]

The letters of the Society in London often led to the erection of Charity-Schools in the most neglected localities in the Principality. It is very difficult to estimate the influence of the Society in this direction. A few extracts will suffice to illustrate this method of operation and its results. Henry Newman, the active Secretary of the Society, writing "to the Revd Mr Pettingal, Minister of Newport, in Monmouthshire", on the 28th of April 1715, says :—

> "When you favour me with an answer to this you will oblige me to resolve the following enquiries concerning Caerleon in your neighbourhood, vizt :—
>
> "Whether there is a School there, and if there is, how it is supported, and the present state of it, as to number of children, &c. What number of children there are in the place still unprovided for? And whether a Charity-School be wanting there? Who is the Min^r^ of the Place, and of what value is his living? Who is Patron of the Living? How many Churches are there in the Parish, &c.? With any other Account relating to the state of the Town or any Improvements it may be capable of," etc.[4]

---

[1] *Report of Lord Brougham's Commission*, "*Denbigh*", p. 50.

[2] Abstracts of Letters, No. 3091.

[3] *Report of Lord Brougham's Commission*, "*Montgomery*", p. 293.

[4] Secretary's *Letter Book*, No. 143.

The following replies were received :—

"Fran. Pettingal, at Newport, Monmouthshire, 8th May, 1715. That having enquir'd into the state of the Town of Caerleon, he finds it a very poor place. The children numerous, and destitute of a School, and real objects of Charity of that kind. . . . . That the prospect of some great advantages . . . encourages him to recommend the Town of Newport (whereof he is Vicar) to the consideracon of all Charitable Benefactors as a place destitute of a School, very numerous of poor children, and affording but a very poor maintenance to its Incumbents, which exceeds not 20*l.* per annum," etc.[1]

"Theo. Chest, at Chepstow, Monmouthshire, 9 May, 1715. Enclosing a letter from Mr. Davies, the Curate of Caerleon, of the 6th of May, signifying the present state of it, vizt that there's no School there. That it is a very poor place, and above 100 poor children unprovided for, which makes great want of a Charity-School; that there is no likelihood of having one, the inhabitants being not able to pay any man of capacity. That Mr. Lingen is the Minister, tho' he leaves the charge to him. That the value of the Living is not above 20*l.* per annum. That as to the Patron, 'tis in the Gift of the Chapter of Landaff. That there is but one Church. Tho' the parish of Llangattock belongs unto it."[2]

A Charity-School was erected in Caerleon in 1717, and was also endowed by C. Williams of Caerleon.[3]

The Rector of Dolgelley, Merionethshire, George Lewis, writes to the Society on 14 July 1716, in reply to an enquiry concerning the state of that town :—

"That there is no Charity-School within many miles of Dolgelley, the Country generally being very poor and the rich not so well inclined to encourage so good a work as they ought to be. That the Town of Dolgelley is the chief town in Merionethsh., in the centre of the County, and hath in it many poor boys and girls who for want of some charitable provision are forced to strole and beg their living. That he believes there are some of the better sort who would contribute to so good a work if such a thing was set on foot. That if the Society should think fitt to sett such a thing on foot, that he would encourage it all that lay in his power."[4]

By 1720 a Charity-School for twenty-five boys and

[1] Secretary's *Letter Book*, 4369. [2] Abstracts of Letters, No. 4368.
[3] *Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission*, vol. xx, 1870.
[4] Abstracts of Letters, No. 4863.

twenty-five girls was erected at Dolgelley, and supported at the charge of a Lady at London.[1]

The unwearied endeavours of the reformers had by the year 1710 found very great and good success in North Wales. For "by the large and bountiful contributions which were obtained from charitable persons of all ranks and conditions—from some of the nobility and gentry of Wales, and of the neighbouring counties, and of several of that quality in and about London, and also from the reverend Bishops and Clergy—there were erected in the various counties of North Wales during these years many Charity-Schools, and by all these together there were every year a large number of poor children educated."

Dr. John Jones, Dean of Bangor, writing to the Society on the 20 June 1716, says :—

> "That a Charity-School is lately erected at Beaumaris in the County of Anglesea, for 12 Children taught and Cloath'd at the expense of a person of honour. That another School is lately sett up at Llanfihangel in the same County, where 12 poor children are taught; and another School at Bangor in Carnarvonshire for 10 poor children.—Another at Llanllechyd in Carnarvonshire for 15 poor children; another at Gyffin in ye same County for 10 poor children. That it is impossible in those parts to fix the poor Children constantly and regularly at School, because they must go for ever and anon to beg for victuals, there being no poor rates settled in these parts, it is the constant method to relieve the poor at their doors, and the houses of the several Parishes being scattered about at considerable distances from each other increases the difficulty the poor children labour under, and in harvest the poor parents take them out of School, and declare they had rather they should not be taught at all then be debarred of the use and service of them."[2]

John Jones, D.D., Dean of Bangor, is another instance of a really great Welshman, who has many claims to the enduring gratitude of his countrymen, but whose name does not yet appear in any of the biographical dictionaries. He has found no sympathetic biographer. The only

[1] *Account of Charity-Schools*, 1721, pp. 37-38. [2] Abs. No. 4840.

memorials of Dr. Jones which we have, are the notes and appreciations of Browne Willis and Angharad Llwyd. He was one of the little group of great Welsh reformers and philanthropists of this period, whose names should be held in everlasting remembrance by every Welshman who loves his fatherland, its vernacular language, and its literature.

John Jones, M.A., D.D., was the second son of Rowland Jones, of Plâsgwyn, Pentraeth, in Anglesea, where he was born on 2 June 1650.[1] We have no records of his early life. He was a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge. Bishop Morgan promoted him to the Rectory of Rhoscolyn, Anglesey, on 3 June 1672.[2] He became collated Treasurer of Bangor Cathedral on 30 April 1673.[3] Lord Bulkeley promoted him to the Rectory of Llandegfan on 5 December 1684.[4] He was instituted Dean of Bangor on 4 September 1689, in succession to Humphrey Humphreys, who was made Bishop of Bangor.[5] He was collated prebendary of Llanvairtalhaiarn, in the diocese of St. Asaph, on 13 April 1696.[6] He died, and was buried in the Bangor Cathedral, on 2 Nov. 1727.[7]

So soon as Dean Jones was established in Bangor, he began that season of activity, religious, educational and philanthropic, which has assured to him an honourable position amongst the reformers of this period. He erected and endowed Charity-Schools, circulated a large quantity of Welsh literature in his schools and among his parishioners, appointed a number of earnest and active curates in his livings—for Dean Jones was not one

[1] Browne Willis's *Bangor*, p. 129.
[2] Rowland's *Mona Antiqua*, 1762, p. 349. [3] Browne Willis, 157.
[4] *Mona Antiqua*, 336.
[5] Browne Willis's *Survey of the Cathedral Church of Bangor*, p. 129.
[6] Browne Willis's *Survey of St. Asaph*, 2nd Edition, vol. i, p. 218.
[7] *Bishop's Transcripts of Registers of Bangor.*

of the "lazy and negligent in all the true concerns of the Church" that "left preaching and writing to others while they gave themseves up to ease and sloth", but one of the new set of men of another stamp of whom Burnet wrote that "had they not appeared the Church had quite lost her esteem over the nation". Dean Jones took the deepest interest and care of the fabrics of his churches, and furnished them at his own cost with valuable and beautiful church plate, which are to-day their treasures. In short he did everything he could do to make the buildings and the services of his churches attractive to the people. Browne Willis, who knew the Dean well, and writes of him with admiration, has preserved a clear, if brief, judgment of his labours. In introducing Dean Jones's *Description of Bishop Anian's Pontifical*, or *Liber Bangor*, Willis writes :—

> "It is now, for the benefit of the Library, in the possession of the most worthy Dean, the Reverend Dr. Jones, who has bestow'd a new Binding on it; and being well vers'd in the Antiquities of this Church, to which he has ever shew'd a most conscientious regard by constant residence, etc."[1]

The Dean was passionately devoted to the Cathedral Church to the end of his days. By his will he gave his "library of books to the library of the Cathedral Church of Bangor lately erected"; and also "one hundred pounds towards buying an Altar Piece and decent Altar Cloth with Fringe, and for the better adorning of the Choir".[2]

For the information of Bishop Humphrey Humphreys on his first visitation of his diocese in 1690, Dean Jones prepared an interesting report on the state of the Friars School, Bangor. Although Dr. Jones had only been in the Deanery for a few months when he made the inquiry, yet he made many valuable suggestions for important

[1] Browne Willis's *Bangor*, p. 70. [2] Will of Dr. Jones.

reforms, which reveal his enlightened interest in the school and in education. In reporting on the state of the school and schoolhouse, the Dean says:—

> "They have been of late much out of repair. But at present are much better, tho' there remaines still much to be done before both can be put into due and compleat repair."[1]

On the Library of the School he reports and suggests:—

> "That there are divers books belonging to the School Library a Catalogue whereof I have seen in the School written in a Book in the Custody of the Schoolmr wch I think ought to be annually inspected that none of them may be embezzled."[2]

For the reformation of faults, and the better government of the school, the Dean made valuable suggestions. Among others, that the annual sermon should be revived in the Cathedral, wherein the preacher "shall make mention and commendation of the founder" of the School; that the bishop, dean, and chapter should, according to the statutes, "assemble twice every year and cause all the statutes and ordinance of the school to be read to them"; that the accounts of the school should be annually audited; and that an annual inspection of the school and schoolhouse should be made, in order to see "what is wanting and defective therein, &c., and that so all may be timely repaired before any great and considerable decays happen".[3]

Dr. Jones was an educationist long before he came to

[1] Barber and Lewis's *History of Friars School*, p. 39.

[2] Transcript of the original document.

[3] Barber and Lewis's *History of Friars School*, pp. 39-42. The following severe criticisms of the authors of this interesting work on the Dean's ignorance of certain details of administration are entirely unjustifiable:

> "It seems strange that the Dean, great friend of education though he was, knew and cared so little for the administration of a trust of which he was one of the principal trustees. He must have had some qualms of conscience when he attempted to reply to his Bishop's request for suggestions, &c. . . . . Who should know these things if not the Dean? It may be that this was a turning

Bangor. We have seen by his first letter to the S.P.C.K. that he had "set up schools for ye poorer sort at his own charge"[1] before the foundation of that Society. He was instituted Rector of Rhoscolyn in 1672, the year that Thomas Gouge commenced his great educational work in Wales. After Gouge "had made Three or Four Jorneys into *South Wales*, some in *North Wales* hearing of it, sent some unto him, requesting him to come into their parts to carry on the like Excellent and Charitable Work among them also. This he assented to, and went, at least once, if not oftener, into those Parts likewise."[2] Tillotson, Whichcote, and Stillingfleet, all Cambridge men, under whose influence Dr. Jones had been formed, were at the head of the Gouge movement from 1674 onward; it is quite natural, therefore, to conclude that Dr. Jones began his work under the impulse of that movement, and that he is another link in the continuity of the Gouge and S.P.C.K. movements. The names of the Schools established by the Dean of Bangor do not appear in the records of the Society before 1716, and even the names of some of his foundations never appeared either in the correspondence or in the printed *Accounts*. Nevertheless, we have ample evidence of their early existence. The following notes and extracts may be given in illustration of this part of the Dean's charitable and philanthropic work. It is clear from his Will that he aimed at providing a modicum

point in his life, and that henceforth he took greater interest in his neglected charge and in the education of children in the surrounding parishes."

The Authors fall foul of the Dean thus, because he replies to certain queries of the Bishop honestly, "I am utterly ignorant". The Dean had only been in office a few months—he was instituted in the Deanery on Sept. 4, 1689—when he furnished the "exhaustive report" for the Visitation of 1690! The insinuations of carelessness, neglect, and qualms of conscience on the part of Dr. John Jones are groundless and absurd.

[1] Abs. No. 11. [2] Clarke's *Lives of Eminent Persons*, p. 205.

of primary education to the poorest children of all the parishes with which he had any official connection at any time of his life. Thus, he was a prebendary of Llanfairtalhaiarn, and, in 1708, he gave 50*l.* for the maintenance of a Charity-School in that village.[1] In his Will, dated 10 March 1719, in bequeathing three pounds to the poor of "Llanfair Dol hayarn", he refers to his previous endowment of their Charity-School in these words:—

> "Having in my life time given them the sum of fifty pounds towards ye maintenance of a Charity-School."[2]

Llanfihangel Ysceifiog and Llanffinan, in Anglesey, was a perpetual curacy in the patronage of the Dean of Bangor. Dr. Jones erected a Charity-School at Llanfihangel either late in the seventeenth or early in the eighteenth century. This school was reported to the S.P.C.K. in 1716,[3] and was afterwards included from year to year in the *Accounts of Charity-Schools*. By his Will, dated 10 March 1719, and proved on 29 November 1727, he gave—

> "To the Bishop of Bangor for the time being, and to his successors, for ever, and to the Dean of Bangor and his successors, and to the Wardens of the Churches of Llanfihangel Ysceifiog and Llanffinan, in the County of Anglesey, and to their successors for ever, the sum of one hundred pounds, in trust, for the use of the poor of the said two parishes for ever, so as the said one hundred pounds be by them or the survivors of them, and their successors, put out at interest, and so ordered and secured that the annual interest thereof shall be a fund for a Charity-School for instructing twelve poor Children of the said two parishes, for ever, to read Welsh perfectly, and for teaching them the principles of religion according to the Catechism of the Church of England, and if it might be, for training them up a little in writing and arithmetic; and my will is, that the teacher shall have four pounds per annum for his pains, and that the remainder of the said annual interest shall be laid out in books or cloaths for some of the poorest children in the said Charity-School according as the Trustees shall order and appoint."[4]

---

[1] Thomas's *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, p. 387.

[2] Will in the Probate Registry of Bangor.

[3] Abs. No. 4840.

[4] Will in the Probate Registry of Bangor.

He also willed to the said parishioners a "due proportion of the stock" of Welsh and English books:—

> "Which I bought on purpose to distribute among my poor parishioners & more especially among the poor children of my Charity-Schools, & tho' I have given them a great number of such books from time to time yet to make all ye amends I can for my neglect or freq^t^ disabilities thro' sickness to teach and instruct y^m^ my will is y^t^ what shall remain undisposed of at my death of the abovemenconed Welsh & English books, being practical books, and fitted for ordinary capacities, be delivered in due proportions to my several Curates, to be distributed according to their discretion among my poor parishioners of Gyffin, Llanllechyd, Llanfihangel & Llanffinan, and among the poor children y^t^ are taught in ye Charity-Schools therein."[1]

And further, the Dean gave three pounds to be divided equally among his poor parishioners; three pounds to his curate; a folio Welsh Bible; and a folio Welsh Common Prayer Book, for the use of the said Church.

The following Charity-Schools were given similar bequests in almost identical terms under his Will:—

Llanllechyd, Carnarvonshire.—£100 for teaching and instructing 12 poor children; the Dean was Rector here from 1689 to 1727.

Aber, Carnarvonshire.—£100 for teaching and instructing 10 poor children; the Dean was Rector here also from 1689 to 1727.

Gyffin, Carnarvonshire.—£100 for teaching and instructing 10 poor children; this was a perpetual curacy in the Dean of Bangor's patronage.

Llanddyfnan and Pentraeth, Anglesey.—£100 for teaching and instructing 10 poor children; the Dean's "dear place of nativity".

Bangor, Carnarvonshire.—£100 for teaching and instructing 10 poor children; Dr. Jones was Dean of Bangor from 1689 to 1727.

[1] Will in the Probate Registry of Bangor.

To the following livings, with which the Dean was officially connected in some way or other, he gave bequests of fifty pounds each for teaching and instructing ten poor children:—

Rhoscolyn and its two chapelries, Llanfair yn Neubwll and Llanfihangel yn Nhowyn, Anglesey, 1 School; Dr. Jones was Rector of these parishes for many years.

Llandecwyn and Llanfihangel y Traethau, in Merionethshire, 1 School; this Rectory and its curacy were united to the Treasurership of Bangor Cathedral, which was held by Dr. Jones from 1673 to 1689.

Llandegfan and Beaumaris, Anglesey, 1 School; Dr. Jones was Rector from 1673 to 1700.[1]

The schools erected and endowed by Dean John Jones were all vernacular schools. They were "for the instructing of poor children for ever to read Welsh so perfectly as that each of them might be able to read the Bible and Common Prayer Book in Welsh well, and be also taught the Catechism of the Church of England in Welsh". By the way in which the Circulating School movement of Griffith Jones has been, and is even yet, spoken of, it would seem to be regarded by many of our writers as the first attempt to promote vernacular schools in Wales. The bishops and clergy of the Established Church of the period preceding Griffith Jones have also been, and are even yet, spoken of as bitter enemies of vernacular teaching and of Welsh literature.[2] But that this was far from being the case any

[1] I have taken these facts from the Will in the Probate Registry of Bangor.

[2] Owen Edwards writes: "Though Crown ministers and bishops thought it were better for Welshmen to lose their souls than to be taught in Welsh."—*Wales*, p. 386. See also his *Short History of Wales*, 103-4. Of course, many besides Mr. Owen Edwards write in this strain. I select him for animadversion because he is the most brilliant recent propagator of these erroneous views.

one having real knowledge of Wales in this period will know well. That these wrong notions may be set aside, and the fantastic ideas of the period that they have established in people's minds may be corrected, it may be well, perhaps, to state the following facts in this connection. Many of the Charity-Schools established in this period were in the vernacular. The schools of North Wales were generally Welsh. The bishops and the clergy cherished the Welsh language and its literature. Some of the great masterpieces of Welsh literature were written by Welsh clergymen of this period—the writings of Ellis Wynne, Edward Samuel, and Theophilus Evans, for instance. The following extracts will illustrate these statements. Robert Wynne, Rector of Llanddeiniolen, writing to the S.P.C.K. on April 15, 1700, says :—

> "That the vulgar understand not English Books . . . . . That ye Bishop [Humphrey Humphreys] & his Clergy have been at the sole charge of Printing the Welsh Books lately translated, and are willing to subscribe to more."[1]

It was a plain hint to the secretary of the Society not to send English books to Carnarvonshire and Anglesey. John Price, Vicar of Wrexham, writing to the Society on April 29, 1700, says :—

> "That the Clergy in Denbighshire, Flintshire, and Montgomeryshire . . . . find it most convenient to set up Welsh Schools, that being the Language wch ye Parents best understand."[2]

Dr. Robert Wynne, Vicar of Gresford, and Chancellor of St. Asaph, writing to the Society on June 5, 1700, says that :—

> "The Education of poor children is a matter of much difficulty in those parts, no Welsh Schools being already settled, wch language must be taught them, & Primers are ready to be printed for that purpose."[3]

---

[1] Abstract No. 84. [2] *Ibid.* 92. [3] *Ibid.* 116.

Thomas Williams, Rector of Denbigh, writing to Robert Nelson in July 1706, says :—

> "That his design is to procure the erection of Welsh Schools & set an example to others by establishing one in his own Parish. He proposes that the money rais'd by Mr. Nelson's Tract on Confirmation in Welsh (of which many are dispers'd gratis by the Bp. of St. Asaph [Beveridge] & himself) may go as part of contribution to the said Welsh Schools. To which Mr. Nelson gave his consent."[1]

Moses Williams, writing to the Society on April 26, 1715, says :—

> "That the Rev. Thomas Jones, D.D., Vicar of Bettws Abergele, has given 50*s.* per annum for ever for teaching Ten poor children to read Welsh."[2]

Bishop Fleetwood, in his charge to the clergy of the Diocese of St. Asaph, in 1710, particularly encouraged Welsh preaching. Bishop Bull earnestly advised the clergy of St. David's to use the Welsh. The fact of the matter is, a new enthusiasm for the Welsh language and its literature had unmistakeably appeared in this period, and the national mind was represented by the leaders of the Charity-School movement.

Another patron and advocate of Charity-Schools, and a great benefactor of education in North and South Wales during this period, was Edmund Meyricke, M.A., of Ucheldre, treasurer of St. David's Cathedral.[3] Meyricke,

[1] *Minutes*, 4 July 1706.

[2] Abs. No. 3355.

[3] Edmund Meyricke, son of Edmund Meyricke, Ucheldre, Merioneth, baptised 11 June 1636; entered Jesus College, Oxford; Matric. 23 July 1656; B.A. 12 Oct. 1659; M.A. 1662; Incorporated at Cambridge 1663; Vicar of Eynsham, Oxon, 1663; Llangathen, 1664, Llanarthney, 1666, and Rector of Penboyr, 1668 (all of Carmarthenshire); Rector of Burton, co. Pembroke, 1670; Prebendary of Collegiate Church of Brecon, 1670; and Precentor, 1685; Rector of Stackpool, co. Pembroke, 1675; Vicar of Llanegwad, co. Carmarthen, 1677; Canon of St. David's, 1690, and Treasurer, 1691. He died in May 1713, at Gloucester, and was buried at Carmarthen. At one time he was Chaplain to the Earl of Carbery, who promoted him to several of his livings.

like Dean Jones, was a great pluralist. In 1708, when the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge established a Lending Library for the Diocese of St. David's, Meyricke gave a house in Carmarthen "for the use of the Library lately collected, for ever". In the same year he gave another house in the same town "for ye use of a School and Schoolmaster, for ever". He also endowed this school with 22*l.* per annum; and in 1713, the year of his death, "twenty-one were taught and cloathed at his sole charge". He also opened a school at Penboyr, of which parish he was Rector. He was a great friend of Sir John Philipps. By his Will, made in 1712, he made large bequests for the benefit of the children and youths of the six counties of North Wales. In his Will he says:—

> "As for my worldly estate which God Almighty hath blessed me with above my merits or expectation I dispose thereof in the following manner: Imprimis, whereas I always intended to bestow a good part of what God should please to bless me withall for the encouragement of learning in Jesus College in Oxford and for the better maintenance of six junior Scholars who are or shall be scholars of the said foundation of the said College, out of the six counties of North Wales: I doe give, devise and bequeath all my real and personal estate other than and besides what thereof is or shall be by this my Will, or shall be by any Codicil . . . . . given devised and bequeathed . . . that is to say unto every one of the said six Scholars, particularly and severally, the annual sum of £10 of lawfull money of Great Britain during his residence in the said College. And for the maintenance and settlement of six Exhibitioners in the said College, natives of the said six Counties of North Wales, and of any or either of them, or of my kindred, if such of that number of Exhibitioners may be found . . . I doe give to each and every of the said six Exhibitioners the annual summe of eight pounds lawfull money of Great Britain during his residence in the said College," etc., etc.[1]

And by a Codicil to his Will, dated the 14th day of May 1712, he gave, as he had given his houses at Carmarthen—

> "His messuage and tenement, with the appurtenances, called Ty-Tan-y-Domen, situate in the Town of Bala, in the county of

[1] Hardy's *Jesus College*, p. 160.

> Merioneth, together with one acre of land in the Park, and Cae'r Llechwedd, then or late in the possession of Philip Morgan, at the yearly rent of 3*l.* 12*s.*, to and for the use and benefit of a School and Schoolmaster, in which School there should be thirty poor boys of North Wales settled and taught grammar learning, until they should be thought fit to be removed to other Schools or employments, or to be put apprentices, at the discretion of the visitors and trustees of such school thereinafter named; such school to be kept in a convenient room or rooms in the said messuage, and the rest of the said messuage and its appurtenances, and the said acre of land, and Cae'r Llechwedd, to be for the dwelling and use and benefit of the schoolmaster: And he further gave the sum of 15*l.* yearly to the said thirty scholars, viz. 10*s.* to be paid for or towards the clothing each of them yearly and every year for ever . . . . he thereby appointed Evan Griffiths[1] the first schoolmaster of the said school", etc., etc.[2]

Another patroness on a large scale deserves mention here, viz., Mrs. Mary Vaughan of Llangedwyn, the widow of Edward Vaughan of Llwydiarth, Montgomeryshire. On 20 April 1712, she gave a sum of 1200*l.* to found and endow for ever three charity-schools in the parishes of Llanfyllin and Llanfihangel, Montgomeryshire. In a letter written by John Humphreys, M.A., the Rector of Llanfihangel, on 20 May 1722, he says:—

> "That the Schools set up and endow'd by the good family who desire him as a Trustee to take care of them are as follows: Mrs. Vaughan, of Llangedwyn, the Lady and widow of Edward Vaughan, late of Llwydiarth, Esqr., has given 1200*l.* to endow 3 Charity-Schools, one in this town [Llanfyllin] for 20 Boys and another for 10 Girls, and one in Llanvihangel (a neighbouring parish, for 12 Boys) all to be cloath'd, taught their Catechism and brought up in the principles of the Church of England, and the Boys to read and write and cast accounts; the Girls to spin and sew plain work. That Mrs. Strangeways and Mrs. Wynne, daughters and coheirs of the said Mrs. Vaughan, keep 20 more Boys in the School at Llanvihangel with this addition that a meal's meat as their dinner is allow'd to 'em every day they come to School in

---

[1] Evan Griffiths was the schoolmaster of the Meyricke Charity-School at Carmarthen from 1708 to 1713. Abstracts of Letters, No. 2962.

[2] *Report* of Lord Brougham's Commission, "Merioneth", pp. 221-2.

consideration that they live very far from School. That Mrs. Strangeways keeps also 6 more Girls at Llanvillin and pays for their diet and lodging, they being the children of such parents as are not able to keep them. That as the children are fit to be put out apprentices one or other of Mrs. Vaughan's family puts them out, he having by his will left 50 pounds for that service."[1]

Besides these, there were many other endowments not officially reported to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The vigour of the Charity-School movement in North Wales is strikingly exhibited in the remarkable number of endowed schools and unattached charities for the education of poor children that were founded there in this period. These facts go to prove that the provision for elementary education in North Wales in this period was not far behind that of any other province in the United Kingdom.

We have already alluded to the system of Charity-Schools for the six counties of North Wales founded and endowed under the Will of Dr. Daniel Williams of Wrexham. The establishment of these schools undoubtedly occasioned some rivalry. The fact which I wish to emphasise here is that this religious rivalry and competition on the whole issued in the public good. The Will of Dr. Williams is dated June 26, 1711. Among many other bequests he made provision for the establishment of eight schools for the instruction of the children of the poor. The schools are thus mentioned in the Will :—

"I will that my brother and sister Roberts, and the survivor of them, shall, during his or her natural life, possess all that my estate in Burton and Crosshowell &c., in Denbighshire, which I bought of Mr. Smith, and have power to distrain and recover the same, he and she paying yearly 6*l.* to Mr. Kenrick or other the Presbyterian dissenting Minister in Wrexham, and 10*l.* a-year to such a man as they shall appoint to teach 20 children to read and write and instruct them in the principles of religion."

---

[1] Abstracts of Letters No. 7075.

And again further on he says:—

> "My will is that they, the trustees, choose and appoint some pious grave person for to teach 20 poor children for to read English and instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion, in these following towns, for as long a time as my said trustees shall think fit and meet, and no longer; viz., Denbigh, Flint, Carnarvon, Montgomery, Beaumaris, or else Conway, Merioneth, or Holt, and Chelmsford, paying 8*l.* per annum to every such teacher as long as each of the said teachers shall be approved by the said trustees, who shall give to each of the said learners one of the catechisms, commonly called the Assembly's Catechism, with the proofs at large, and one of my books, called the Vanity of Childhood and Youth, when they can repeat the catechism without the proofs, and a Bible when they can repeat the proofs also. I will the same method and way be used and continued with the learners of Wrexham, after my brother and sister Roberts' death, and that the 10*l.* now appointed for the teacher there, now payable by them, be made 15*l.* per annum, that so 25 boys may not only be instructed as before, but also such of them taught to write as are willing to learn. I desire some one, in each of these towns, be desired to inspect the management; and I appoint the teachers to pray daily with the learners, and that they be paid faithfully as long as my said trustees shall approve of them, and that others be nominated upon the death or other removal of any of them by my said trustees."[1]

Dr. Williams died on 26 January 1715–6, and his Will, in consequence of the interlineations and unattested Codicil, became at once the subject of a Chancery suit. The proceedings in Chancery were sufficiently advanced by the early part of 1726 for the execution of such parts of the trusts as comprised the schools. The scheme of the trustees, after being approved by the Master, was confirmed on the 6th day of August 1726, by the Master of the Rolls, and ordered to be carried into execution. While the suit was proceeding, the trustees for their own satisfaction and guidance, made inquires in the several towns where Dr. Williams had directed schools to be set up, to ascertain if such schools were wanted or would

[1] *Report of Lord Brougham's Commission*, "*Denbigh*", pp. 14, 15.

be acceptable. At Flint, Beaumaris, and Conway the offer was at once rejected by the conformist ministers and principal inhabitants, on the alleged grounds that the children were to be taught the Assembly's Catechism, and were to be instructed by a dissenter from the Church of England.[1] Under the scheme and order of court the trustees took immediate steps to establish schools in the following places: viz., Denbigh, Carnarvon, Montgomery, Llanuwchlyn, at Newmarket, instead of Flint, and at Pwllheli in Carnarvonshire, instead of Beaumaris, or Conway, or Holt. The Wrexham School had been carried on from the beginning.[2] There were occasional collisions; for instance, the Presbyterian schoolmaster of Wrexham was presented at the Correction Court for teaching without a license from the Bishop of the Diocese.[3] The schoolmaster at Bala reported, in 1737, that the rector of the parish threatened him unless he taught the Church Catechism.[4] The master of Montgomery was harassed by the Town Warden, "a sorry rogue" from Anglesea, who informed the magistrates "that there was kept in his town a Presbyterian school, and that the master did not communicate in the Church of England nor teach the Church Catechism, and that he had corrupted all the town and country". Having no license from the Bishop, he was cited to appear before the Episcopal Court "fifteen long miles" off. The schoolmaster at Carnarvon was prosecuted at the instance of the vicar of Llanbeblig.[5] On the whole things went fairly well for those times.

All these facts speak volumes as to the provisions for the primary education of the children of the poor of North

[1] *Report of Lord Brougham's Commission*, "*Denbigh*", p. 15.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[3] Palmer's *History of the Parish Church of Wrexham*, p. 138.
[4] Jeremy's *Presbyterian Fund, &c.*, p. 87. [5] *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 88.

Wales in this period. The fantastic ideas of this epoch, established in people's minds by certain historians, have no basis in fact. In truth, we have had more than enough of foolish fancy concerning the early eighteenth century. Painstaking inquiry will substitute fact for fiction.

Resuming our narrative of Sir John Philipps's educational work, we find that by the year 1717, Sir John had called into being, in Pembroke and Carmarthen shires, all the Charity-Schools he was destined to found there on his own account. In fact, after 1717, only four Charity-Schools were reported in the *Accounts* during his lifetime, viz., Lampeter-Velfrey, "a School supported by subscriptions", erected in 1717; Narberth, in 1718; Lawrenny, "a School for all the poor Children of the parish", erected in 1725; and Steinton, "a School opened and supported at the sole expense of a private Gentleman" in 1727.[1] All these schools were in Pembrokeshire.

The references to the Welsh schools are now scantier in the *Minutes and Correspondence* of the Society. Occasionally, however, we find a very interesting and illuminating record. For instance, some of the religious societies largely shared in the High Church enthusiasm of the reign of Queen Anne. They imbibed a tincture of Jacobite tendencies, and became obnoxious to the new Government, and they consequently drew down some obloquy on the Charity-Schools which they had supported.[2]

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge seems to have been particularly anxious to steer an even course during this crisis. Its circular letters impressed upon all the duty of loyalty to the King and Government. The years 1717 and 1718 were years of great anxiety. The Archbishop of Canterbury addressed two very important

[1] *Accounts of Charity-Schools* under these years.

[2] See Secretan's *Life of Robert Nelson*, pp. 95, 96.

letters, one respecting the loyalty of the religious societies,[1] and the other respecting the loyalty of the Charity Schoolmasters, etc.[2] The following Letter throws an interesting light on the state of the Charity-Schools and on Jacobitism in Pembrokeshire in this period. It was written by John Pember, and is dated 15 April 1717. In reply to the Circular Letter of the Society, he says:—

> "That some Masters of Charity-Schools in that County have been already, and the rest shall, God willing, be desired to keep Registers of the names of the Children admitted unto their respective Schools, as desired in ye Society's Circular Letter. Those Masters that are employed in that part of the County have so far assured him of their good affection to the King; that they and their Scholars pray daily for King George & the Royal Family. That the Master of St. Issell School and most of the other Masters in that part of the County complain that they cannot prevail upon the parents of ye poor Children to keep them constantly. That there are noe poor taught in Haraldston West. That the Master of Walton East School not being able to prevail with parents to send their Children there, if Sr John Philipps pleases to give leave, that School might be removed to Usmaston, where he is in hopes of having many poor Children taught. N.B.—Sr John Philipps consents to what he desires."[3]

Our extracts must close here; further information must be sought in the Appendices to this Paper. It is difficult to estimate the number of Charity-Schools erected in Wales in this period. The number accounted for in the *Minutes and Correspondence*, the *Accounts*, and the *Methods of Erecting Charity-Schools* is less than one hundred; but we know that the actual number was far more than that. The numbers of the "children taught" given in the *Accounts* are no criteria from which to judge the extent of their benefits. As a rule the numbers given only denote the free foundations of each school. Most of the schools were open to all children whose parents would pay for their education.

[1] Abstracts of Letters, No. 5581 (1st May, 1718).
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 5610.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 5198.

Sir John Philipps died on 5 January 1736-7. The following obituary notice appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*:—

> "Jan. 5, Sir John Philipps, Bt., of Picton Castle, Pembrokeshire, uncle to Sir Robert Walpole's Lady; he served in several Parliaments for Pembroke, and Harverfordwest; was one of the Commissioners for building the 50 New Churches, and 1 of ye Society for Reformation of Manners."[1]

Sir John was buried at St. Mary's Church, Haverfordwest. A handsome marble monument is erected to his memory in that Church. It reads as follows:—

> "Here lye the Remains of Sir John Phillips, of Picton-Castle, in the county of Pembroke, Bart. who departed this life Jan. 5, 1736, at London, in the 77th year of his age. He serv'd with great Reputation and Honour for the Town of Pembroke, and for this Town and County, in several Parliaments, where his constant Aim was to promote the Cause of Virtue and Religion, and the real Good of his Country. He was one of the most active Commissioners for building the fifty new Churches in and about the City of London, and a leading Member, in that Metropolis, of many Charitable Societies, to which he was a very ample Benefactor. To attempt a character of this great and good Man, so well known and admir'd at home, and in foreign Countries, would be an Injury to it: his good Works speak eloquently for him, particularly his extensive Liberality on all occasions to this Town and County, of which, at his Death, he was the oldest Common-Council-Man. He left issue, three sons, Members also of our Common-Council, Sr Erasmus Philipps of Picton-Castle, Bart. our Representative in Parliament; John Philipps, of Kilgetty, Esq.; Mayor of this Corporation; and Bulkeley Philipps, Esq.; who erected this Monument to the pious Memory of their late excellent Father."[2]

When the news of his decease became known to the

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1737, p. 60.

[2] Wotton, *English Baronetage*, vol. i, pp. 462-3, Ed. 1741.

Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, of which he had been a distinguished member almost from its beginning, the following minute was passed :—

> "Tuesday, 11 January 1736-7.—The Committee being inform'd of the Death of Sr John Philipps Bar^t^ order'd the Secr'y to wait upon Sr Erasmus Philipps in their names to condole him upon this Melancholy occasion, and to assure him of their Great Concern for the loss of a Gentleman, who had so many years been the ornament, and in a great measure the Support of the Society; and to whose excellent example, liberal contributions, and indefatigable endeavours, the success which by the blessing of God the Society had met with was very much owing.
>
> "The Secr'y accordingly waited on Sr Erasmus Philipps with the said message and being return'd acquainted the Committee that Sr Erasmus thought himself very much obliged by the concern they express'd on the Death of Sr John Philipps, and desired his thanks might be accepted for the same."[1]

Sir John did not forget the Society in his Will. The following records refer to his bequests to it, and the objects toward which they were applied :—

> "Tuesday, 1 March 1736-7.—Mr John Philipps reported that his late Father, Sr John Philipps had bequeathed in his Will, dated the 6th Septr 1725, the sum of 50*l.* to the Society in the following words, viz. 'I give and bequeath unto John Meller of the Middle Temple, Esqr, William Melmoth of Lincoln's Inn, Esqr, and Thomas Cleadon, of the parish of St. Clement Danes, in The County of Middlesex Gent, and to the Survivors and Survivor of them, the Sum of 50 pounds of Lawfull Money of Great Britain to the Intent and on Trust that they pay the same into the hands of the Treasurer for the time being of a Voluntary Society of diverse worthy Persons for Promoting Christian Knowledge by setting up or encouraging Charity Schools for the Instruction of Poor children in the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion as Professed and Taught in the Church of England, and by dispersing books of Piety agreeable to the doctrine and discipline of the said Church, and by such other Christian Methods to be dispos'd as they think fit.'
>
> "And by a Codicil dated 1st of May 1733, another Legacy of 100 pounds in the words following, viz. :—
>
> "'I give and bequeath unto the Rev. Dr John Denne, Archdeacon of Rochester, William Tillard, of Spital Square, in the County

[1] *Minutes* of S.P.C.K.

of Middlesex Esqr, and Benjamin Hoare of Fleet Street London Esqr, the sum of one hundred pounds of like Lawfull Money for the use of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to be apply'd towards carrying on their good Designs.'

"And that he had accordingly now paid to Mr. Tillard one Hundred and Fifty pounds for the said uses. £150:—:—

"The Society desir'd Sr Erasmus Philipps and Mr. Philipps to accept their thanks for their care in discharging the said Legacies.

"Upon a Motion made by Mr. Philipps in the name of Sr Erasmus Philipps, as well as of himself, that part of Sr John Philipps's Legacies to the Society might be apply'd toward printing and distributing Books in Wales.

"Agreed that the Legacy of 50*l.* be appropriated to buying of Bibles, New Testaments, and Common Prayers, in Welch, for the use of the poor.[1]

"Tuesday, 15 March 1736-7.—Upon Reading a letter from Mr. Griffith Jones, at Llandowror, of the 5th of March cur^t^.

"Agreed that Sr Erasmus Philipps be acquainted with the contents of this Letter; and that Mr. Jones be wrote to according to their opinions.

"Tuesday, 10 May 1737.—Agreed that when Sr Erasmus Philipps and his brother Mr. Philipps approve of the application of the 50*l.* in the manner propos'd, that Mr. Jones be aquainted that the Society approve of it."[1]

We cannot close these extracts better than with the words of Griffith Jones, the brother-in-law of Sir John Philipps, his disciple, successor and closest friend, who had more advantages than any other man to know him. Mr. Jones says, in a letter written to Madam Bevan on Jan. 11, 1736-7:—

"Although I much desire to express my utmost gratitude for the very obliging letter of Monday, yet the first account in it of Sir John Phillips' departure from us and leaving the work he was engaged in, whose zeal and management was so necessary towards the success of it, gives me so great a concern, if not an insuperable grief, that I can write but little. A sore breach this! We may justly say a great man is fallen in our Israel, a great and general loss to all the world! Both the Indies will feel it. The persecuted servants of Christ, when they fly to England for refuge, will be distressed to hear he is dead. Ah! such is the fatal doom our apostacy has brought upon us, that we must

[1] *Minutes* of S.P.C.K.

sustain the loss of our best friends, even of those that are our best and most faithful helpers in the only affair that is of an eternal consequence. But alas! poor we, are wont to be more afflictively sensible of the loss of our mercies than gratefully affected with the enjoyment of them. If tears could embalm the precious remains of our friend, he would need no other, which yet are but few in proportion to the occasion; for this world and the people of it are not so grateful, as to be duly sensible of either the enjoyment or loss of their best privileges, I mean such advantages as our tender Father affords them towards saving the life of their souls. When a grievous stroke is given, as now, and the hand of God is heavy upon us by removing the brightest patterns and most generous encouragers of piety, most men betray great stupidity. Well! There are still some remaining monuments of God's gracious intentions towards us, but they too are going off. Yet few know how to improve them, or will lament the loss when they are gone.

"Provided our sorrow is resigned to the divine will, we are not refused leave to be suitably affected in our minds with our temporal grievance, as sickness or wordly crosses: but it can be no less than a duty to lament the grievance that nearly concerns our eternal welfare and the cause of God in our world. I hope, dearest Madam, and my remaining friend, you will allow me to intimate how much I grieve for the loss of one, who in the possession of great affluence, and plentiful fortune, sufficient to command all the pleasures that sensuality could possibly propose, would yet renounce all this to follow the strict rules of piety. Such bright shining stars diffuse great light and lustre and influence upon a religious life. When they all set, the world will be eclipsed with a total darkness. Oh! I grieve to think how that face is now changed that always gave so much countenance to every thing that savoured of piety. Ah! that head is now to be laid low that was so accurate a judge of the principles, practices and writings of men. Ah! that mouth is now closed that was wont to be always full and ready to speak of his God, and of heaven, which is now his home. Ah! a guardian angel is lost that I know was always upon the watch to discover every thing that was offered to the public in prejudice to the church or state. I grieve to think how much his society, his friends and his associates in the several societies he was concerned in, will miss him: the best part of whom will think it no disparagement to own, that he was both the spring and guide of their laudable actions. The zealous promoter of the everlasting gospel is now gone to be forever happy with its blessed Author. Oh! he is gone, and will not return to converse with his weeping friends again. Oh! he is gone, I cannot help being in grief for him; not because I have suffered the greatest loss

that ever befel me with regard to any worldly advantage (for he did not design that, nor did I expect it), but with regard to the encouragement and countenance he gave the cause that I am resolved by the grace of God to continue embarked in, as long as I live. I say, dear Madam, I cannot help being in the greatest grief at his death, not so much for my own, as for the general loss it is likely to be to the interest of religion in all parts of the world, where any thing in England could be done to promote it. But he is gone, and that I endeavour, with regard to him, to think of with joy; gone I say to our grief, but to his own joy; gone, and is attended with the largest train of good works of any I had the happiness to know, which are gone into the other world. Where he enjoys the bountiful rewards his Lord has promised; who gave him wisdom to begin betimes, and to continue an old disciple, even till he was so ripe for heaven, that it seems it was not fit he should continue longer on earth. When he appears again, he will be arrayed with the shining robes of eternal glory, the bright beams of the sun of righteousness shining upon him. I shall be afraid to see him, if I be not found in the blessed Jesus, of whom he talked so often to me; and by whose most excellent conversation I ought to have made greater improvement."[1]

No faithful student of this period will ever pull Sir John Philipps down from the high pedestal whereon Griffith Jones and the leaders of the great revival movement delight in placing him as a great Christian, as a great religious, moral, and educational reformer, and as a philanthropist on the largest scale; the friend of man—of the poor, the imprisoned, and the persecuted.

To Wales, his native land, Sir John Philipps during his long life rendered inestimable services. It is true, that in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and in the band of eminent Welsh Churchmen of this period, he had remarkable associates, but we must remember that, in the words of Griffith Jones, "he was both the spring and guide of their laudable actions".

When the real history of Wales during the early part of the eighteenth century comes to be written; when un-

[1] *Letters of Griffith Jones*, 1832, pp. 198-200.

verified tradition, unsifted gossip, and plausible guess-work gives way to critical examination, I venture to say that then Sir John Philipps of Picton Castle, and his associates, will be assigned the commanding positions to which their character and work entitle them in the history of this period.

APPENDIX I.

Extracts from Abstracts of Correspondents' Letters, and Minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, given in illustration of the "Charity School" movement in Wales, and in evidence of the statements made in the text.

Note.—*The figures at the beginning give the numbers of the Abstracts in the Correspondence Books.*

Abstracts of Letters.

4. Mr Arnold Bowen, of Pembroke, Nov. 29, 1699, to Sr John Philipps, Saith, the Clergy are zealous to promote Reformation, & intend to unite very speedily. That the Gentry have begun to Subscribe towards ye Design of Schools.

11. Dr John Jones, Dean of Bangor, Dec. 16, 1699, from Beaumaris, Saith, That he has set up Schools for ye Poorer Sort at his own charge, but of late their poverty is so great that they cannot allow themselves time to learn. That he has made it his business to recommend Dr. Bray's Design, but Taxes, want & poverty is the constant answer. That there are very few deluded people in those parts, & that Ignorance and unconcernedness are the reigning diseases.

33. Mr James Harries, of Lantrissent, Glamorganshire, to Dr Evans, Feb. 16, 1699, Saith, he hath put up two Schools, & set up Catechetical Lectures in his Parish and hopes his example will obtain thro' ye whole County.

35. Mr Jno. Edwards, from Lwydiarth, Montgomeryshire, to Dr Evans, Feb. 16, 1699, Saith, That Dr. Wynne, ye Chancellor, approves of ye design, that ye Rural Dean of Pola had summoned his Clergy by a Circular Letter—that they had met & resolved on particulars conformable to their Brethren at Wrexham, too tedious here to insert, vide, that they intend to hold their Meetings at two Market Towns alternately, that in ye whole Deanery there is but one Free School endowed for poor Children to learn to read &c., complains of the great number of ye Poor, & how difficult it will be to raise a Fund for their Education, gives a great charact^r^ of Mr. Vaughan, of Lwydiarth, a Gentleman wth whom he dwells, obliges his Curate to teach ye youth of ye Parish where he resides not, and in his other Parish he has made some advances towards setling a Free School, which will be opened after Easter &c.

39. Mr Price of Wrexham, in Flintshire, Feb. 18, 1699, to Mr Chamberlayne, Saith, That ye Clergy in Denbighshire & Flintshire have associated according to ye Bedfordshire model, that they

resolved to rectifie what was amiss in themselves wth respect to ye Rubricks & Canons. To send for a considerable number of small Books. He desires to see our methods of raising subscriptions and regulating the Schools.

55. Mr James Harries, from Lantrissent, Glamorganshire, to Mr Chamberlayne, March 1st, 1699, Signifies his earnest desires that the Design may be successfull, and promises to do what in him lies to forward it; says he will communicate ye papers which shall be sent him by this Society, to his Brethren of Monmouthshire, &c., so soon as he shall receive them, that he has begun Catechetical Lectures in ye several Chappels of his great Parish & hopes to carry them on, together with the Schooling of Poor Children.

60. Mr Arnold Bowen, of Langum, near Pembroke, Southwales, to Mr. Chamberlayne, March 4, 1699, Saith he had communicated ye 2^d^ Circular Letter of this Society to the Clergy at their Monthly Lecture Feb. 29th past, in ye Town & County of Haversford West; when ye Clergy then present 8 or 9 in number formed themselves into a Society seven of whom subscribed an obligation in this Letter recited, that some scruple the Design for want of ye Mandate of their Diocesan [Viz.—The Bishop of St. David's, added in another hand], who, he Saith hath rather discouraged Piety, &c., by ridiculing their Monthly Lectures, &c., that they have drawn up a Scheme for taking Subscriptions for Schools, whereunto most of the Justices Subscribed at their Quarter Sessions, & that the Roll was sent unto the several Parishes; and hopes that Schools may be erected in ye most convenient places of ye County, and that Sr John Philipps his presence is much wanting to promote it, doubts not of success, if the next Diocesan patronizes these designs, desires papers and instructions from this Society.

84. Mr Robert Wynne from Carnarvon, to Mr Chamberlayne, April 15th. 1700, referrs to a Letter he sent to Dr. Evans, wherein he communicated ye state of Religion, & of ye Societies of the Clergy in ye Diocese of Bangor. That ye Clergy do highly approve ye good Designs mentioned in Mr Chamberlayne's letter & resolve to pursue them. That the Clergy of each Deanery meet by themselves & make it their constant endeavour to stir up each other to a strict & conscientious discharge of the Ministerial Functions. That divers of ye Clergy have contributed towards Schools, and others disposed to do ye like, and great numbers have been lately taught to read. That ye Catechumens are much increased notwithstanding the miserable neglect of Parents. That the vulgar understand not English Books & the people are generally so poor y^t^ little help can be expected from them. That ye Bishop & his Clergy have been at the sole charge of Printing the Welsh Books lately translated, and are willing to subscribe to more; & will endeavour to obtain Subscriptions from ye Gentry &c.

92. Mr Price [Wrexham] to Mr Chamberlayne, April 29th 1700. That the Clergy in Denbighshire, Flintshire, and Montgomeryshire are united in Societies. . . . . That they had distributed the little Manuals mentioned in the Bedfordshire Letter (according to wch they had modelled their Societies) wch turns to good account. That

they had resolved to be diligent in Catechising the youth, & design'd to Spend ye Sumer Season therein, and had unanimously agreed to use Bishop Williams' Exposition.[1] That they agreed to endeavour to set up Free Schools for the Poor Children, and accordingly were making Notitias of their Parishes, and that they find it most convenient to Set up Welsh Schools, that being the Language wch ye Parents best understood.

109. Dr. John Jones [Bangor] May 23, 1700. That they had set up several Schools for poor Children in those parts, &c.

116. Dr Robert Wynne of Gresford in Denbighshire, to Mr Chamberlayne, June 5, 1700. That they have distributed a considerable number of Books, & are consulting the education of poor Children a matter of much difficulty in those parts, no Welsh Schools being already Setled, wch language must be taught them, & Primers are ready to be printed for that purpose.

146. (Lay.) Mr Lloyd, of Alt y Cadno, Carmarthenshire, South Wales, to Mr Chamberlayne Aug. 1st 1700. That the Design of Schools is most likely to take effect, when the Manners of the people are reformed which they are now endeavouring.

151. Mr Bowen of Langum, Pembrokeshire, to Mr Chamberlayne Aug. 13, 1700. That they had formed themselves into a Society of Some Clergy, wth many of the principall & leading Gentry of the Country, Chosen their Treasurer & lodged the Small Stock of money in his hands. That Sr John Philipps his Interest and Example has given great influence in order to effect it.

202. (Lay.) Mr William Younge from Wrexham, Flintshire, to Mr Chamberlayne Nov. 8, 1700. That in Wales there is great want of Schools, and y^t^ in Wrexham some Gentlemen have promised to assist with their Purses, & hopes others will follow ye example.

274. (Lay.) Mr Laugharne, of St Brides, Pembrokeshire, 4 April 1701, to Mr Chamberlayne. Says that they can form but one Society of Clergy & Laity in their County. That some of the former refuse to joyn with them. They have Monthly Sacraments and Lectures in 2 or 3 Towns, no Workhouses, and few Schools, &c.

276. Mr Harries of Llantrissent, Glamorganshire, to Mr Chamberlayne, 8 April, 1701. Says, that there are two Schools in Llantrissent.

299. Mr Tho. Thomas, of Carmarthen, to Mr Cham. 19 May, 1701. Say's that he defer'd answering the Societies Letter of the 27 March, ult. 'till he had discours'd some of the Chief Gentry about Schools & Workhouses, in the last of which nothing will be done without an Act of Parl^t^ which they dayly expect, but of the first we shall shortly receive an Account of Sr John Philipps, &c.

---

[1] Bishop Williams' *Brief Exposition of the Church Catechism* was translated into Welsh by John Morgan, and published in 1699, under the title of *Eglurhad byrr ar Gatecism yr Eglwys*, o waith John Williams, Escob Caergai. See *Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry*, p. 262.

352. Mr John Price, of Wrexham, in Denbyshire, 4 Oct., 1701, to the Secretary, Says, That as to their Society they find ye Gentry hearty and zealous enough in ye matter of Schools, y^t^ he has one School set up already in his Parish, and a Promise of Subscriptions for more w^n^ they can have fit Persons to undertake the work, for y^t^ at present they are in great want of Persons thoroughly qualified for so good and necessary an employment.

FROM THE MINUTES.

18 November 1701. Sr John Philipps reported that he had lately received a Letter sign'd by 31 Divines and Lay Gentlemen, some of them Correspondents with this Society, desiring the Ld Arch Bishop of Canterbury to issue out his Circular Letter to the Clergy of the Diocess of St Davids enjoyning them upon all occasions to excite the Gentry to promote the Erection of Charity Schools, the Catechising of Youth, & Family Devotion at least twice a day.

Also that his Grace had been pleased to promise to issue out such Circular Letter in a Fortnight.

14 October 1703. A motion being made about the Reprinting his Grace the Lord A. B. of Canterburie's late Letter to the Arch-Deacons and Clergy of the Diocess of St. David: in order to its being inserted into the Societies Ordinary Packetts:

Agreed that Coll. Colchester, Mr. Stubs, and Mr. Chamberlayne be desired to move his Grace in this affair.

[2000 Copies were ordered to be Reprinted on 28 Oct. 1703.]

26 July 1705. A Letter was read from Mr. Vaughan[1] of Derllys certifying that in a Lordship belonging to him, He and the Free-Holders are building a Charity-School on the Common, & enclosing part of the Common to be given for ever to a Schoolmaster for Teaching the Poor Children of the Lordship: And he desires that a Tract may be written upon this subject and putt into the hands of Lords of Mannors.

Mr. Edward reported that the Governour & Company of the Mine-Adventure have allowed 40*l.* p. ann. for the Education of 40 children of the miners & workmen belonging to the said Company: whereof one moyety is allowed for a Charity-School in the County of Glamorgan, & the other for another in the County of Cardigan; and also 30*l.* p. ann. for a Chaplain to the Miners in the County of Cardigan to Read Prayers, Preach & Catechise the workmen & their Children.

6 Sept. 1705. Mr Shute presented a Letter from Mr Wm Evans of Carmarthen who teaches gratis 12 poor children, and says that they

---

[1] John Vaughan, the father of Madame Bevan. He was one of the noblest of the little band of Welsh Reformers of this period. He devoted his efforts mainly to the circulation of Welsh literature among the people. Several Welsh translations, and re-issues of Welsh classics, owe their publication to his patronage and benefactions.

want Bibles, Catechisms, Arithmetic Books, & Copy Books: whereupon the Society order'd them 6 Bibles, 12 Christian Scholars, & 12 Catechisms.

18 October 1705. Sr John Philipps related that he had desired the L. Bp. of St. Davids to make a second Distribution of his Grace the A. Bp. of Canterbury's Letter to the Clergy of that Diocess, desiring them to recommend the promoting of Family Prayer & of Charity Schools to their Parishioners, and that his Lordship would further the matter by a Letter of his own; and that his Lordship was pleas'd to promise to do so.

27 December 1705. A Letter was read from Mr. Lewis, at Sr Edw. Mansell's, at Margam, to Mr. Wyndham certifying that at Margam there is a School of some years erection, wherein 12 poor children are maintain'd at y^e expence of a private person.

21 February 170$\frac{4}{5}$. A Letter was read from Mr Bull to Mr Nelson, That my Lord [Bishop of St Davids] has subscribed 4*l.* p. ann. during his life towards the erecting a Charity-School in Carmarthenshire: And that he Mr Bull has subscribed 20*s.* per ann. during his life to the same Design. And that notice shall be given to fit persons of Brecknockshire & Cardiganshire to be invited to the Correspondence as soon as they can be pitch'd upon.

4 July 1706. A Letter was read from Mr Williams,[1] of Denbigh, to Mr Nelson. That his design is to procure the erection of Welsh Schools, and to sett an example to others by Establishing one in his own Parish. He proposes that the money rais'd by Mr Nelson's Tract on Confirmation in Welch (of which many are dispers'd gratis by the Bp of St Asaph & himself) may go as part of Contribution to the said Welch Schools. To which Mr Nelson gave his consent.

18 July 1706. Part of a Letter from Mr Vaughan of Derllys to Mr Shute was read, wherein he owns the Receipt of the Parcel of Books lately sent unto him, part of which he desires to distribute amongst the Scholars taught in a Charity-School, &c.

3 Oct. 1706. A Letter from Sr John Philipps intimates that there are foundations laying for several Charity-Schools in Pembrokeshire, &c.

10 Oct. 1706. A Letter from Sr John Philipps dated Oct. 1. He proposes that a good plain Spelling-Book may be added to the Societies Packet; and owns the Receipt of the parcel lately sent to him. He says that the Accounts of Schools have done much good in those parts, and proposes that in the next Impression, the Heads of the several Paragraphs may be printed in the margin, and adds that the Town and County of Haverfordwest by hearing of the Progress of Charity-Schools in London & elsewhere have been influenced to apply an old charity lately recovered to this pious use; and thinks

---

[1] Rev. Thomas Williams, M.A., the Translator into Welsh of Robert Nelson's *Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England*, and several other Nelson Tracts.

the parcel of Accounts &c., which he writes for may promote this design.

31 Oct. 1706. S[r] John Philipps reported that there is now a Foundation laid for 6 Charity-Schools in Wales; two of them are actually open'd; and he expects to hear of the opening of the other 4 in a short time.

7 November 1706. S[r] John Philipps reported that 24*l.* p. ann. is actually Subscribed as a Foundation for the 6 Schools mentioned on the 31 Oct. last.

5 December 1706. A Letter from Mr Pember of Haverford West who has rec'd the parcel sent him by the Society. He will putt the Spelling-Books & Catechisms into the hands of the poor children as soon as the Charity-School is open'd: And if the Society shall think fitt will disperse the Accounts of Schools among the Gentry for their better Information of what has been done in London and elsewhere in this land. The Master is already putt into possession of the Charity-School & he & his wife are to teach 24 Boys & Girls Cloathed for 5*l.* p. ann. and a good house to dwell in. The Cloathing of these children will cost 14*l.* 8*s.* 0*d.* a year; and the parents of each child have 20*s.* a year allow'd towards its maintenance, so long as it shall continue in the School, &c.

13 February 170¾. A Letter from Mr Jorden, with another therein enclosed from Mr Herbert Pye, Minister of Monmouth, dated 8[ber] 31 last, relating to a Charity-School sett up in Monmouth by the Lady Granville, who is said to give 5*l.* p. Ann. to a widdow, to teach 24 Children, who have also Books & Cloaths at her Ladyships charge. The Girls are said also to be taught to sew & knitt, &c.

20 February 170¾. Part of a Letter from Mr Pember of Haverford-West, who writes that the Charity-Schoolmaster there teaches 32 poor children whereof 25 are Cloathed & their parents are allowed 20*s.* p. ann. toward the maintenance of each of them. The other 7 are taught gratis, but they have no Cloaths, nor their parents any allowance for them.

24 April 1707. A Letter was read from S[r] John Philipps wherein he desires that the School at Haverford-West be not inserted into the Societies Account of Charity-Schools because it was endowed above 14 years ago. That six Schools are now carrying on in Pembrokeshire for the support whereof above 25*l.* p. ann. is already secured. In one of these are six children clothed.

29 May 1707. A Letter was read from Mr Jorden describing the states of the Charity-Schools at Monmouth &c which were order'd to be entered into the Larger Account of Scholes. He writes also that there is already a Subscription of 5*l.* p. ann. toward a Schole at Abergavenny, & more is expected.

Another from Mr Sandford of Presteigne. He hopes in time to be able to cure the disorders in which the Grammar Schole there continues; which is necessary to be done before a Charity Schole can be sett up in the Parish.

5 June 1707. A Letter from Mr Pember of Haverford-West giving an Account of the Charity-Schools sett up and maintained by Sr John Philipps in the Parish of Bigely, at Marloes, at Walton East, Walton West, and in the Parish of Boulston, all in Pembrokeshire; which was order'd to be inserted into the Large Account of Charity-Schools concealing the name of Sr John as is desired, &c.

19 June 1707. Mr Edwards read a Letter from Mr Pember of Haverford West, [saying] that Sr John Philipps has lately settled a Schole at Rudbaxton, in the Hundred of Dongledy (in Pembrokeshire) and gives the Master 4*l.* yearly to teach the poor children to read, write, and the Church Catechism; and allows 20*s.* a year for them, &c.

4 September 1707. Sr John Philipps related that a Charity-Schole is sett up in Hascard in Pembrokeshire, where the Master is allowed a Salary of 5*l.* p. ann. with liberty to teach the children of others who will pay for their Education.

Also that a like Schole is setting up at Llandowror in Carmarthenshire, where the Scholm^r^ is to have the like Salary and allowance.

Sr John Philipps proposing that a method might be thought of for perpetuating Charity-Scholes, by a succession of good School Masters, divers Gentlemen being at a loss as to this affair, and loth that their Charities should be misapplied after their decease. The Society desired Mr Edwards to prepare a draught or form whereby the surviving Trustees, upon the death or resignation of any of their members may choose in others, that thereby the said Scholes may always be supply'd with worthy Trustees & Schoolmasters, according to the charitable designs of the Founders of the said Scholes.

20 November 1707. A letter was read from Mr Sandford, of Presteigne, who writes that Mr Secretary Harley has given him orders about setting up a Charity-School there.

11 December 1707. A letter was read from Mr Pember, Prendergast, N^r^ Haverford-West importing that Sr John Phillipps has subscribed 50*s.* a year towards a Charity-School in Llanychaer in Pembrokeshire, and has sett up a School at Llandowrogh, in Carmarthenshire at his own charge; and will sett up another in Pembrokeshire as soon as he can find a fitt Teacher. That Sr John wants a draught mentioned in Minute 6 of 4 Septr last, for perpetuating Benefactions to Charity-Schools. That the same Sr John desires to cloathe six of the poorest Children in each School sett up by him in Pembrokeshire, upon condition that their parents do not take them from the School within twelve months after, unless they qualified for Apprenticeships or Service. Lastly that he this Mr Pember pays for the teaching of 5 poor Children in the Parish of Haraldston-West in Pembrokeshire; and partly for the teaching of six poor Children in this Parish of Prendergast, the rest being supplied by the offertory money.

Enclosed in Mr Pember's Letter were two papers, one a Letter from Mr. Gambold[1] Master of the Schole of Llanychaer, acquainting

[1] William Gambold, the author of a *Grammar of the Welsh Language*, published in 1727. At this time Curate, and afterwards Rector, of Puncheston and Llanychaer.

him that the said School was open'd on 12 Nov. last, when 16 poor Children were entred upon the Subscription of 4*l.* p. ann. and that the number of those children were likely to be encreased to 40. He desires Sr John Philipps to recommend that Charity to Sr John Packington and others who have Estates in those parts. The other Paper is a fair copy of the Orders of this Schole at Llanychaer which was recommended to the consideration of the Standing Committee, who are desired to revise the Orders of Charity-Schools, in order to be printed on a Single Sheet.

27 May 1708. A Letter from Mr Pember of Prendergast, who writes that Sr John Philipps has order'd Schools to be sett up at Maenclochogg & Penaly in Pembrokeshire, besides those mentioned in his former Letters. And that Mr Laugharne pays for the teaching of ten poor Children of the Parish of St. Brides, and of six Children of the Parish of Marloes, and buys Books for them. Also that 24 Children are now taught at Llanychaer, the Master's Salary amounting to 8*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.* p. ann.

18 Nov. 1708. The opinion of the Committee upon Sr John Philipps's proposal for training up Schoolmasters for Charity Schools was reported as follows: viz. That upon consulting Mr. Skeate, they find that the Religious Societies have hitherto furnish'd the Charity-Schools in and about London, with discreet Masters at far less charge and to better satisfaction, than by any other method that has been try'd.

The Society concur'd with the Committee and order'd that Sr John Philipps be advis'd of it.

Abstracts of Letters.

1433. John Philipps at Carmarthen 9th October 1708. That Mr Edmund Meyrick had given two houses in that Towne for ye use of a Schoolmaster and Publick Library for ever, and endow'd the School wth 22*l.* p. Ann. during his life.

1471. Sr John Philipps at Picton, 25 Octob^r^ 1708. That he and Mr Pember had joined their interests to promote ye setting up 2 Charity-Schools at Laugharne and St. Clears in which they had a prospect of Success. That ye Rev^d^ Mr Meyrick having given a place at Carmarthen for ye Library and 22*l.* p. ann. to the Charity-School there a letter of thanks to him from ye Society might be of service. He proposes a method for Training up Schoolmasters for ye Charity-Schools.

1500. John Pember at Prendergast 13th Nov. 1708. That Sr John Philipps and himself had lately visited several of ye Charity-Schools in South Wales, viz., at Boulston, Bigely, Penaly, and Tenby, Llanychaer, Rudbaxton, Marloes Hascard, Walton East, Haraldston West, and Prendergast; and that they had some hopes of seeing Schools erected at St Clears & Laugharne.

1650. John Vaughan at Derllys, 28th May 1708, to Sr John Philipps. He proposes that all Schools in the Kingdom be supply'd with an English expositor, in order to make Children understand what they read.

1734. John Pember at Prendergast, 24th Sept. 1709. That Sr John Philipps had very kindly erected several Schools in that County, but that he found it difficult to perswade Parents to send their Children and keep them there. Their own want of Education making them stupid as to every consideration of ye advantages of it in their children.

1943. John Vaughan, Esqr at Derllys, 24th Decr. 1709, to Sr John Philipps. He proposes to ye Society that a Catalogue of Practical Books to ye value of 5*l.* for the Libraries for Children may be printed as what would very much promote that design.

1947. Willm Lewis at Margam, Glamorganshire, 26 Dec. 1709. That the Private Person who according to ye Printed Account of Schools kept 12 poor Children at School is now dead & his Charity with him.

1977. Wm. Pugh at Mathafarn to Mr Nelson of ye 9th Novr. 1709. That ye Rector of that Parish intends to take an Account of each family, how many can read, & say their Catechism; that those that cannot may be instructed, for which purpose the Parishioners intend to raise a Stock to encourage a Person to keep a School who shall be obliged to catechise as many as come to him on Saturdays in ye afternoon. That ye Clergy in his neighbourhood have proposed to meet frequently to consult the good of their Parishes.

2152. Mr. Wm. Pugh Senr, at Mathavarn Montgomeryshire 21st June 1710, to Mr Nelson. That at a Parish Meeting ye Friday preceeding a good progress was made towards setting up a Charity-School, and also liberal Subscriptions considering ye place towards buying practical Books to be distributed among the poor; and that ye Householders there present promised to send their Children to be instructed in the Catechism.

2237. Herbert Pye, at Monmouth 28 Aug. 1710. Giving an Account of several discouragements the Charity-Schools there laboured under, and particularly that ye Lecturer of ye Town had publickly reproach'd ye design.

2406. Tho. Williams, at Denbigh, 28th Novr 1710. That about 20 Children are taught there at his own charge join'd wth some help out of the offertory.

2426. John Pember, at Prendergast, Pembrokeshire, 19th Decemb^r^ 1710. That by Sr John Philipps's Interest the Charity Schoole at Llanychaer is upheld and a School erected at Puncheston Mr Jenkin Breckwell is ye Master of y^t^ at Llanychaer and Mr Gambold of that at Puncheston which was opened the 8th of Novem^r^ last. That three poor children of Llangan in Carmarthensh. are taught at his own charge, and 4 poor children are taught at Dynas in Pembrokeshire at ye charge of Mr Laugharne Rector of that Parish. That in each of these Schools & in others as far as he knows, the Masters of every Charity School in Pembrokesh. and Carmarthensh. has the liberty to take into ye charity Schools children whose parents pay for their teaching, that they may be better qualify'd to stick close to their business and carefully instruct the poor.

2529. Tho. Philipps at Laugharne Carmarthensh. 8th March 171⅘ That ye Accounts of Llanddowror & Laugharne Schools are as formerly.

2567. Sr John Philipps at Picton Castle Pembrokesh. 7 July 1711. That Mr Pember and he had spent some days in visiting the Charity-Schools in the County of Pembroke & returned last night very well satisfy'd with ye diligent attendance of the Masters and good improvement of ye children several of whom he hopes will be cloath'd this summer.

2831. John Price at Wrexham, Denbighsh. 19th Octob^r^ 1711. That a young Gentlewoman lately deceased has left the interest of 20*l.* p. ann. for ever towards instructing 4 poor Children in a Charity-School, and that he hopes this may prove a foundation for another School beside that already set up.

2840. Herbert Pye at Monmouth, 17th Octob^r^ 1711. That some persons had slacken'd the encouragement they at first gave to ye Schools at Monmouth, but that others were resolv'd to continue their beneficence by whose means 3 Schools are still kept up but not any cloath'd. And that by ye money collected at ye monthly Sacrament he had set out 14 poor Boys to honest Trades.

2854. Sr John Philipps at Picton Castle Pemb. 20th Octob^r^ 1711. That he has hopes of setting up a Charity-School at Templeton in Pembrokeshire: That he wishes there were a project for employing the Ladies in some charitable work, that the making of Caps, Kerchiefs, Aprons, Bands, and even Shifts and Shirts for the poor would administer truer comfort to them one day than all the pains & time they spend at their Surbels and Embroidery, that he is glad to, y^t^ he has for some time past taken off his Daughter from poring on her Tent to busy her every day in making some provision for the Charity children.

2942. Sr John Philipps at Picton Castle Pemb. 10 Jany 171½. That a Charity-School was open'd ye 7th instant at Templeton in Pembrokeshire for about 20 children & expected to increase.

2962. Evan Griffies, at Carmarthen 26th Jany 171½. That by order of Mr. Meyrick he gives a particular Account of the School of wch he is Master at Carmarthen, where 21 Boys are taught and cloath'd at Mr Meyrick's charge.

3091. Jo. Catlyn, at Kerry Montgomeryshire, 2^d^ June, 1712. That he hopes 'ere another 12 months goes about something like a Charity-School may be sett up in his Parish. That he sh^d^ be glad to know what is ye usual Salary to ye Master of a Charity-School, and whether one may be obtained from London, because it will be difficult to get one in those parts that has a just and necessary knowledge in the English Tongue. That if the Society's Packets hereafter consists of more English than Welch, he could dispose of them to more advantage because tho' many in his neighbourhood do talk yet few can read Welch.

3149. Sr John Philipps at Picton Castle, Pemb. 9th August 1712. That an agreeable Treatise upon Agriculture fitted to the capacity's

of youth may 'tis hoped in some measure prevent the inconvenience of the Children being too much dispos'd of to the Mechanick's Trades.

3404. Sr John Philipps at Picton Castle Pemb. 13 Decr 1712. That a School is erecting in the Parish of Amroth in Pembrokeshire: That several Ministers in that County teach School, and there are about 6 worthy Clergymen that constantly visit most of the Charity-and Scholars, and have several times expressed their great joy for Schools in that County to examine the Children & exhort the Masters the proficiency of the latter. That he wishes there were a Law for building of Schoolhouses in such Parishes as for want of that or some other conveniency are forced to make use of the Church, where in the Master's absence children will sometimes do things unbecoming & injurious to that holy place.

3843. Wm Lewis at Margam, Glamorgansh. Jan. 21, 171$\frac{4}{5}$. In answer to the Society's Circular Letter, that tho' there is hardly a Parish in that part of the world where there is not a private School for teaching children to read; yet there are few or no Charity-Schools. That he is informed that the School at Neath is sunk; But that there is a School erected at Cowbridge in Glamorganshire.

4306. Tho. Price at Merthir Tedvil, Brecknocksh. 4 Ffeb^{ry} 171$\frac{4}{5}$. "That the Charity-Schools at Merthir Tedvil may be inserted in the next Account thus. Merthir Tedvil Glamorgansh. 3 Schools, 2 for Boys and 1 for Girls at the expence of one Gent. for the benefit of his poor Tenants."

4355. Moses Williams[1] at Carmarthen, 26 April 1715. That he doubts not but it would be of good consequence if the following alteracons & additions were inserted in the next Account of Schools: vizt. Bettws Abergelau, Denbighsh. The Revd Mr Jones Vicar thereof has given 50*s*. p. ann. for ever for Teaching Ten poor Children to read Welch. He also finds them Books and bestows Cloaths upon them at Christmas. Also Mad^{m} Joanna Griffiths pays for the teaching & cloathing of three poor girls there, and some others of the Parishioners have hitherto been prevail'd upon to subscribe more or less to maintain more children as particularly Mrs Elizabeth Salisbury 20*s*. Mrs Gaenor Wyn 10*s*. Mr Tho Llwyd 5*s*. Mr Robt Evans 7*s*. &c.

Marchwiail, Denbighsh. John Hill of Sontley Esq gives 40*s*. p. ann. for teaching 10 poor Boys there.

Wrexham, Denbighsh. The Rev. Mr Price Vicar thereof pays 40*s*. p. ann. for a Schoolhouse, and gives a Master 10*l*. p. ann. and his dyet for teaching all such of his Parishioners as are willing to read and write Welch, & repeat their Catechism &c. He also finds 'em Books.

4368. Theo. Chest at Chepstow, Monmouthshire, 9 May 1715. Enclosing a Letter from Mr. Davies the Curate of Caerleon of the

[1] Rev. Moses Williams, M.A., who traversed North & South Wales during these years, to solicit Subscriptions towards his Edition of the Welsh Bible issued in 1717-8, and to collect materials for his List of Printed Books in Welsh, & Relating to Wales, which was published in 1717.

6th May, Signifying the present state of it: Viz. that there is no School there. That it is a very poor place, and above 100 poor Children unprovided for, which makes great want of a Charity-School, that there is no likelihood of having one, the inhabitants being not able to pay any man of capacity.

4369. Fran. Pettingal at Newport Monmouthsh. 8 May 1715. That having enquir'd into the state of the Town of Caerleon, he finds it a very poor place, the children numerous and destitute of a School and real objects of charity of that kind. That the Minister is Mr Tho. Lingen & his curate Mr Griffith Davies. The value of the living about 20*l.* p. ann. That there is but one church and that in the Patronage of the Chapter of Landaffe. That the prospect of some great advantage design'd [for] this place and others in the same necessitous circumstances, encourages him to recommend the Town of Newport (whereof he is Vicar) to the consideration of all charitable Benefactors as a place destitute of a School, very numerous of poor Children, and affording but a very poor maintenance to its Incumbents, which exceeds not 20*l.* p. ann. as appears by the affidavitts made on that behalf upon the Commission for His Majesty to the poor Clergy, the benefit whereof they have not as yet reap'd.

4667. John Pember at Prendergast, Pembroksh. 16 Decr 1715, to Sr John Philipps. That on the 1 of the month he visited St Issels School, where he found but 12 poor Children tho' 28 belong'd to it, the rest being kept away by ye extreamness of the weather. That he heard those that were there read and say their Catechism, and designs to do ye same a month hence. That Mr Barlow cloaths and pays for 6 poor Boys and 6 Girls at Slebbech. That Mr Pember himself pays for teaching all ye poor children at Lambston. That Bigeley School was shut up at the opening of St. Isells School. That Mr Laugharne's heirs are not pleased to continue the encouragement given by him for the teaching the poor Children of St. Brides Parish. That 12 poor Children were taught in Llanychaer School last quarter day. That Puncheston School fell because y^{e} Master could not prevail upon parents to send their children to be taught there.

4726. James Harries at Monmouth, 13 Feby 171$\frac{4}{5}$. That Mr Lewis of Hampsh. has a good Lordship in the Parish of Merthir Tedvil (where Mr Price is Minister) and gave 20 pounds p. ann. towards the support of two Charity Schools for the benefit of the sons and daughters of his Tenants, but Mr Lewis for some reasons has withdrawn his Charity. He therefore recommends it to such members of the Society as may be acquainted with him to use their interest to prevail with him to restore his Charity.

4730. Tho. Philipps, at Laugharne, Carmarthensh. 4th Feby 171$\frac{4}{5}$. That Sr John Crow deceased has by his will dated the 22nd of June last bequeathed 320 pounds to the following Charitable uses, viz.:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
To y^{e} Town of Laugharne	200	0	0
To the Parish of Laugharne ..	40	0	0
To the Parish of Keffick	40	0	0
and To the Parish of Marros	40	0	0

That he has not appointed Trustees nor mentioned any particular uses, and therefore the Executrix and the Inhabitants of Laugharne resolved to have the Bequest confirmed in Chancery, and in order to it Mr Vaughan the present Judge is desired to procure its being appropriated to the uses following, viz. Six Pound per ann. part of the interest of the 200*l.* given to the Town of Laugharne to the Master of the Charity-School there, and the remaining 4*l.* per ann. towards the binding out of poor boys that have their Education in that School. The interest of the 40*l.* given to the Parish of Laugharne to be apply'd towards the settling out of poor Children apprentices, and the like to be done with the Interest of the several 40 pounds given to the Parishes of Keffick and Marros; and for the securing of all, Mrs. Jane Crow ye Executrix has charg'd an estate of 30*l.* p. ann. in ye Parish of Keffick with 16 Pounds p. ann. for ever being the Interest of the 320 pounds. That it is wished that Sr John Philipps would take 40 pound sometime since given by David Lloyd of Woodhouse toward the Cloathing of some of the Children of the Charity-School of Llandowror yearly into his care and charge least this Charity should in Process of time be lost. There being at present only one single bond for it & that obtain'd with some difficulty.

4769. Willm Hopkin at Lantrithyde Glamorgansh. 7 April 1716. That the Parishioners are oblidg'd to a neighbouring School for the Instruction of their youth; that there is a Contribution for some poor Boys, but so small as not to be worthy of publick notice; That if the Society think fitt to dispose of any small Books for ye use of the Country Schools he will take care to put them into such hands as will make ye best use of them.

4792. Herbert Pye, of Monmouth, 2nd May 1716. That he had sooner acknowledged the Receipt of the Society's Packet, but was in hopes of sending 'em an Account of a new School there for 40 or 50 poor Children in the room of the three Schools which are demolish'd thro' the covetousness of such persons who withdrew their subscriptions. That there is 45*l.* subscribed for erecting the School by the inhabitants of the Town, which he believes would have been much more had not Mr. Rea who was very zealous at first to promote it, taken the Subscriptions with him into Worcestershire, where he and his family reside. That he has to the utmost of his power promoted it, both by his own labour and Example. . . That he hopes to send a more particular Account when Mr. Rea returns to Monmouth. That within these 8 years he has put out 15 Boys to honest callings with ye money collected at their Monthly Sacraments, and has near 20*l.* now lying in the Church Wardens hands to put out 4 more. That the Charity-Schools erected by My Lady Granvil one at Monmouth and t'other at Michael Troy are still kept up by her daughter the Duchess of Grafton.

4799. James Harris at Llantrissent Glamorgansh. 13 May 1716. That he was in hopes that the Act of Parliament relating to Parish Benefactions recommended by the Society would have had life before this, it being so useful and so highly wanting in most parts of the Kingdom, and would contribute more Charitys for Churches and Charity-Schools than can possibly be imagined. That Mr Charles

Williams of Monmouthshire who lives in Covent Garden intends to erect a Charity-School at Caerleon & to augment the Vicaridge of the Town.

4840. Dr Jo. Jones, Dean of Bangor, at Bangor, Carnarvonsh. 20th June 1716. That a Charity-School is lately erected at Beaumaris, in the County of Anglesey for 12 children taught and Cloathed at the expence of a person of honour; that another School is lately sett up at Llanfihangel in the same County, where 12 poor Children are taught, and another School at Bangor in Carnarvonsh. for 10 poor Children—another at Llanllechyd in Carnarvonsh. for 15 poor Children, another at Gyffin in ye same County for 10 poor Children. That it is impossible in those parts to fix the poor children constantly and regularly at School, because they must go ever and anon to beg for victuals, there being no poor rates settled in those parts. It is the constant method to relieve the poor at their doors, and the houses of the several Parishes being scattered about at considerable distances from each other increases the difficulty the poor Children labour under, & in harvest the poor parents take them out of School, and declare they had rather they should not be taught at all than be debarred of the use and service of them.

4863. George Lewis of Dolgelley Merionethsh. 14 July 1716. That there's no Charity-School within many miles of Dolgelley. The Country being generally very poor and the rich not so well inclined to encourage so good a work as they ought to be. That the Town of Dolgelley is the Chief Town in Merionethshire, in the centre of the County, and hath in it many poor boys and girls, who for want of some charitable provision are forced to strole and beg their living; that he believes there are some of the better sort who would contribute to so good a work if such a thing was set on foot. That if the Society should think fitt to sett such a thing on foot, that he would encourage it all that lay in his power.

5008. Humphrey Jorden, at Glasbury Brecknockshire, 15 Nov. 1716. That at Michaelmas last the number of Children in the Charity-Scheols there were 57, thô he doubts he shall not be able to kept them on foot, having lost his chief friends Mr. Wyndham and Col. Colchester besides several Benefactors who have discontinued their payments. That the Children receive only ye benefit of teaching and Books.

5042. James Harries, at Lantrissent, Glamorgansh. 20 Nov. 1716. That the Charity School which he erected in that Town is still continued under the care of his Curate to the number of 30 Boys.

5160. John Philipps, at Carmarthen, 11th March 171¾. That Revd Mr Prichard of that Town & himself collect the Sacrament Money with which they pay for the Schooling and Cloathing of 10 poor Boys beside 12 other poor Boys settled by Mr. Meyrick's Charity. That they have a Stock of 12l. to apprentice some of the Boys. That for the future they have agreed to distribute 3 or 4s monthly to each of the poor as come frequently to Church, where there is prayers twice every day. That he shall give the Master of ye Charity-School all the direcons mentioned in the Society's Circular Letter.

5172. Hum. Jorden, Glasbury, Brecknockshire, 18 March 171¼. That he pays for the Schooling and Books yearly of 57 Children, but the number of either sex varies according to the exigencies of the poor in ye Parish. That thô they are kept in 4 little Schools in the Countys of Brecknock and Radnor, his Parish being in both, He thinks very well to name them as they are in the List:—1 School &c in Brecknockshire. That he hopes shortly to give an account of some Schools they are going to erect in Brecknock Town.

29 March he writes again that he is informed by a good hand that a Subscription is setting on foot at Brecknock Town for the Girls, by the Women of the place, that the School is open'd and 14 Girls are cloath'd and taught in prospect of a greater number, and that the Gentlemen of the place who are wealthy will come into a like Subscription for the Boys.—5177.

5198. John Pember at Prendergast, Pembrokeshire, 18 April 1717. That some Masters of Charity-Schools in that County have been already, and the rest shall, God Willing, be desired to keep Registers of the names of the Children admitted into their respective Schools, as desired in ye Societys Circular Letter. Those Masters that are employed in that part of the County have so far assured him of their good affecon to the King, that they and their Scholars pray daily for K. George & the Royal Family. That the Master of St Issels School and most of the other Masters in that part of the County complain that they cannot prevail upon the parents of ye poor Children to keep them constantly. That there are noe poor taught in Haraldston West. That the Master of Walton East School not being able to prevail with parents to send their children there, if Sr John Philipps pleases to give leave that School might be removed to Usmaston where he is in hopes of having many poor children taught.
N.B.—Sr John Philipps consents to what he desires.

5219. Herbert Pye, at Monmouth, May 11th 1717. That he was in hopes of informing the Society before now of the progress made in the Charity-Schools there, but has been prevented by the divisions there as to the choice of a Master for teaching the Boys. That himself and others have recommended one Mr. Crofts (who teaches the gentlemen of the Free School to write and cast accompts) a sober, industrious young man qualified in all respects to teach the Boys. But some Gentlemen have objected against him on account that his parents were Dissenters and that this has been industriously suggested to the Lord Windsor & his Brother, who are the founders of the School, and have been so far influenced thereby as to threaten to withdraw their Subscription if he be chose. Notwithstanding he has assured them that the said Crofts has come constantly to Church & received Sacrament almost every month, and that thô it were true (as it is notoriously false) that he was bred a Dissenter, yet he ought to be encouraged because he is now a through Conformist. That all these arguments have not prevailed but the poor man has been sett aside and one David Jones, notorious for drunkeness and swearing chose by the Subscribers, and he has accepted of the business for 10 pounds p. ann. which has given so great a disgust to the generality of ye Town that they will not put their Children to him.

5567. Hum. Jorden, at Glasbury, Breconshire, 12 April 1718. That they have 2 Schools there for 20 Boys and 27 Girls; that the Schools erected last year at Brecknock for 14 Girls is in a flourishing condition, the children being able to read well and say their Catechism in the Church readily, and answer to most of Lewis's Exposition thô they could before speak but little or no English. That the School is visited once a week by the Contributors and is increased to 18 Girls. That at Llandilo in Breconsh. 12 Children are taught at the Charge of the Minister of the Parish.

5599. Herbert Pye, at Monmouth, 17 May 1718. That they have at length sett up a Charity-School for 20 Boys and 10 Girls taught and cloath'd, which he hopes will prosper unless the party divisions that abound among them tumble it to the ground. That they have at present 60*l.* p. ann. Subscribed to it. That they have a very good Master and Mistress who spare no pains to improve the children. That the Boys have made such a progress in the Church Catechism & Mr. Lewis's Exposition on it that they are admired by all who hear them. That the Master's name is Geo. Read, who was sent down from London, and deserves more encourage than at present he meets with.

5639. Sr Humphrey Mackworth, in London, 5 July 1718. That he intends to wait on the Society before he leaves London, and in the meantime desires to know whether they have yet met with a person to recommend to him for a Master of a School at Neath in Glamorganshire.

5647. John Philipps at Carmarthen, 6 July 1718. That the Charity School there continues in the same state, it was 22 Boys being taught and cloath'd chiefly out of the Sacrament Money.

5807. Wm Hopkins, at Llantrythyd, Glamorgansh. 29 Nov. 1718. That there are 10 Boys and 10 Girls taught in the School at Cowbridge as allotted at first by Mr. Wyndham's Charity.

5923. Humphrey Jorden, at Glasbury, Brecknocksh. 27 Jan. 171§. A Particular List of the 53 children in the 2 Schools at Glasbury. That there has been disposed on the above Schools in the last eight years 63*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.* towards which he has received in Benefacons 46*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.* so that he is out of pocket seventeen pound and two pence.

5936. Tho. Philipps, at Laugharne, Carmarthensh. 7 Feb. 171§ That the Gentlemen of Laugharne are so well pleased with the Account of the School at Artleborô that they intend to employ the 200*l.* left by Sr John Crow, & the 120*l.* arrears of Mr Zachary Thomas's Charity to such use as soon as they receive it.

5957. John Griffiths, at Welchpool, Montgomerysh. 13 Feb.^{ry} 171§ That he very much wishes a Charity-School was erected at Welchpool and he hopes to be able to effect it when Mr. John Harding, the present Vicar there comes from his residence at Cherbury.

6043. John Harding, Welchpool, Montgomerysh. 9 June 1719. That he is endeavouring to set up a Charity-School in his Parish and hopes to give the Society in a short time a good Accompt of the success of it.

6117. Mr O'Connor, at Neath, Glamorgansh. 17 Sept. 1719. That he is desired by Sr Humphrey Mackworth to acquaint the Society that there has been several overtures for a Schoolmaster at Neath, but they seem not altogether qualify'd, especially to sett up the first School. He therefore submits it to the Society's consideration whether it may not be proper to pitch upon one of the best Schoolmasters in London to begin the Setting up of Schools in Wales, who may be a sort of Itinerant Master when he has sett up one School & brought up an Usher then to set up another.
N.B.—Refer'd to the Committee.

6330. John Griffiths, at Welchpool, Montgomerysh. 25 March $17\frac{19}{20}$. That they have now fixed a School there for 12 Boys to which there are Subscriptions per annum 26*l*. That he finds by Mr Parker's account a boy of about 9 years old may be Cloathed for 17*s*. 11*d*. and therefore he should be glad to have an entire Suit that he many see the method of it and to know where he may send the Welchpool Carrier for it.

6389. John Pember, of Prendergast, Pembrokesh. 14 May 1720. That children when attained to the age of 13 years think it beneath them to stand before the Reading Desk; that most of the Children of the Charity-Schools in that County go into Service at Sea or in Gentlemen's houses or Farmers, few having been put to Trades. He subjoins an Account of the number of Charity Children in that County taught in the year 1719.

6572. John Vaughan Esq., at Derllys, Carmarthensh. 24 Oct. 1720. He encloses the Case of a Charity-School with respect to a Charity left to it upon which he desires the opinion of some Gent. of the long robe who is a Member of the Society.

6580. Will. Hopkins, at Lantrythyde, Glamorgansh. 14 Oct. 1720. That Cowbridge School in ye County continues as mentioned in the account published by the Society. That 2 Schools are Sett up at Neath & Lantwit Major in that County, to the former of which 10*l*. p. ann. for ever, & to the latter 5*l*. per ann. is left for ever.

7075. John Humphreys, at Lanvyllin, Montgomerysh. 20 May 1722, to Mr Downing. That the Schools set up and endow'd by the good Family who desire him as a Trustee to take care of them are as follows. Mrs Vaughan of Llangedwyn, the Lady and Widow of Edward Vaughan, late of Llwydiarth Esqr has given 1200*l*. to endow 3 Charity-Schools, one in this Town for 20 Boys & another for 10 Girls, and one in Llanfihangel (a Neighbouring Parish for 12 Boys) all to be cloath'd, taught their Catechism & brought up in the principles of the Church of England, and the Boys taught to read write and cast accounts, & the Girls to read, spin, and sew plain work. That Mrs Strangeways and Mrs Wynne, Daughters and Coheirs of the said Mrs Vaughan keep 20 more Boys in the School at Llanfihangel with the addition that a meal's meat as their dinner is allow'd to 'em every day they come to School in consideration that they live very far from School. That Mrs. Strangeways keeps also 6 more Girls at Llanvillin and pays for their diet and lodging, they being the Children of such parents as are not able to keep them. That as the

Children are fit to be put out to apprentices one or other of Mrs. Vaughan's family puts them out, he having by his will left 50 pounds for that Service.

7372. Richard Davies, at Brecon, 9 April 172¾. That a division lately in the Town had like to have destroy'd the Charity-Schools of that place, but by the application of some worthy Gentlemen with himself those prejudices were overcome and the Subscriptions run higher this year than they had done before.

7874. James Harries, at Llantrissent, Glamorganshire. 22 May 1724. That there is a Charity-School for 20 Boys erecting at Llanwonno near Llantrissent, and that the number of Children is increased in ye School at Llantrissent.

8414. Thomas Jones, at Newport, in Wales, 4th Sept. 1725. That he is now Master of a School at Newport, where he purposes to continue till ye Society shall have an opportunity of placing him over a Charity-School.

10,371. Griff. Jones, at Denbigh, 2 Sept. 1729. That a Charity-School is set up in that Town endow'd with 40*l.* p. ann. for Cloathing and Teaching 20 Boys.

11,373. Griffith Jones, Landowror, Carmarthenshire, 22 Sept. 1731 directed to Mr Philipps. That it is a very sickly time near his neighbourhood where many die and many more are sick of a nervous kind of feavour. He thinks it a proper time to propose a Welch[1] School at Landowror for all comers to learn to read & be supplied with Books and taught gratis, desiring of the Society 40 or 50 of the small Welch Bibles upon the usual kind terms that they favour their Members with & other Books, this would be great charity to our poor.

---

[1] This Letter, and the Welsh School founded at Llanddowror soon after this announcement, are the preludes of the New Movement—the "Circulating School" Movement—which followed the "Charity School" Movement in Wales.

APPENDIX II.

An Alphabetical List of Names, and the Dates of Foundation, of the Charity-Schools set up in Wales from 1699 to 1737, as reported in the Periodical *Accounts of Charity Schools*, issued by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, with additional extracts from the Minute Books and Correspondence of the Society.

Abbreviations used in the References to the Various Sources in the following Notes:—

A.=Account of Charity-Schools.
Abs.=Abstract of Letter from Letter Books.
M.=Minutes of the Society.
S.=Sermon annually delivered to Patrons of Charity-Schools, and published, with List of Charity-Schools attached.

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
1	**Abergavenny, Mon.**	1	1707	"Here is about 15*l.* per annum subscribed towards a Charity-School."—A. 1707.
2	**Abergwilly, Carm.**	1	1704	"Eight boys taught. The School endow'd with 6*l.* p. annum."—A. 1704.
3	**Amroth, Pem.**	1	1713	"A Charity-School."—A. 1713.
4	**Bangor, Carn.**	1	1716	"10 Children taught."—A. 1717.
5	**Beaumaris, Ang.**	1	1716	"12 Poor Children taught and Cloathed at the expence of a person of honour."—A. 1717.
6	**Bettws, Abergele, Denb.**	1	1714	"A School for 13 children, 10 of which are taught and Cloath'd at the charge of the Vicar, and 3 girls taught and cloath'd at the charge of a gentlewoman."—A. 1715.

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
6	**Bettws, Abergele, Denb.** *(cont.).*	1	1714	"Moses Williams, 26 April 1715. The Rev. Mr. Jones Vicar thereof has given 50*s.* p. ann. for ever for teaching ten poor children to read Welsh. He also finds them books and bestows cloaths upon them at Christmas. Also Madm. Joanna Griffiths pays for the Teaching and cloathing of three poor girls there."—Abs. 3355.
7	**Bigely, Pem.**	1	1707	"Here is 3*l.* paid yearly to a master for teaching poor Children to read, write and the Church Catechism."—A. 1707.
8	**Boulston, Pem.**	1	1707	"Here are 19 poor Children taught in like manner, Some whereof are already Cloath'd and the rest will be cloath'd in a little time. And more poor Children may be taught if their parents will send them to School. These two last Schools, as also those at Marloes, Walton-West, Rudbaxton, herein-after-mentioned are set up and maintained by the charity of a neighbouring Gentleman, who as soon as he can find another person willing and fit to teach children to read, write, and the principles of our Holy Religion will also employ him in that work. The Masters of these Schools were recommended by some of the most active and zealous Ministers in the County, who also are pleased frequently to visit

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
8	**Boulston, Pem.** *(cont.).*	1	1707	them and to assist in what is necessary for the good regulation and improvement of them."—A. 1707. A. 1709, adds to the above account:—"Landowrough, Monclochogg, Penally, and Hascard." And further adds:—"Care is taken that the Children of these Schools, and those abovementioned, come constantly to Church, and bring their Bibles and Common Prayer-Books with them and behave themselves reverently there."
9–11	**Brecon, Breck.**	3		"14 Girls taught and Cloathed here, erected 1716, by a Subscription of the Gentlewomen of the Town, in prospect of a greater number being taught; and the Gentlemen of the place will promote the erecting of another School for Boys."—A. 1717. "A School for 20 Boys cloath'd, supported by the subscription of the Gentry of the Town, besides a School for 20 Girls formerly mentioned."—S. 1719. "A third School for 20 Boys, taught by the Charity of a bequest left by a private Gentleman."—S. 1721.
	1. Girls.		1716	
	2. Boys.		1718	
	3. Boys.		1720	
12	**Cardiff, Glam.**	1	1710	"Five Hundred Pound lately given for a Charity-School."—A. 1710.
13–14	**Carmarthen, Carm.**	2		"Here are taught 12 poor Children by a private person gratis."—A. 1707.

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
13–14	**W. Evans's School.**		1705	"Here are also divers other poor children taught, for which 22*l.* per Ann. is paid by a Reverend Person. The same worthy Gentleman has given two houses here to charitable uses, the one for the School and the School Master, and the other for the use of the Library lately collected, and since set up here for the use of such of the Clergy as it may be helpful to."—A. 1709.
	Edmond Meyrick's Endowed School.		1708	"A School for 21 poor children taught and Cloathed at the sole charge of a worthy Divine."—A. 1713. "Evan Griffies at Carmarthen 26 Jan. 171½. That by order of Mr. Meyrick he gives a particular account of the School of which he is Master at Carmarthen where 21 Boys are taught and Cloath'd at Mr. Meyrick's charge."—Abs. 2962.
15	**Cowbridge, Glam.**	1	1706	"Here are divers poor Children taught at the expence of a private person."—A. 1706.
16	**Denbigh, Denb.**	1	1706	"A School for 20 poor Children supported by the Minister and offertory."—A. 1711. "Griffith Jones at Denbigh, 2 Sept. 1729. That a Charity-School is set up in that Town endow'd with 40*l.* p. ann. for Cloathing and teaching 20 Boys."—Abs. 10371.
17	**Dinas, Pem.**	1	1711	"Four Children taught at the charge of the Rector" [Mr. Laugharne].—A. 1711.

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, &c.
18	**Dolgelley, Mer.**	1	1720	"A School for 25 Boys and 25 Girls supported at the charge of a Lady of London."—S. 1721.
19	**Esgair Hir Mines, Card.**	1	1706	"The Governour and Company of the Mine-Adventurers of England allow 20*l.* per annum, for a Charity-School for the Children of the miners and workmen belonging to the said Company. The said Company also give 30*l.* yearly to a Minister to read prayers, preach, and catechise the children."—A. 1706.
20–23	**Glasbury, Brecк. and Rad.**	4	1711	"30 Children are taught."—A. 1711. "50 Children taught in several Schools and supplied with Books."—A. 1714. "Humphrey Jorden, 18 March 171$\frac{4}{7}$, pays for the Schooling and Books yearly of 57 children in 4 little Schooles in the Counties of Brecknock and Radnor, his parish being in both."—Abs. 5191.
24	**Gresford, Denb.**	1	1710	"A Charity-School for 20 poor Children for some years past, 5 of which are paid for by the worthy Minister, and some of the best and ablest Parishioners pay for the rest."—A. 1710.
25	**Gyffin, Carn.**	1	1716	"10 poor Children taught here."—A. 1717.
26	**Haraldston West, Pem.**	1	1707	"Ten poor Children are taught to read, write, and the Catechism, at the

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
26	**Haraldston West** *(cont.)*.	1	1707	charge of the worthy Minister."—A. 1709.
27	**Hascard, Pem.**	1	1707	"A Charity-School. The Master is allowed 5*l.* per Ann. and liberty to teach the Children of others, who are able to pay for their Education." See Boulston.—A. 1709.
28	**Haverford-west, Pem.**	1	1706	"A School for 31 Children, 25 of which are Cloathed, each of them receive 5*s.* a Quarter for their parents. On the School is settled 34*l.* per Annum, and the interest of 300*l.* for ever."—A. 1710. "A Letter from Mr. Pember was read March 27, 1707, 'that the Charity-School there (which was open'd on 4 December last) was endow'd by a Gentlewoman who died 15 or 16 years ago. That the Master has a good house and 5*l.* p. ann. Salary, for which he teaches 20 Boys and 12 Girls to read, write, and Cast Accts., and the Girls are taught to Sew and Knitt.'"—M. 27 March, 1707.
29	**Kerry, Mont.**	1	1715	"A School erecting. The house being built and Subscription upwards of 10*l.* per annum."—A. 1715.
30	**Lambston, Pem.**	1	1715	"Mr. Pember pays for teaching all ye poor children at Lambston."—Abs. 4667, 16 Dec. 1715. "A School for all the poor Children here supported at

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
30	**Lambston, Pem.** *(cont.).*	1	1715	the charge of a Reverend Divine."—A. 1716.
31	**Lampeter Velfrey, Pemb.**	1	1717	"A School supported by Subscription."—A. 1717.
32	**Laugharne, Glam. [Llanharan ?]**	1	1718	"A School for 20 Boys."—A. 1718 & 1724.
33	**Lantwit-Major, Glam.**	1	1720	"A School endowed with 5*l.* per annum for ever."—S. 1721.
34	**Laugharne, Carm.**	1	1708	"A Charity-School for 20 poor Boys, kept at the Town-House. Subscriptions 8*l.* per Ann."—A. 1710. "Eight Boys sent to Sea."—A. 1713.
35	**Lawrenny, Pem.**	1	1725	"A School for all the poor Children of the Parish."—S. 1726.
36	**Llanboidy, Carm.**	1	1711	"9 Children taught at a private expence."—A. 1711.
37	**Llandilo, Brecк.**	1	1717	"Hum. Jorden at Glasbury, Breconshire, 12 April 1718. That at Llandilo in Brecon-sh. 12 Children are taught at the charge of the Minister of the Parish."—Abs. 5567. See also A. 1718.
38	**Llandovery, Carm.**	1	1712	"A Charity-School."—A. 1712.
39	**Llandowror, Carm.**	1	1707	"A Charity-School. The Master is allowed 5*l.* per Annum, and Liberty to teach the Children of others, who will pay for their Education."—A. 1709.

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
39	**Llandowror, Carm.** (*cont.*).	1	1707	"A School for 20 Children 7 of whom are cloathed by the interests of 40*l.* left by David Lloyd, a farmer lately deceased."—A. 1713. It is interesting to note here that the Rev. Griffith Jones was promoted to the Rectory of Llandowror by Sir John Philipps in 1716. Clog-y-Fran, an ancient seat of Sir John was close by. It was occupied at this time by John Dalton, Esq., who became a great supporter of Griffith Jones. This School became in 1731 the first Welsh School in the great Welsh movement initiated by Griffith Jones. "Griffith Jones, Landowror Carmarthensh. 22 Sept. 1731 . . . . . He thinks it a proper time to propose a Welsh School at Landowror for all comers, to learn to read & be supplied with Books & taught gratis, desiring of the Society 40 or 50 of the small volume of ye Welsh Bible upon the usual kind terms they favour their members with, and other Books, this would be great charity to our poor."—Abs. 11373.
40	**Llandyssul, Card.**	1	1727	"A School for 10 Boys."—S. 1728.
41	**Llanfihangel [Ysgeifiog], Ang.**	1	1716	"12 poor Children are taught."—A. 1717.
42	**Llanfihangel, Mont.**	1	1722	"A School for 32 Boys; 20 of them have a dinner given

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
42	**Llanfihangel, Mont.** (*cont.*).	1	1722	to them every School-day, they being from home."—S. 1722. "Endowed by Mrs. Edward Vaughan, Llangedwyn."—Abs. 7075. 20 May.
43-4	**Llanfyllin, Mont.**	2	1722	"Two Schools. 20 Boys and 10 Girls cloathed and taught to work, endowed by a gift of 1200*l.* from a private Gentlewoman from Langedwyn."—S. 1722. These schools were endowed by Mrs. Vaughan, the widow of Edward Vaughan, of Llwydiarth.—Abs. 7075. 20 May 1722.
45	**Llangadock, Carm.**	1	1705	"Here is a Charity-School set up by the Bishop, Freeholders, and inhabitants. The subscription is about 30*l.* per annum."—A. 1706.
46	**Llangan, Carm.**	1	1711	"4 poor Children taught at the charge of the Minister."—A. 1711.
47	**Llangeinwen, Ang.**	1	1714	"A School for 16 poor Children set up at Christmas 1714."—A. 1716.
48	**Llangunnog, Carm.**	1	1705	"The Lord of the Mannor, Freeholders, and inhabitants have built a Schoolhouse on the Wast, and enclosed part thereof, which is to be settled for ever for teaching the poor Children of the Lordship."—A. 1706. *Note.*—The Minute Book of this School is preserved in Sir John Williams' Library at Llanstephan. It contains the record of a Century.

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
49	**Llangunnog, Mont.**	1	1712	"A School for 12 Children taught and cloathed at the expence of a charitable Gentlewoman in the neighbourhood."—A. 1712.
50	**Llanllechid, Carn.**	1	1716	"15 poor Children taught here."—A. 1717.
51	**Llanthony, Mon.**	1	1720	"A School for 50 Boys opened Michaelmas 1720 at the charge of a private Gentleman."—S. 1721.
52	**Llantilo Bertholeu, Mon.**	1	1722	"A School supported chiefly at the charge of a private Gentleman."—S. 1723.
53-54	**Llantrissant, Glam.**	2	1699	"James Harris, Feb. 15, 1699. Saith he hath put up two Schools."—Abs. 33. "A Grammar School newly erected, wherein are about 20 Boys taught, and the children instructed in the Catechism, and examined in the Church on Saturday Evenings, as also on Sunday Evenings, and Prayers are used Morning and Evening in the School."—A. 1716.
55	**Llanwonno, Glam.**	1	1724	"That there is a charity-school for 20 boys erecting at Llanwonno near Llantrissant."—Abs. 7874, 22 May 1724.
56	**Llanychaer, Pem.**	1	1707	"A Charity-School here, in which are 24 children, whereof 6 are cloath'd.—A. 1709. "There are good Orders in this School, and great hopes of having the number of Children encreased."—A. 1709.

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
56	**Llanychaer, Pem.** (*cont.*).	1	1707	Mr. Gambold was the first Master. He was succeeded in 1710 by Mr. Jenkin Breckwell.
57	**Maenclochog, Pem.**	1	1708	"Here is a School where several poor children are taught." See Boulston.—A. 1709.
58	**Maesgwin, Rad.**	1	1722	"A School for 40 Children, supported at the charge of a private Gentleman."—S. 1723.
59	**Marchwiail, Denb.**	1	1715	"A School for 10 boys taught at the charge of a private Gent."—A. 1715. "Moses Williams, 26 April 1715, John Hill of Sontley Esq. gives 40s p. ann. for teaching 10 poor Boys there."—Abs. 4355.
60	**Margam, Glam.**	1	Before 1705	Here are taught 12 children at the expence of a Private Person.—A. 1709.
61	**Marloes, Pem.**	1	1707	"Five pounds are yearly paid to a Master here, for teaching the poor Children to read and the Catechism."—A. 1707. "And six other poor children of this place, ten others from St. Brides, are taught in this School, at the Expence of a Gentleman of Society, who also buys books for them. The Minister visits this School and that at Hascard at least once a month."—A. 1719.
62	**Marros, Carm.**	1	1712	"A School for all the poor

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
62	**Marros, Carm.** *(cont.).*	1	1712	children of the Parish taught at the sole expence of the Lord of the Manour, who both pays the Master, and provides him an habitation." —A. 1712.
63–5	**Merthyr Tydvil, Glam.**	3	1713–4	"3 Schools erected at the charge of the Lord of the Manour."—A. 1714. "Tho. Price at Merthyr Tydvil 4 Feb. 171$\frac{4}{5}$. That the Charity Schools of Merthyr Tydvil may be inserted in the next Account thus:—At Merthyr Tydvil, Glamorgansh. 3 Schools—2 for Boys and 1 for Girls—at the expence of one Gent, for the benefit of his poor Tenants."—Abs. 4306. The Gentleman referred to was a Mr. Lewis of Hampshire, who subscribed 20*l.* p. annum.—Abs. 4726, 13 Feb. 171$\frac{5}{6}$.
66	**Michel Troy, Mon.**	1	1717	"12 Poor Children are taught here at the charge of a Lady of Quality."—A. 1717.
67	**Mounton, Pem.**	1	1705	"A Charity-School set up about 5 years since, by a worthy Gentleman of this Parish, who still continues his Liberality."—A. 1710.
68–70	**Monmouth, Mon.** **Lady Granvill's School.** **Boys' School.** **Mixed School.**	3	1706 1708 1708	"Here is a School for 24 poor children who learn to read and the Catechism at the expence of a Lady of Quality. They are catechised in the Church every Wednesday; and every Friday the children of the other

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
68–70	**Monmouth, Mon.** *(cont.).*	3	17 08	School (which is not a Charity-School) are catechised in the Church. Some of the children of the Charity-School are cloathed. The Dame's Salary is *5l.* per annum."—A. 1707. "Besides the School formerly mentioned to be set up here by a Lady of Quality, there are two other Charity-Schools, one for Boys only, who are taught to read and write; and the other for Boys and Girls, who are taught to read by two Mistresses. And in these Schools are above 60 children taught (besides the Scholars in the Lady's School) to which there is near Forty Pounds per Annum Subscribed; Gowns and Coifs for the Girls; and two of the children are yearly to be put out to honest Trades with the money collected at the monthly Sacrament. All the children come orderly to Church, and are Catechised Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. The Schools are visited by the worthy Minister and others very often, to see what progress the children make in learning writing and Accounts."—A. 1709. "14 Poor Boys have been put out to honest Trades with the offertory."—A. 1714. "Lady Granville who is said to give *5l.* p. ann. to a widow, to teach 24 children,

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
68–70	**Monmouth, Mon.** (*cont.*).	3	1708	who have also Books and Cloaks at her Ladyship's charge. The Girls are said to be taught to sew and knitt."—M. 13 Feb. 170¼.
71	**Narberth, Pem.**	1	1718	"A school."—A. 1718.
72	**Neath, Glam.**	1	1706	"The Company of Mine-adventurers pay 20*l.* yearly for a Charity-School for the children of the Miners and workmen of the said Company."—A. 1706. "A School for all the poor Children supported by the Lord of the Mannor."—S. 1721. Sir Humphrey Mackworth was a leading supporter of this School.
73	**Pembrey, Carm.**	1	1712	"A School for 24 Children erected Michaelmas 1712. Salary for the Master 6*l.* per ann. About 10 of the poorest of the children have cloaths given them, and their dinner 5 days in the week at a Publick House near the School, at the charge of a Reverend Divine, who has an estate in those parts in conjunction with the principal inhabitants of the Parish, to which the offertory is added, the whole amounting to about 15*l.* per Ann."—A. 1714.
74–6	**Pembroke, Pem.**	3	1710	"Here are 3 Schools, one in the Parish of St. Michael for 18 Children, another in St. Mary's Parish for 7 Girls, and a 3rd in St. Nicholas for 9 Boys."—A. 1710.

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
77	**Penally, Pem.**	1	1708	"A Charity-School."—A. 1708.
78	**Penboyr, Carm.**	1	1713	"A School for 10 Children erected Michaelmas 1713, and a prospect of having as many more taught and cloathed."—A. 1714.
79	**Prendergast, Pem.**	1	1707	"Six poor Children are taught to read, write, and the Catechism, partly by some of the Communion money, and partly at the expence of the worthy Minister of the Parish, who visits this School, and those at Rudbaxton, Walton-East, Haraldston-West, at least once a month."—A. 1709.
80	**Presteign, Rad.**	1	1711	"A Charity-School intended to be set up here by a Person of Quality."—A. 1709. "A School opened Christmas 1711 for 13 Children who were Cloathed in March following. The number is now encreased to 20, and most of them continue to be cloath'd, and Books provided for them."—A. 1713. "Endow'd with 44*l.* per ann. when a lease is expired, and 50*l.* is left for the poor of that town."—A. 1714.
81	**Puncheston, Pem.**	1	1710	"A School erected at Puncheston, and Mr. Gambold is Master. . . . Opened the 8th Nov. 1710." Abs. 2407. 28 Nov. 1710.
82	**Rudbaxton, Pem.**	1	1707	"Four pounds are paid yearly to a Master here for teaching poor children to read,

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
82	**Rudbaxton, Pem.** *(cont.)*.	1	1707	write and the Catechism, and 20*s*. more for Books."—A. 1707.
83	**Slebech, Pem.**	1	1715	"A School for 6 Boys and 6 Girls cloath'd at the charge of a private Gent."—A. 1715. The Gentleman referred to was a Mr. Barlow. Abs. 4667. Dec. 16, 1715.
84	**St. Bride, Pem.**	1	1708	"A gentleman pays for the teaching of 20 poor Children of this place at the School at Marloes; and hath added six others to that School, and provided them all with Books."—A. 1710.
85	**St. Clears, Carm.**	1	1708	"Sr John Philipps and Mr. Pember had joined their interests to promote ye setting up 2 Charity-Schools at Laugharne and St. Clears, in which they had a prospect of success." Abs. 1471. 25 Oct. 1708.
86	**St. Issel, Pem.**	1	1712	"A Charity-School. John Jones, who had for many years been a faithful Servant in several good families, by his frugality in those services, and some chances in the Lottery, laid up above 300*l*. which after the payment of a few Legacies, he left in trust with the Bishop of St. David's for the time being, and several honourable persons in Pembrokeshire, to be applied towards the support of a Charity-School in this his Native place, consisting of

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
86	**St. Issel, Pem.** *(cont.).*	1	1712	an equal number of Boys and Girls. The money after the payment of his other Legacies, amounts to near 300*l.* and is now out on interest till it can be vested in a proper purchase."—A. 1713.
87	**Steinton, Pem.**	1	1727	"A School opened 1727, supported by a private Gentleman."—S. 1730.
88	**Templeton, Pem.**	1	1712	"A School for 20 Children opened in January 171½."—A. 1712.
89	**Tenby, Pem.**	1	1708	"There is a School here as at Boulston."—A. 1719.
90	**Towyn, Mer.**	1	1710	"A Charity-School wherein 15 poor Children are taught to read and write."—1710.
91	**Usmaston, Pem.**	1	1717	"A Charity-School."—A. 1717.
92	**Walton, East, Pem.**	1	1707	"There are 4*l.* yearly paid for teaching poor Children to read, write, and the Catechism, and 20*s.* more for books." *See* Boulston.—A. 1709. "A Bible is given to each child when he leaves the School."—A. 1714.
93	**Walton, West, Pem.**	1	1707	"Here are 4*l.* yearly paid for teaching poor Children to read, write, and the Catechism, and 20*s.* more for Books."—A. 1707.
94	**Welshpool, Mont.**			"A School for 12 boys supported by a Subscription of about 26*l.* per annum."—S. 1718.

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
95	**Wrexham, Denb.**	1	1701	"Here are 40 poor Children taught, to which the Offertory is apply'd. Also the interest of 20*l.* left by a young Gentlewoman, lately deceased, for teaching 4 poor Children."—A. 1713. "Moses Williams, 26 April 1715. The Rev. Mr. Price Vicar thereof pays 40*s.* p. ann. for a Schoolhouse, and gives a Master 6*l.* p. ann. and his dyet for teaching all such of his Parishioners as are willing to read and write Welch and repeat their Catechism.... He also finds 'em Books."—Abs. 4355.

APPENDIX III.

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CHARITY AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS set up during the same Period, belonging to the same movement, but not recorded in the Periodical *Accounts*, the *Abstracts*, or *Minutes*, of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Compiled from the *Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission*, vol. xx, 1870.

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Founder or Benefactor.	Date of Foundation.
96	Aber, Carn.	John Jones, D.D. ...	1719
97	Aberffraw, Ang.	Sir Arthur Owen ...	1735
98	Bangor, Flint.	Dorothy Jeffreys ...	1728
99	Bedwas, Mon.	Ann Aldworth ...	1729
100	Bryneglwys, Denb.	Margaret Lloyd ...	1714
101	Caerleon, Mon.	C. Williams ...	1717
102	Carmarthen, Carm.	Sir Thomas Powell	1729
103	Eglwysilan, Glam.	Ann Aldworth ...	1729
104	Holt, Denb.	D. Jeffreys ...	1728
105	Llanbadrig, Ang.	R. Gwynne ...	1723
106	Llanbedr, Breck.	Mary Herbert ...	1728
107	Llanbrynmair, Mont. ...	M. Lloyd ...	1702
108	Llandilo Fawr, Carm. ...	Mrs. Warner ...	1721
109	Llanerfyl, Mont.	Priscilla Foster ...	1728
110	Llanfairtalhaiarn, Denb. ...	John Jones, D.D....	1708
111	Llanfihangel Ysternllewern, Mon.	Roger Thomas ...	1719
112	Llangelynin, Carn.	John Jones, D.D. ...	1719
113	Llangollen, Denb.	J. David	1731
114	Llanigon, Breck.	L. Walkins ...	1714
115	Llanrhaiadr Mochnant, Denb.	J. Powell ...	1730
116	Llansadwrn, Carm.	Letitia Cornwalis ...	1731
117	Matherne, Mon.	Charles Pratt ...	1734
118	Meifod, Mont.	William Pugh ...	1714
119	Penmachno, Carm.	Roderick Lloyd ...	1729
120	Pentraeth, Ang.	John Jones, D.D. ...	1719
121	Rhayadr, Rad.	D. Morgan ...	1720
122	Ruabon, Denb.	Griffith Hughes ...	1706
123	Whitford, Flint.	Pierce Jones ...	1711
124	Whitton, Rad.	Anna Childs ...	1703

The

Transactions

of the Honourable

Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1905-06.

LONDON:
ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,
NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.
1907.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

President:—The Right Hon. Viscount Tredegar.
Chairman of the Council:—Principal Rhys, D.Litt.
Vice-Chairman and Treasurer:—Dr. Henry Owen, F.S.A.
Secretary:—Mr. E. Vincent Evans.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION, originally founded under Royal patronage in 1751, was revived in 1873, with the object of bringing into closer contact Welshmen, particularly those resident out of Wales, who are anxious to advance the welfare of their country; and of enabling them to unite their efforts for that purpose. Its especial aims are the improvement of Education, and the promotion of intellectual culture by the encouragement of Literature, Science, and Art, as connected with Wales.

Subscription to the Society, entitling to copies of all its publications, and admission to all meetings:—One Guinea per annum.

Application for membership should be addressed to the Secretary, E. Vincent Evans, New Stone Buildings, 64, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

Y Cymmrodor, Vols. ii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii. New Series, Vols. xiii, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, and xix. 10*s.* 6*d.* per volume. [Vols. i and iii, out of print.]

The History of the Cymmrodorion. Out of print.

A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe, by Wyllyam Salesbury (1547). Facsimile, black letter. 4 parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

The Gododin of Aneurin Gwawdrydd, by Thomas Stephens, Author of *The Literature of the Kymry.* 6 parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

An Essay on Pennillion Singing (Hanes ac Henafiaeth Canu gyda'r Tannau), by J. Jones (*Idris Vychan*). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Ystorya de Carolo Magno (from the "Red Book of Hergest"). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Athravaeth Gristnogavl (from the unique copy belonging to the late Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, originally printed at Milan, A.D. 1568). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Blessednes of Brytaine, by Maurice Kyffin (1587). 1 part, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Gerald the Welshman, by Henry Owen, D.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A. Demy 8vo., vellum cloth, gilt, 10*s.* 6*d.* Cloth gilt, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Gweithiau Iolo Goch: Gyda Nodiadau Hanesyddol a Beirniadol, gan Charles Ashton. **The Works of Iolo Goch.** Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion for 1892-93, 1893-94, 1894-95, 1895-96, 1896-97, 1897-98, 1898-99, 1899-1900, 1900-01, 1901-02, 1902-03, 1903-04, 1904-05, 1905-06. 10*s.* 6*d.* per number.

IN THE CYMMRODORION RECORD SERIES.

The Description of Penbrokshire, by George Owen of Henllys. Edited by Henry Owen, D.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A. Being No. 1 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* 2 parts, 21*s.*

The Court Rolls of the Lordship of Ruthin or Dyffryn-Clwyd, of the Reign of King Edward the First, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited, with Translations, Notes, etc., by R. Arthur Roberts, of H.M. Public Record Office. Being No. 2 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

Gildae de Excidio Britanniae, Liber de Paenitentia, accedit et Lorica Gildae. (Gildas: the Ruin of Britain, Fragments from Lost Letters, the Penitential, together with the Lorica of Gildas.) Parts I and II. Edited by Hugh Williams, M.A., Professor of Church History at the Theological College, Bala. Being No. 3 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

A Catalogue of the Manuscripts relating to Wales in the British Museum. Parts I & II. Compiled and Edited by Edward Owen, of Gray's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. Being No. 4 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

The Black Book of St. David's. An Extent of all the Lands and Rents of the Lord Bishop of St. David's, made by Master David Fraunceys, Chancellor of St. David's in the time of the Venerable Father the Lord David Martyn, by the grace of God Bishop of the place, in the year of our Lord 1326. Edited by J. W. Willis-Bund. Being No. 5 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

To be obtained by Members on application to the Secretary, at the Cymmrodorion Library, 64, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

THE

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE HONOURABLE

SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

SESSION 1905-6.

LONDON :

ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,

NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.

1907.

DEVIZES:
PRINTED BY GEORGE SIMPSON.

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL for 1905-6 v

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS for 1905-6 ... x

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY (March 1907) ... xi

The Saxon, Norman and Plantagenet Coinage of Wales. By P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A. *(President of the British Numismatic Society). Illustrated* ... 1

Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i Gyfnod. Gan y Parch J. MACHRETH REES 31

The Date and Place of Burial of Dafydd ap Gwilym. By LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, M.P. 55

Dafydd ap Gwilym—a Further Note. By J. H. DAVIES, M.A. 67

Ballads of Wales.—The Lay of Prince Griffith. By LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, M.P. 75

Italian Influence on Celtic Culture. By the Rev. G. HARTWELL JONES, M.A. 84

Walter Map. By Professor W. LEWIS JONES, M.A. ... 161

REPORT

OF

THE COUNCIL OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

For the year ending November 9th, 1906.

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING HELD AT THE SOCIETY'S ROOMS, ON THURSDAY, THE 22ND DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1906.

THE Council deeply regret to report that during the last year the ranks of the Society have been sadly thinned by death. Many old and valued members who zealously supported the aims and objects of the Cymmrodorion Society for more than a quarter of a century have passed away. In particular, they would mention the loss of two of their colleagues on the Council, Mr. W. Cadwaladr Davies, whose services to Welsh Education and Welsh Literature gained for him a distinguished place in the history of his Country, and Mr. H. Lloyd Roberts, who for a considerable number of years acted as the Society's Honorary Treasurer. The list also includes two of the Society's Vice-Presidents, the late Judge Gwilym Williams, of Miskin, a warm-hearted Welshman, and Sir Walter Morgan, who for many years upheld the reputation of Wales in the Judicial Courts of the Indian Empire. In addition to these the Society has lost the services of Mr. Humphreys-Owen, the late Parlia-

mentary representative of the County of Montgomery, whose unstinted labours in the cause of Welsh University Education cannot be forgotten, Mr. Charles E. Howell, of Welshpool, a generous supporter of the literary work of this Society, Mr. Edward Morgan, one of its oldest members, the Venerable Archdeacon Thomas Williams, Dr. Whitaker, of Shrewsbury, Dr. Thomas Evans, of Newcastle Emlyn, and Mr. Llewelyn Edmunds. These and other losses have caused a great gap in the membership of the Society—a gap which the Council trusts every member will do his utmost to fill.

They are glad to be in a position to report that during the year 57 new members were elected.

In the course of the year the following meetings have been held in London :—

1905.

Nov. 16.—Annual Meeting of the Members.

Dec. 5.—Annual Dinner. Chairman, The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.

1906.

Jan. 17.—Paper on "Ancient British Coinage", by P. W. Carlyon-Britton, Esq., F.S.A. *(President of the British Numismatic Society).*

Feb. 23.—Paper on "Dafydd ap Gwilym", by the Rev. J. Machreth Rees.

May 10.—Paper on "Italian Influence on Celtic Culture", by the Rev. G. Hartwell-Jones, M.A.

May 23.—Paper on "Walter Map", by Prof. W. Lewis-Jones, M.A.

July 10.—Annual Conversazione, at the Mansion House, by kind invitation of the Lord Mayor (Sir Walter Vaughan-Morgan, Bart.) and the Lady Mayoress.

At Carnarvon, in the *Cymmrodorion Section* of the National Eisteddfod, meetings were held :—

On Monday evening, August 20th, 1906, in the County Hall, Carnarvon, when addresses (followed by a discussion) were

delivered on "The Eisteddfod and the Colleges" (Yr Eisteddfod a'r Colegau), by W. Llewelyn Williams, Esq., M.P., and Professor John E. Lloyd, M.A.; Chairman, J. Ernest Greaves, Esq. (Lord Lieutenant of Carnarvonshire).

On Wednesday, August 22nd, at 9 a.m., in the County Hall, A. Perceval Graves, Esq., and Principal Reichel, M.A., read Papers on "Folk Song" (Cân Gwerin); Chairman, Sir William H. Preece, G.C.B.

As a result of the meeting last referred to, it is gratifying to note that a Society has been formed, with a representative Committee, for the purpose of making a systematic collection of the Folk Songs and the Folk Music of Wales.

During the year the Committee have issued:—

Y Cymmrodor, Vol. XIX, containing an "Ode on Laying the Foundation Stone of the Sanatorium for West Wales by H.R.H. the Princess Christian, 26 April, 1905", by Sir Lewis Morris, M.A.; "The Vandals in Wessex and the Battle of Deorham", by E. Williams B. Nicholson, M.A.; "The Brychan Documents", by the Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans; "Two Charters of Henry VII", by Alfred Neobard Palmer; "An Episode in the History of Clynnog Church", by Edward Owen; "The Selby Romance", by Francis Green; and signed Reviews of Books of special Welsh interest.

The Council deeply regret that the Volume of *The Transactions* which should have been published some months ago is still unissued owing to the delay in obtaining two of the papers which form part of the contents. They are glad to report that the difficulty is now largely at an end, and they hope to issue the number before the close of the year. It contains: "Appreciations" of the late Mr. Stephen Evans, by Sir Lewis Morris and Sir Marchant Williams, and a Portrait of the late Chairman of the Council; the paper of Sir D. Brynmor-Jones on "The Brehon Laws"; Mr. R. A. Griffith's paper on "The Welsh Epic"; Mr. Robert Bryan's paper on "The Melodies of Wales"; and the Rev. T. Shankland's record of "The Life and Work of Sir John Philipps of Picton."

It is a source of the greatest satisfaction to the Council to be able to announce the publication of Part iii of Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, gratuitous copies of which have been placed at the disposal of members through the generosity of the Editor, Dr. Henry Owen. The Council gladly record the fact, that in appreciation of Dr. Owen's generous gift and his services to the cause of Welsh History, one of the members of the Society (Mr. Simner) has made a substantial contribution to the Record Series Fund. They desire to recommend so excellent an example to the consideration of other members of the Society.

The Transactions for the current year are in the Press, and it is hoped to issue them early next year. The volume contains the Papers on "Ancient British Coinage", "Dafydd ap Gwilym", "Italian Influence on Celtic Culture", and "Walter Map", read before the Society in the course of last Session. Vol. XX of *Y Cymmrodor* is also in the Press, and contains the Rev. Robert Williams' "Criticism and Translation of the *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*". For the sixth number of *The Record Series* the Council have selected the Early Diocesan Records of St. Davids. These are now being transcribed by Mr. J. Vasey Lyle of the Public Record Office, and will be edited and translated by Mr. Willis Bund, who will furnish the work with an historical introduction. The Council, with the view of securing, if possible, the publication of the work of the Rev. S. Baring Gould and the Rev. John Fisher on *The British Saints*, have authorised the circulation of a prospectus of the work, and if a sufficient number of subscribers is obtained the publication will be proceeded with at an early date.

The arrangements for the coming Lecture Session include promises of papers on subjects of special Welsh interest. Mr. Richard S. Ellis, M.A., will speak on "Edward Lhuyd"; Professor Ffrangcon-Davies, M.A., on

"The present position of Music in Wales"; The Rev. John Fisher, B.D., on "Welsh Saints"; and Mr. Ivor B. John, M.A., on "The Welsh National Emblem".

The Annual Dinner of the Society will be held on Monday, the 10th of December, 1906, at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Mètropole, and the Council are pleased to announce that the Right Hon. D. Lloyd George, M.P., President of the Board of Trade, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, has promised to preside. They have also pleasure in announcing that Sir John H. Puleston, who occupied the chair at the preliminary meeting that led to the re-organization of the Cymmrodorion in the year 1873, has accepted an invitation to the Dinner as the guest of the Society.

Under the Society's Rules the term of office of the following officers expires, viz. :—

The President,
The Vice-Presidents,
The Auditors,

and ten members retire in accordance with Rule 4, viz. :—

Mr. R. Henry Jenkins,
Mr. W. Goscombe John,
Rev. G. Hartwell Jones,
Rev. H. Elvet Lewis,
Mr. T. E. Morris,
Mr. Alfred Nutt,
Mr. Edward Owen,
Dr. Henry Owen,
Sir Isambard Owen,
Principal Rhŷs.

A vacancy has also arisen through the death of Mr. H. Lloyd Roberts, and Mr. Francis Green having gone to reside in Pembrokeshire desires to tender his resignation of his seat on the Council.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

Statement of Receipts and Payments.

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER, 1905, TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1906.

Cr. *Dr.*

	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, November 9th, 1905 ..	83	6	5
„ Subscriptions received	400	0	0
„ Sale of Publications	15	15	6
	£499	1	11

	£	s.	d.
By Rent of Offices, Fire, and Lighting ..	74	12	0
„ Publications: Cost of Printing and Distribution, *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XIX £81 7 11; Circulars *re The British Saints* 4 7 0	85	14	11
„ General Printing	28	2	6
„ Cymmrodorion Record Series: Donation towards Cost of Printing	50	0	0
„ Lectures, Meetings, and Conversazione	24	9	2
„ Eisteddfod Section Expenses ..	16	13	1
„ Library Expenses		14	5
„ Stationery, Postage, and General Expenses	33	2	8
„ Commission on Publications Sold and Subscriptions Received (1905) ..	19	16	0
„ Secretary's Remuneration	50	0	0
„ Balance in hand	115	17	2
	£499	1	11

Examined and found correct: Vouchers produced,

JOHN BURRELL, } *Joint*
ELLIS W. DAVIES, } *Hon. Auditors.*

HENRY OWEN, *Treasurer.*
E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*

THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF

Literature, Science, and Art, as connected with Wales.

OFFICERS, COUNCIL, AND MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

(Corrected to 31st March 1907.)

President.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE VISCOUNT TREDEGAR.

Vice-Presidents.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Jersey.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Powis.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Plymouth.
The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.
The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of St. David's.
The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Bangor.
The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Llandaff.
The Right Rev. Francis Mostyn, D.D., Bishop of Menevia.
The Right Honourable Lord Aberdare.
The Right Honourable Lord Kensington.
The Right Honourable Lord Kenyon.
The Right Honourable Lord Mostyn.
The Right Honourable Lord Penrhyn *(deceased)*.
The Right Honourable Lord-Justice Vaughan-Williams.
The Right Honourable D. Lloyd-George, P.C., M.P.
The Honourable George T. Kenyon.
Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Bart.

Sir W. Thomas Lewis, Bart.
Sir John T. D. Llewelyn, Bart.
Sir Marteine O. M. Lloyd, Bart.
Sir John Williams, Bart., K.C.V.O.
Sir Walter Vaughan-Morgan, Bart.
Lieut.-General Sir James Hills-Johnes, G.C.B., V.C.
Sir David Evans, K.C.M.G.
Sir William H. Preece, K.C.B.
Sir Owen Roberts, D.C.L.
Sir Lewis Morris, M.A.
Sir John H. Puleston.
Sir Alfred Thomas, M.P.
Sir D. Brynmôr Jones, K.C., M.P.
W. Cornwallis West, Esq., Lord Lieutenant co. Denbigh.
H. R. Hughes, Esq., Lord Lieutenant co. Flint.
William R. M. Wynne, Esq., Lord Lieutenant co. Merioneth.
Owen M. Edwards, Esq., M.A.
His Honour Judge Owen.
His Honour Judge Parry.

Council.

Principal John Rhys, M.A., D.Litt. (*Chairman*).
Alfred Daniell, M.A., D.Sc.
J. H. Davies, M.A.
W. E. Davies.
E. Vincent Evans (*Secretary*).
Pepyat W. Evans.
William Evans.
Ellis J. Griffith, M.P.
T. Howell Williams Idris, M.P.
R. Henry Jenkins.
W. Goscombe John, A.R.A.
Rev. G. Hartwell-Jones, M.A.
Rev. H. Elvet Lewis, M.A.
John T. Lewis.
T. E. Morris, M.A., LL.M.
Alfred Nutt.
Edward Owen.
Henry Owen, D.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A. (*Treasurer*).

Sir ISAMBARD OWEN, D.C.L., M.A., M.D.
J. PRICHARD-JONES.
Professor FREDK. T. ROBERTS, M.D.
R. ARTHUR ROBERTS.
RICHARD ROBERTS, B.A.
J. ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A.
HOWEL THOMAS.
JOHN THOMAS (*Pencerdd Gwalia*).
GEO. G. T. TREHERNE.
Sir T. MARCHANT WILLIAMS.
W. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, B.C.L. (Oxon), M.P.
J. W. WILLIS-BUND, F.S.A.

Treasurer.

HENRY OWEN, D.C.L., F.S.A.

Auditors.

JOHN BURRELL. ELLIS W. DAVIES.

Secretary.

E. VINCENT EVANS.

Library and Offices: 64, Chancery Lane, W.C.

Bankers.

THE LONDON JOINT STOCK BANK (Limited), 22 Victoria Street, Westminster.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

For North Wales.—Professor JOHN E. LLOYD, M.A., Bangor; ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER, F.S.A., Wrexham; JOHN OWENS, Chester. *For South Wales.*—Professor POWEL, M.A., Cardiff; LLYWARCH REYNOLDS, B.A., Merthyr Tydvil; D. LLEUFER THOMAS, B.A., Swansea. *For Monmouthshire.*—JOSEPH A. BRADNEY, Monmouth. *For Oxford.*—Principal RHYS, M.A., Jesus College. *For Birmingham.*—D. C. LLOYD-OWEN, F.R.C.S. *For Edinburgh.*—ALFRED DANIELL, M.A., D.Sc. *For Natal.*—W. PERCY WILLIAMS. *For Brittany.*—Professor JOSEPH LOTH, Rennes. *For France.*—Professor HENRI GAIDOZ, Paris. *For Germany.*—Professor ERNST WINDISCH, Leipzig. *For the United States.*—J. C. ROBERTS, Utica, N.Y. *For New York.*—HENRY BLACKWELL.

MEMBERS.

H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, K.G., Marlborough House, S.W. (*Honorary Member*).

Aberdare, The Right Hon. Lord, Duffryn, Mountain Ash, and 83, Eaton Square, S.W.
Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.
Alexander, D. T., Esq., J.P., 5, High Street, Cardiff.
Allen, Rev. W. Osborn B., M.A., 83, St. George's Road, S.W.
Anwyl, Prof. Edward, M.A., 62, Marine Terrace, Aberystwyth.
Atkin, J. R., Esq., K.C., 1, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.
Ault, Edwin, Esq., 47, Victoria Street, S.W.

Bangor, The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of, Glyngarth Palace, Menai Bridge.
Bankes, J. Eldon, Esq., K.C., J.P., 45, Eaton Square, S.W.
Baring-Gould, Rev. S., M.A., Lew Trenchard, North Devon.
Bebb, Rev. Ll. J. M., M.A., Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter.
Bell, H. Idris, Esq., 13, Milton Avenue, Highgate, N.
Berlin Royal Library, per Messrs. Asher and Co., 13, Bedford Street, Covent Garden, W.C.
Bevan, Paul, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Highfields, Ware, Herts.
Bibliothèque de l'Université de Rennes, Rennes, Ille-et-Vilaine. France, per M. H. Welter, 4, Rue Bernard Palissy, Paris.
Bodleian Library, The Curators of the, Oxford.
Bowen, Alfred E., Esq., Town Hall, Pontypool (Mon.)
Bowen, John, Esq., 10, West Drive, Brighton.
Bowen, Mrs., 28, Fitzjohn's Avenue, N.W.
Bowen-Davies, J., Esq., 6, Pump Court, Temple, E.C.
Brander, Rev. Gustavus, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon), Hafod, Shrewsbury.
Brigstocke, G. Robert, Esq., The Terrace, Ryde, Isle of Wight.
Brisco-Owen, Miss Ella G., Brooke House, 9, Greville Street, Holborn, E.C.
British Museum Library, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C. (Sir E. Maunde Thompson, K.C.B., I.S.O., *Principal Librarian*).

Bromley, Richard, Esq., Anerley, Rhyl.
Broome, Joseph, Esq., J.P., Sunny Hill, Llandudno (*deceased*).
Brown, Rev. J. Jenkyn, Priory Road, Birmingham (*deceased*).
Bruce, The Hon. William N., 84, Leinster Gardens, W.
Bryant, Rev. D., M.A., B.C.L., 63, Walworth Road, S.E.
Bulkeley-Owen, The Hon. Mrs., Tedsmore Hall, near Oswestry.
Burrell, John, Esq., Panteg, 9, Winchester Avenue, Brondesbury, N.W.
Bute, The Most Hon. The Marquess of, The Castle, Cardiff.

Cambridge University Library, Cambridge (F. J. H. Jenkinson, Esq., M.A., D.Litt., *Librarian*).
Cardiff Free Library (John Ballinger, Esq., *Chief Librarian*), Cardiff.
Carnarvon Free Library, Carnarvon.
Carrow, John, Esq., 79, Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol.
Carter, H. Lloyd, Esq., Bryn-Seiont, Carnarvon.
Chambres, Rev. G. C., M.A., 16, Lorne Road, Oxton, Birkenhead.
Coram, J. H., Esq., 60, Chancery Lane, W.C.
Cory, Clifford J., Esq., M.P., Llantarnam Abbey, Monmouthshire.

Daniell, Alfred, Esq., M.A., D.Sc., 8, New Court, W.C.
Daniel, P. L., Esq., M.D., 152, Harley Street, W.
Darlington, Thos., Esq., M.A., H.M. Inspector of Schools, 12, Victoria Terrace, Aberystwyth.
David, Alex. J., Esq., B.A., LL.B., 4, Harcourt Buildings, Temple, E.C.
Davies, Alfred, Esq., The Lothians, Fitzjohn's Avenue, N.W.
Davies, Cadwaladar, Esq., Ynysfor, Menai Bridge.
Davies, David, Esq., M.P., Plas Dinam, Llandinam, Montgomeryshire.
Davies, Rev. D. J., 9, Malcolm Street, Cambridge.
Davies, D. S., Esq., J.P., Plas Castell, Denbigh.
Davies, E. H., Esq., J.P., Pentre, Pontypridd.
Davies, Ellis W., Esq., The Treasury, Whitehall, S.W.
Davies, Ellis W., Esq., M.P., 22, Castle Square, Carnarvon.
Davies, Rev. F. P. Watkin, M.A., Llanfairfechan, North Wales.
Davies, J. Emile, Esq., 34, Carson Road, West Dulwich, S.E.
Davies, J. H., Esq., M.A., J.P., Cwrtmawr, Aberystwyth.

Davies, Rev. J. Gwynoro, Haulfryn, Barmouth.
Davies, John, Esq., 17, Grosvenor Road, Watford.
Davies, John R., Esq., J.P., Ceris, Bangor.
Davies, Mrs. Mary, 10, Kingswood Avenue, Queen's Park, N.W.
Davies, Philip H., Esq., 5, Somerset St., Portman Square, W.
Davies, R. Gwyneddon, Esq., Bryn Beuno, Carnarvon.
Davies, R. Hammond, Esq., Board of Education, Whitehall, S.W.
Davies, R. Norman, Esq., Quellyn, Carnarvon.
Davies, R. O., Esq., J.P., Grasgarth, Acton, W.
Davies, R. O., Esq., Solicitor, Blaenau Festiniog.
Davies, Thomas, Esq., J.P., 42, Balliol Road, Bootle, Liverpool.
Davies, Thomas, Esq., 22, London Road, Southwark, S.E.
Davies, T. Huws, Esq., B.Sc., 120, The Grove, Hammersmith, W.
Davies, Thomas J., Esq., 253, Monument Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
Davies, Timothy, Esq., M.P., Pantycelyn, Oakhill Road, Putney, S.W.
Davies, Mrs. Timothy, Pantycelyn, Oakhill Road, Putney, S.W.
Davies, Walter Ll., Esq., M.D., 11, Hill's Place, Oxford Street, W.
Davies, William E., Esq., 9, Ravensbourne Park, Catford, S.E.
Davies, W. Lloyd, Esq., Exchequer and Audit Department, Victoria Embankment, E.C.
Davis, Frederick L., Esq., J.P., Coldra, Caerleon, Mon.
Dugdale, J. Marshall, Esq., J.P., Llwyn, Llanfyllin, Oswestry.
Duncan, David, Esq., J.P., Bronyglyn, Penarth, Cardiff.

Edmonds-Jones, Rev. R., M.A., Llandow Rectory, Cowbridge, Glamorgan.
Edwards, David, Esq., 9, Taviton Street, W.C.
Edwards, Rev. Professor Ellis, M.A., The Theological College, Bala.
Edwards, E. Ellis, Esq., Graham House, Cephas Street, Mile End, E.
Edwards, Frank, Esq., M.P., J.P., D.L., The Cottage, Knighton, Radnorshire, and 111, Ashley Gardens, Victoria St., S.W.
Edwards, H. Powel, Esq., M.A., 18, Cleveland Square, W.
Edwards, Rev. J. Hugh, National Liberal Club, S.W.
Edwards, J. Kelt, Esq., Welsh Club, Whitehall Court, S.W.
Edwards, Owen M., Esq., M.A., Lincoln College, Oxford.

Edwards, Rev. T. C., D.D. (*Cynonfardd*), Kingston, Pa., U.S.A.
Edwards, Rev. Thomas (*Gwynedd*), Aber Rectory, Bangor.
Edwards, William, Esq., M.A., H.M. Inspector of Schools, Courtland House, Merthyr Tydfil.
Ellis, Rev. Griffith, M.A., 10, Pembroke Road, Bootle, Liverpool.
Emrys-Jones, A., Esq., M.D., 10, St. John Street, Manchester.
Evans, Christmas, Esq., Pen-Heol-Gerrig, Merthyr Tydfil.
Evans, Cyrus J., Esq., 20, Canonbury Grove, N.
Evans, Sir David, K.C.M.G., Ewell Grove, Ewell, Surrey.
Evans, D. Emlyn, Esq., Cemmes, Mont.
Evans, D. H., Esq., Shooter's Hill, Pangbourne.
Evans, D. L., Esq., 10, Bedford Terrace, Kensington, W.
Evans, D. R., Esq., The Red Lodge, Woodborough Road, Putney, S.W.
Evans, D. W., Esq., 117, St. Mary's Street, Cardiff.
Evans, E. Vincent, Esq., 64, Chancery Lane, W.C. (*Secretary*).
Evans, G. A., Esq., J.P., Ffrwd Offices, Mountain Ash, Glamorganshire.
Evans, H. D., Esq., c/o Messrs. Whiteway, Laidlaw & Co., Chowringhee, Calcutta.
Evans, J. Gwenogvryn, Esq., M.A., D.Litt., Tremvan, Llanbedrog.
Evans, J. Howell, Esq., M.A., F.R.C.S., 63, Grosvenor Street, W.
Evans, James, Esq., Board of Agriculture, 4, Whitehall Place, S.W.
Evans, J. Owain, Esq., 18, Wilton Road, Victoria, S.W.
Evans, N. J., Esq., Talsarn, Palmer's Green, N.
Evans, The Ven. Archdeacon Owen, M.A., The Vicarage, St. Peter's, Carmarthen.
Evans, Pepyat W., Esq., 6, King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.
Evans, Samuel, Esq., P.O. Box 1067, Johannesburg.
Evans, T. J., Esq., 13, Canonbury Park South, N.
Evans, T. W., Esq., Stanaway, Otley, nr. Ipswich.
Evans, William, Esq., M.R.C.S., &c., 85, Pimlico Road, S.W.
Evans, William, Esq., 111, Warwick Road, South Kensington, S.W.
Evans, William, Esq., J.P., 11, Belvidere Road, Prince's Park, Liverpool.
Evans, William, Esq, National Liberal Club, S.W.

Evans, W. Hale, Esq., M.A. (Oxon), Glebe Cottage, Silverton, Devon.

Fisher, Rev. John, B.D., Cefn Rectory, St. Asaph.
Foster, W. A., Esq., Glyn Menai, Bangor, North Wales.
Foulkes-Jones, J. W., Esq., 20, Park Avenue, Willesden Green, N.W.
Foulkes-Jones, L., Esq., Chorley House, 4a, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.
Francis, John, Esq., J.P., D.L., Shirley Lodge, Queen's Road, Clapham Park, S.W.
Freeman, Bryn, Esq., Gwern Einion, Black Pyl, Swansea.
Freeman, Mrs., Gwern Einion, Black Pyl, Swansea.

Gaidoz, Professor Henri, 22, Rue Servandoni, Paris.
George, Isaac, Esq., J.P., The Grove, Mountain Ash, Glamorganshire.
George, William, Esq., Criccieth, North Wales.
Glantawe, The Right Hon. Lord, The Grange, Swansea.
Gomme, G. Laurence, Esq., F.S.A., 24, Dorset Square, N.W.
Gray, Percy H., Esq., Town Hall, Paddington, W.
Green, Francis, Esq., Glan-y-Môr, St. David's, Pembrokeshire.
Griffith, Arthur, Esq., 112, Gower Street, W.C.
Griffith, Ellis J., Esq., M.P., 3, King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.
Griffith, Joseph, Esq., D.Sc., 1, St. Peter's Terrace, Cambridge.
Griffith, Miss Lucy E., Arianfryn, Dolgelly.
Griffith, R. A., Esq. (*Elphin*), 3, Elm Court, Temple, E.C.
Griffith, Hon. Sir S. W., K.C.M.G., Merthyr, Brisbane, Queensland.
Griffith, Sir W. Brandford (*Lieut.-Governor of the Gold Coast Colony*), Accra, Gold Coast Colony.
Griffith, Wm., Esq., North Wales District Auditor, Oaklands, Colwyn Bay, North Wales.
Griffith, W. L., Esq., Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, 17, Victoria Street, S.W.
Griffiths, Evan, Esq., 42, King's Road, Chelsea, S.W.
Griffiths, Principal E. H., M.A., D.Sc., University College, Cardiff.
Griffiths, Idwal O., Esq., M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

Griffiths, John, Esq., 145, New Bond Street, W.
Griffiths, L. J., Esq., Carn Ingli, 113, Dartmouth Road, Brondesbury, N.W.
Griffiths, Wm., Esq., M.E., F.G.S., Waterloo Hotel, Aberystwyth.
The Guildhall Library, E.C. (Edward M. Borrajo, Esq., F.S.A., *Librarian*).
Gwyther, J. Howard, Esq., 13, Lancaster Gate, W.

Harries, Ben, Esq., 260, Oxford Street, W.
Harries, David, Esq., Portland College, Chiswick, W.
Hartland, E. Sidney, Esq., F.S.A., Highgarth, Gloucester.
Hartwell-Jones, Rev. G., M.A., Nutfield Rectory, Surrey.
Hedley, Mrs. May, Cleveland Lodge, Middlesbrough.
Henry, Rev. H. Jones, Rector of Little Warley, Brentwood.
Herbert, Colonel Ivor, of Llanarth, M.P., Llanarth Court, Raglan, Mon.
Hills-Johnes, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Jas., G.C.B., V.C., Dolau Cothi, Llanwrda, R.S.O., Carmarthenshire.
Hinds, Gwilym, Esq., 3, Old Cavendish Street, W.
Hinds, John, Esq., Brynteg, 30, Lee Park, Blackheath, S.E.
Hinds, Thomas, Esq., 10, Stonecutter Street, E.C.
Hook, Rev. Paul, M.A., St. Mary's College, Holywell, North Wales.
Howell, Charles E., Esq., Rhiewport, Berriew, Mont. (*deceased*).
Howell, H. Llewelyn, Esq., 4, Devonport Street, Hyde Park, W.
Howell, T. Francis, Esq., 83, Queensborough Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
Howell, Thos. H., Esq., J.P., Cader Idris, Stow Park, Newport (Mon.)
Hughes, Mrs. Alfred, 7, Chester Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
Hughes, Mrs. A. D., 28, Holland Park, W.
Hughes, Miss Annie, Heath Lodge, near Shrewsbury.
Hughes, Arthur E., Esq., 1, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.
Hughes, David R., Esq., 122, Oglander Road, East Dulwich, S.E.
Hughes, Harold, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., Aelwyd, Bangor, North Wales.
Hughes, H. Lewis, Esq., M.D., J.P., Llwynwern, Dowlais.

Hughes, H. R., Esq. (*Lord Lieutenant of Flintshire*), Kinmel Park, Abergele, Denbighshire.
Hughes-Hunter, Sir Charles, F.R.S., F.S.A. (Scot.), Plas Coch, Llanfair-pwll-gwyn-gyll, Anglesey (*deceased*).
Hughes, Rev. J. E., M.A., Bryn Peris, Carnarvon.
Hughes, John, Esq., 27, Regent Street, S.W.
Hughes, John, Esq., The Manor House, Hampton-on-Thames.
Hughes, Mrs., The Manor House, Hampton-on-Thames.
Hughes, Alderman Robert, 21, Park Place, Cardiff.
Hughes, Rev. W. Hawker, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford.
Hughes, William, Esq., 21, Mincing Lane, E.C.
Humphreys, Griffith, Esq., 1, Belsize Avenue, N.W.
Humphreys, John, Esq., 26, Clarendon Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.

Idris, T. H. W., Esq., M.P., 110, Pratt Street, Camden Town, N.W.

James, Charles H., Esq., 64, Park Place, Cardiff.
James, C. Russell, Esq., 5, Raymond Buildings, Gray's Inn, W.C.
James, Frank T., Esq., Pen-y-Darren House, Merthyr Tydvil.
James, Gwilym C., Esq., Gwaelod-y-Garth, Merthyr Tydvil.
James, J. T., Esq., M.D., 108, Harley Street, W.
Jehu, Thos. J., Esq., M.A., M.B., The University, St. Andrews, N.B.
Jenkins, R. Henry, Esq., Ogmore House, Church End, Finchley, N.
Jesus College Library, Oxford, The Librarian of,
John, Caleb, Esq., c/o Messrs. Norman Anstey & Co., Durban, Natal.
John, Edward T., Esq., Riversdale, Eaglescliffe, R.S.O., co. Durham.
John, Ivor B., Esq., Goldsmith's College, New Cross, S.E.
John, W. Goscombe, Esq., A.R.A., 24, Greville Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.
Jones, A. Ernest, Esq., M.D., 13, Harley Street, W.
Jones, Daniel W., Esq., Galon Uchaf, Merthyr Tydfil.

Jones, David, Esq., Stokesay, Gipps Street, East Melbourne, Australia.
Jones, Rev. David, M.A., Gorsedd Vicarage, Holywell.
Jones, David, Esq., 62, Farringdon Street, E.C.
Jones, Sir D. Brynmor, K.C., M.P., 27, Bryanston Square, W.
Jones, D. B., Esq., 3, Gloucester Villas, Alexandra Park Road, N.
Jones, E. Alfred, Esq., Hampden Club, Phœnix Street, N.W.
Jones, Edgar, Esq., M.A., Eryl, Barry, Glamorgan.
Jones, E. D., Esq., 6, Addison Road, Kensington, W.
Jones, Edward, Esq., 12, Barforth Road, Peckham Rye, S.E.
Jones, Edwin, Esq., Atherstone House, Atkins Road, Clapham Park, S.W.
Jones, Major Evan R., Effingham House, Arundel St., Strand.
Jones, Evan, Esq., M.D., F.R.C.S., Ty Mawr, Aberdare.
Jones, Rev. H. T. Havard, M.A., the Moat, Soham.
Jones, Harry, Esq., Oakleigh, 198, Croxteth Road, West Dulwich, S.E.
Jones, J. Harrison, Esq., 99, Ullett Road, Liverpool.
Jones, Rev. John, Ty Celyn, Conway Road, Llandudno.
Jones, Professor J. Morris, M.A., Llanfair-pwll-gwyn-gyll, Anglesey.
Jones, J. Owen, Esq., M.D., Bodowen, Holywell.
Jones, Leif, Esq., M.P., House of Commons, S.W.
Jones, Lewis D., Esq., 3, Edge Hill, Garth, Bangor.
Jones, Rev. M. H., B.A., Trevecca College, Talgarth, Breconshire.
Jones, Morgan, Esq., 64, Gloucester Crescent, Regent's Park, N.W.
Jones, M. Pennant, Esq., Hafod Dre, Cecil Park, Pinner.
Jones, Owen, Esq., Dolawel, Blaenau Festiniog.
Jones, General R. Owen, R.E., C.B., 1, Knaresborough Place, S.W.
Jones, Richard, Esq., M.D., Isallt, Blaenau Festiniog.
Jones, Robert, Esq., M.D., Claybury, Woodford Bridge, Essex.
Jones, Robert, Esq., 62, Farringdon Street, E.C.
Jones, Thomas, Esq., C.E., 1, Princes' Street, Great George Street, Westminster, S.W.
Jones, Thomas, Esq., Solicitor, Portmadoc, Carnarvonshire.

Jones, Thos. D., Esq., Leighton House, 167-168, Fleet St., E.C.
Jones, William, Esq., M.P., House of Commons, S.W.
Jones, William T., Esq., 17, Stratton Street, W.
Jones, W. E. Tyldesley, Esq., 5, Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
Jones, W. Hughes, Esq., M.A., County School, Bethesda, Bangor.
Jones, Professor W. Lewis, M.A., Ceinwen, Bangor.
Jones, W. O., Esq., 59, Grayling Road, Stoke Newington, N.
Jones, W. Owen, Esq., The Downs, Bowdon, Manchester.
Jones, Rev. W. Philip, B.D., Ardwyn House, Fishguard, Pembrokeshire.
Joseph, Miss J. Margaret, 22, Wellington Court, Albert Gate, S.W.
Jubainville, Professor d'Arbois de, 84, Boulevard Montparnasse, Paris.

Kenyon, The Hon. G. T., Llanerch Panna, Ellesmere.
Kenyon, The Right Hon. Lord, Gredington, near Whitchurch, Salop.
Ker, Professor W. P., M.A., 95, Gower Street, W.C.
Knowles, Edward R., Esq., Grosvenor Road, Chester.

Leslie, Mrs. Henry, Bryn Tanat, Llansantffraid, R.S.O., Mont.
Lewis, Professor D. Morgan, Iscoed, Caradog Road, Aberystwyth.
Lewis, David Rees, Esq., Plâs Pen-y-Darren, Merthyr Tydfil.
Lewis, Edw. J., Esq., M.A., M.B., 74, Hamilton Terrace, N.W.
Lewis, E. A., Esq., M.A., 38, Liberia Road, Highbury, N.
Lewis, Gething, Esq., J.P., 1, Pearson Place, Bute Docks, Cardiff.
Lewis, Rev. H. Elvet, M.A., 37, Highbury New Park, N.
Lewis, Hugh, Esq., J.P., Glan Hafren, near Newtown, Montgomeryshire.
Lewis, J. Herbert, Esq., M.P., Pen-ucha', Caerwys, Flintshire.
Lewis, John T., Esq., 53, Chancery Lane, W.C.
Lewis, Richard, Esq., Cae Parc, Swansea.
Lewis, Robert, Esq., 62, Green Street, Grosvenor Square, W.

Lewis, Thos., Jr., Esq., Fair Oak House, Roath Park, Cardiff.
Lewis, Sir W. Thomas, Bart., The Mardy, Aberdare, Glamorganshire.
Lewis, William, Esq., The Treasury, Whitehall, S.W.
Lewis, William, Esq., Ashton, Brondesbury Park, N.W.
Liverpool Free Public Library, William Brown Street, Liverpool (P. Cowell, Esq., *Librarian*).
Llandaff, The Rt. Rev. The Lord Bishop of, The Palace, Llandaff, Glamorgan.
Llewelyn, Sir John T. D., Bart., Penllergaer, Swansea.
Lloyd, Edward, Esq., J.P., 31, Faulkner Street, Liverpool.
Lloyd, Ed. O. Vaughan, Esq., J.P., Rhaggatt, Corwen, Merionethshire.
Lloyd-George, The Right Hon. D., M.P., President of the Board of Trade, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.
Lloyd, Rev. J. A., F.S.A., Mere Vicarage, Wilts.
Lloyd, Professor John E., M.A., Gwaendeg, Bangor.
Lloyd, J. T., Esq.
Lloyd-Owen, D. C., Esq., M.D., F.R.C.S., 41, Newhall Street, Birmingham.
Lloyd-Thomas, Fleet-Surgeon J., Royal Naval Barracks, Chatham.
London Library, The, St. James's Square, S.W. (C. T. Hagberg Wright, Esq., M.A., *Librarian*).

Mackinnon, Prof. D., M.A., Edinburgh.
Manchester Free Reference Library, King Street, Manchester (C. W. Sutton, Esq., *Librarian*).
Martin, Edward P., Esq., The Hill, Abergavenny.
Matthews, Thos., Esq., Llandebie, R.S.O., Carmarthenshire.
Meredith, Walter W., Esq., Victoria Chambers, Merthyr Tydfil.
Milbank, Sir Powlett C., Bart., Norton Manor, Norton, R.S.O., Radnorshire.
Miller, Arthur W. K., Esq., M.A., British Museum, W.C.
Mills, Miss Marion A., 25, Anson Road, N.
Mills, Miss M. Elaine, Llantwit Road, Neath.
Morgan, Charles, Esq., B.A., Pupil Teachers' School, Cardiff.
Morgan, G. Hay, Esq., M.P., 4, Harcourt Buildings, Temple, E.C.

Morgan-Owen, O., Esq., 76, Palace Court, W.
Morgan-Owen, Mrs., 76, Palace Court, W.
Morgan, Sir Walter, 34, Hereford Square, S.W. (*deceased*).
Morgan, Lieut.-Col. W. Llewelyn, Brynbriallu, Swansea.
Morgan, Sir W. Vaughan, Bart., 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.
Morley, Charles, Esq., 46, Bryanston Square, W.
Morris, Abraham, Esq., F.R.H.S., Gwynfa, Gold Tops, Newport, Mon.
Morris, B. Hopkin, Esq., Garthowen, Barrowgate Road, Chiswick, W.
Morris, John, Esq., J.P., 18, Parkfield Road, Liverpool.
Morris, J. Pugh, Esq., c/o Messrs. Jones, Patterson & Co., Solicitors, 11, Dale Street, Liverpool.
Morris, Sir Lewis, M.A., Penbryn, Carmarthen.
Morris, T. E., Esq., B.A., LL.M., 8, Fig Tree Court, Temple.
Mostyn, The Right Rev. Francis, D.D., Bishop of Menevia, Bishop's House, Grosvenor Road, Wrexham.
Mostyn, The Right Hon. Lord, Mostyn Hall, Holywell, Flintshire.

Newberry Library, Chicago, per Messrs. B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4, Trafalgar Square, W.C.
Newell, Rev. E. J., M.A., Neen Sollars Rectory, Cleobury Mortimer, Salop.
Newport Corporation Free Library, Newport, Mon.
New York Public Library, New York, per Messrs. B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4, Trafalgar Square, W.C.
Nutt, Alfred, Esq., 57-59, Long Acre, W.C.

Owen, Arthur S., Esq., Keble College, Oxford.
Owen, C. Maynard, Esq, LL.M., Dacre House, Victoria Street, S.W.
Owen, Edmund, Esq., M.B., 64, Great Cumberland Place, W.
Owen, Edward, Esq., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
Owen, Evan, Esq., c/o Messrs. Jenkins & Co., Durban, Natal.
Owen, Evan, Esq., J.P. (Monmouth & South Wales Miners Pemanent Prov. Society), 1, Dock Chambers, Cardiff.
Owen, Gwilym, Esq., 136, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
Owen, Henry, Esq., D.C.L. (Oxon), F.S.A., Poyston, Haverfordwest (*Hon. Treasurer*).

Owen, His Honour Judge, Ty-Gwyn, Abergavenny, Mon.
Owen, Sir Hugh, G.C.B., Voel, South Grove, Highgate, N.
Owen, Sir Isambard, M.A., 2, Brandling Park, Newcastle-on-Tyne (*Deputy Chancellor of the University of Wales*).
Owen, Lady Isambard, 2, Brandling Park, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Owen, John, Esq., Wynnstay, 51, Mount View Road, N.
Owen, J. Trevor, Esq., M.A., The Grammar School, Swansea.
Owen, Lancaster, Esq., 26, Cornwall Gardens, S.W.
Owen, Owen, Esq., 37, Fitzjohn's Avenue, N.W.
Owen, Rev. Canon R. Trevor, M.A., Bodelwyddan Vicarage, Rhuddlan.
Owen, William, Esq., J.P., Plas Weunydd, Blaenau Festiniog.
Owen, Capt. William, Army & Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
Owen, William, Esq., The Elms, Castle Bar Hill, Ealing, W.
Owen, Wm. R., Esq., 69, Canning Street, Liverpool.
Owens, John, Esq., Tawelan, Newton Lane, Chester.

Palmer, Alfred N., Esq., F.S.A., 17, Bersham Road, Wrexham.
Parry, A. Ivor, Esq., Solicitor, Pwllheli.
Parry, Edward, Esq., 14, Holland Park, W.
Parry, Rev. John, M.A., The Vicarage, Hammersmith, W.
Parry, W. J., Esq., F.C.A., Coetmor Hall, Bethesda, Bangor.
Peate, Alex. L. M., Esq., 152-166, Old Street, E.C.
Pennant, P. P., Esq., J.P., Nant-Lys, St. Asaph.
Penrhyn, The Right Hon. Lord, Penrhyn Castle, Bangor (*deceased*).
Phillimore, Egerton, Esq., M.A., Corris, R.S.O., Merioneth.
Philipps, Sir Charles E. G., Bart., Picton Castle, Haverfordwest.
Philipps, J. Wynford, Esq., M.P., Lydstep Haven, Penally, R.S.O., Pembrokeshire.
Philipps, Owen C., Esq., M.P., Amroth Castle, Begelly, R.S.O., Pembrokeshire.
Phillips, J. Leoline, Esq., 63, Earl's Court Square, S.W.
Phillips, Professor R. W., M.A., B.Sc., University College, Bangor.
Picton, Thomas, Esq., M.A., 63, Earl's Court Square, S.W.
Pierce, Ellis, Esq., Dolyddelen, R.S.O., Carnarvonshire.
Pilley, Walter, Esq., The Barton, Hereford.
Plymouth, The Right Hon. The Earl of, St. Fagan's, Cardiff.

Poole-Hughes, Rev. W. W., M.A., The Warden of the College, Llandovery.
Popham, Mrs. Cecil, South Cliff Hotel, Southbourne-on-Sea, Christchurch, Hants.
Powel, H. Powel, Esq., Castle Madoc, Brecon.
Powel, Professor Thomas, M.A., University College, Cardiff.
Powell, Edward, Esq., Coed Môr, Skewen, Neath.
Powell, W. Wyndham, Esq., F.R.C.S., 17, Cavendish Place, Cavendish Square, W.
Powis, The Right Hon. The Earl of, Powis Castle, Welshpool.
Preece, Sir W. H., K.C.B., F.R.S., Gothic Lodge, Wimbledon.
Price, J. Arthur, Esq., M.A., 14, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
Price, William C., Esq., 323, Walworth Road, S.E.
Prichard-Jones, J., Esq., 29, Argyll Street, Regent Street, W.
Pritchard, John W., Esq., The Priory, Cardigan, South Wales.
Pritchard, Mrs. Emily M., The Priory, Cardigan.
Pritchard, L. J., Esq., Menai Lodge, Wellesley Road, Chiswick, W.
Pritchard, Owen, Esq., M.D., 41, Gloucester Square, W.
Prosser, Howell, Esq., M.S.A., 14, Eastfield Road, Walthamstow.
Pryce, Thos. E., Esq., F.R.I.B.A., 10, Gray's Inn Square, W.C.
Pryce-Jones, Sir Pryce, Dolerw, Newtown, Montgomery.
Pryce-Jones, Colonel Edward, Caerhowel, Montgomery.
Pugh, J. W., Esq., M.D., 45, Upper Rock Gardens, Brighton.
Pugh, Robert, Esq., M.D., County Asylum, Talgarth, Breconshire.
Puleston, Sir John H., 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.

Quaritch, Bernard A., Esq., 15, Piccadilly, W.
Quiggin, E. C., Esq., M.A., Ph.D., Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

Radcliffe, Henry, Esq., J.P., 4, Dock Chambers, Cardiff.
Rees, Benjamin J., Esq., 3, Carthusian Street, E.C.
Rees, David, Esq., East London, Cape Colony.
Rees, E. J., Esq., 128, North Court Street, Memphis, Penn., U.S.A.
Rees, John, Esq., Bryn Llethi, Llanarth, Cardiganshire.

Rees, Rev. J. Machreth, 13, Meath Street, Battersea Park, S.W.

Rees, Morgan J., Esq., M.D., Medical Officer of Health, Aberdare.

Rees, Rowland, Esq., 24, Watling Street, E.C.

Rees, William, Esq., 80, King's Road, Chelsea, S.W.

Reichel, Principal H. R., M.A., University College of North Wales, Bangor.

Reynolds, Llywarch, Esq., B.A., Old Church Place, Merthyr Tydfil.

Rhŷs, David, Esq., 1, Temple Gardens, E.C.

Rhŷs, Ernest, Esq., Derwen, Hermitage Lane, West Hampstead, N.W.

Rhŷs, Professor John, M.A., LL.D., *Principal of Jesus College*, Oxford (*Chairman of the Council*).

Richards, D. M., Esq., Wenallt, Aberdare.

Richards, D., Esq., National Liberal Club, Whitehall, S.W.

Richards, J., Esq., 41, England Lane, Belsize Park, Hampstead, N.W.

Richards, Owen, Esq., 13, White Conduit Street, N.

Roberts, A. Foulkes, Esq., Vale Street, Denbigh.

Roberts, A. Rhys, Esq., Ormond House, 63, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

Roberts, D. Watkin, Esq., M.D., 56, Manchester Street, W.

Roberts, Edward, Esq., H.M.I.S., Plâs Maesincla, Carnarvon.

Roberts, Ellis, Esq., 6, William Street, Lowndes Square, S.W.

Roberts, Professor F. T., M.D., B.Sc., 102, Harley Street, Cavendish Square, W.

Roberts, J. Herbert, Esq., M.P., Bryngwenallt, Abergele.

Roberts, Lewis H., Esq., Hendre, Aberystwyth.

Roberts, Lewis J., Esq., B.A., H.M. Inspector of Schools, Tegvan, Russell Road, Rhyl.

Roberts, Sir Owen, J.P., D.L., Clothworkers' Hall, E.C.

Roberts, Owen, Esq., M.D., 60, Cambridge Gardens, North Kensington, W.

Roberts, R. Arthur, Esq., Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, W.C.

Roberts, R. D., Esq., D.Sc., Hazelrise, Hindhead, Haslemere.

Roberts, Rev. Richard, 42, Westbourne Park Villas, W.

Roberts, Richard, Esq., B.A., J.P., 10, Willow Bridge Road, Canonbury, N.

Roberts, Robert, Esq., M.R.C.S., J.P., Plas Weunydd, Blaenau Festiniog.

Roberts, Robert, Esq., J.P., Plas-Meini, Festiniog.

Roberts, Thomas E., Esq., J.P., Plas-yn-Bryn, Carnarvon.

Roberts, Principal T. F., M.A., University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.

Roberts, T. Stanley, Esq., M.A., St. David's College, Lampeter.

Robinson, Professor F. N., Longfellow Park, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.

Romilly-Allen, J., Esq., F.S.A., 28, Great Ormond Street, W.C.

Rowland, T. W., Esq., 21, Spring Gardens, Manchester.

Rowlands, Rev. Principal D., B.A., Memorial College, Brecon (*deceased*).

Rowlands, M. J., Esq., M.D., 245, Knightsbridge, S.W.

Royal Institution of South Wales, Swansea.

Rylands Library, The John, Manchester.

Salmon, Principal D., Swansea Training College, Swansea.

Sayce, Rev. Professor A. H., M.A., LL.D., Queen's College, Oxford.

Scott-Hall, Rev. W. E., M.A., Oriel College, Oxford, and Plas Llanfaelog, Anglesey.

Seebohm, Frederic, Esq., LL.D., The Hermitage, Hitchin.

Selby, James, Esq., 347, Holloway Road, N.

Shackell, E. W., Esq., J.P., Merlinville, Newport Road, Cardiff.

Shone, Isaac, Esq., C.E., 22, Dealtry Road, Putney, S.W.

Simner, Abel, Esq., 3, Grosvenor Court, 137, Victoria St., S.W.

Smith, George H., Esq., Maindy Hall, Pentre, Pontypridd.

Southall, Miss Isabel, Cradley, near Malvern.

Spence-Jones, The Very Rev. H. D. Maurice, D.D. (*Dean of Gloucester*), The Deanery, Gloucester.

Spurrell, Walter, Esq., 36, King Street, Carmarthen.

St. Asaph, The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of, The Palace, St. Asaph.

Stable, D. Wintringham, Esq., LL.B., J.P., Plas Llwyn Owen, Llanbrynmair, Montgomeryshire.

St. David's, The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of, The Palace, Abergwili, Carmarthen.

St. David's College Library, Lampeter.
Stephens, Mrs. Thos., High Street, Merthyr Tydvil.
Stepney-Gulston, Alan S., Esq., Derwydd, Llandebie, R.S.O., Carmarthenshire.
Swansea Public Library, Swansea (S. E. Thompson, Esq., *Librarian*).
Szlumper, Sir James W., Glanteifi, Kew Gardens.

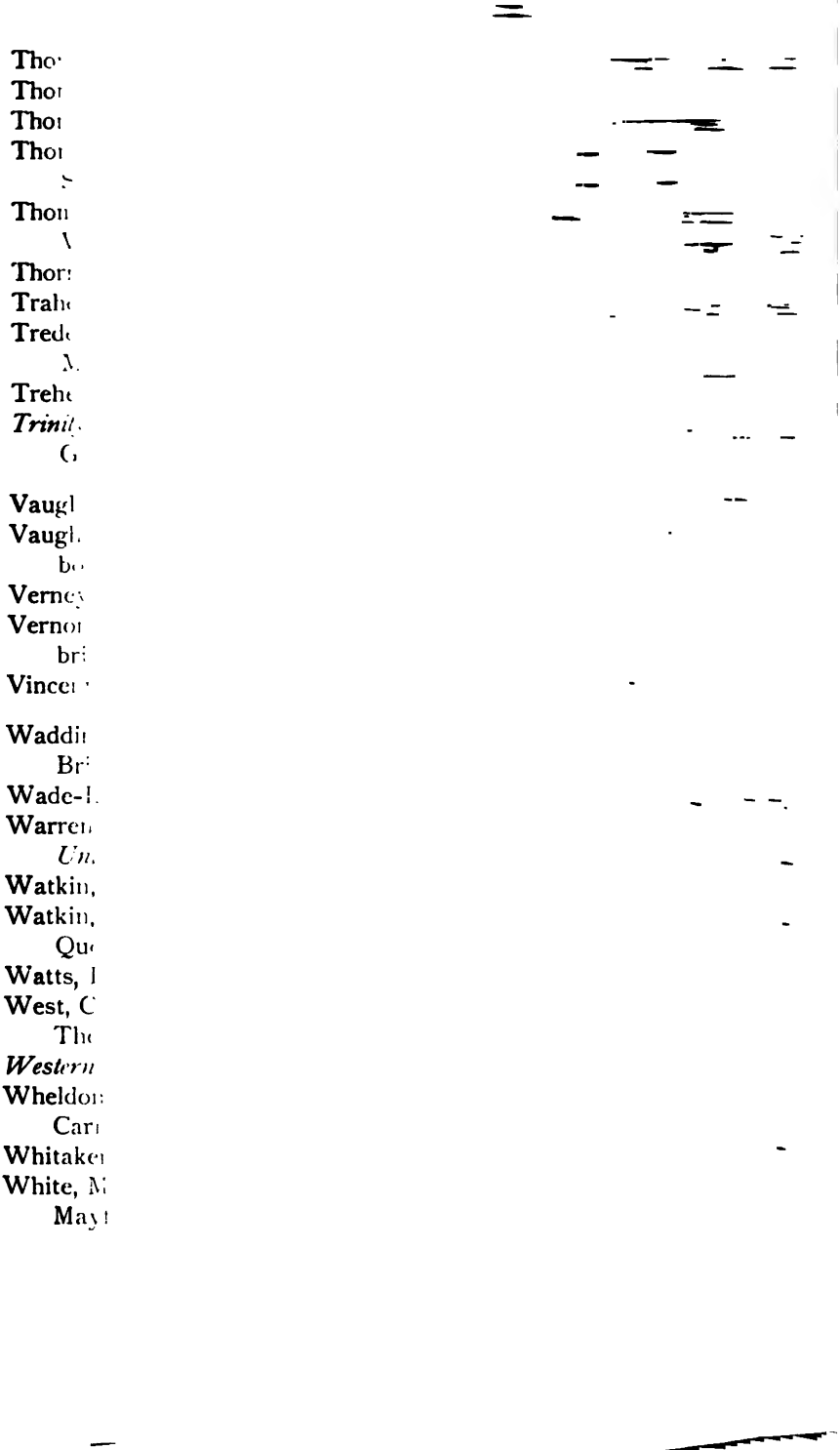
Taylor, G. W., Esq.
Thomas, Abel, Esq., K.C., M.P., 7, King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.
Thomas, Sir Alfred, M.P., Bronwydd, Cardiff.
Thomas, The Venerable Archdeacon, F.S.A., Llandrinio Rectory, nr. Oswestry.
Thomas, D. A., Esq., M.P., Llanwern, Newport, Monmouthshire.
Thomas, D. Lleufer, Esq., B.A., Hendre, Eaton Grove, Swansea.
Thomas, D. L., Esq., M.D., M.O.H., 23, Bromley Street, E.
Thomas, D. J., Esq., M.D., M.O.H., Gothic Villa, Mill Hill Grove, Acton, W.
Thomas, David, Esq., London and North Western Ry. Co. Station, Euston, N.W.
Thomas, Professor E. Lorimer, M.A., St. David's College, Lampeter.
Thomas, Lt.-Col. G. Tucker, I.M.S., The Bush, Walton-on-Thames.
Thomas, Howel, Esq., Local Government Board, Whitehall, S.W.
Thomas, C. J. Howell, Esq., 36, Canfield Gardens, N.W.
Thomas, Ivor, Esq., B.Sc., 19, Albany Street, Regent's Park, N.W.
Thomas, J. Aeron, Esq., 18, York Place, Swansea.
Thomas, James, Esq., J.P., Rock House, Haverfordwest.
Thomas, John, Esq. (*Pencerdd Gwalia*), 53, Welbeck Street, Cavendish Square, W.
Thomas, J. Lynn, Esq., M.D., C.B., Greenlawn, Cardiff.
Thomas, J. W., Esq., Overdale, Shortlands, Kent, and 4, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

Thomas, Miss, Llwyn Madoc, Garth, R.S.O., Breconshire.
Thomas, Owen, Esq., 44, Broadway, Stratford, E.
Thomas, P. H., Esq., I.S.O., Rusham Gate, Balham, S.W.
Thomas, W. Jenkyn, Esq., M.A., The Grocers' Company's School, Hackney Downs, Clapton.
Thomas, W. Beach, Esq., M.A., The Old Cottage, Kimpton, Welwyn, Herts.
Thornton-Jones, W., Esq., Chauntry House, Beaumaris.
Traherne, L. A., Esq., Coedarhydyglyn, Cardiff.
Tredegar, The Right Hon. Viscount, Tredegar Park, Newport, Mon. (*President*).
Treherne, George G. T., Esq., 7, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.
Trinity College Library, per Messrs. Hodges, Figgis & Co., Grafton Street, Dublin.

Vaughan, Madame Gwyneth, Bryn Morfa, Bangor.
Vaughan-Williams, The Right Hon. Lord Justice, 6, Trebovir Road, S.W.
Verney, Sir Edm. H., Bart., Claydon House, Winslow, Bucks.
Vernon-Jones, V. S., Esq., M.A., Magdalene College, Cambridge.
Vincent, J. Edmund, Esq., Lime Close, Drayton, Abingdon.

Waddingham, T. J., Esq., M.A., J.P., D.L., Hafod, Devil's Bridge, R.S.O., Cardiganshire.
Wade-Evans, Rev. A. W., 41, Goldsmith Avenue, Acton, W.
Warren, T. Herbert, Esq., M.A. (*Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford*), President of *Magdalen*, Oxford.
Watkin, Miss R. Nest Joseph.
Watkin, T. M. Joseph, Esq., *Portcullis*, H. M. College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
Watts, E. T., Esq., Thorley, Bishops Stortford.
West, Cornwallis W., Esq. (*Lord Lieutenant of Denbighshire*), The Castle, Ruthin.
Western Mail Limited, Cardiff.
Wheldon, P. J., Esq., National Provincial Bank of England, Carmarthen.
Whitaker, Mrs. M. E., Perthi, Meifod, nr. Welshpool.
White, Mrs. J. Bell, 6, Mexborough House, Berkeley Street, Mayfair, W.

Wilkins, William, Esq., 64, Chancery Lane, W.C.
Williams, Aneurin, Esq., Wheelside, Hindhead, Haslemere, Surrey.
Williams, Arthur J., Esq., J.P., Coed-y-Mwstwr, Bridgend, Glamorgan.
Williams, A. Osmond, Esq., M.P., Castell Deudraeth, Penrhyndeudraeth, Merionethshire.
Williams, Christopher, Esq., 71, Eardley Crescent, Kensington, W.
Williams, Rev. D. D., 63, Cecil Street, Greenheys, Manchester.
Williams, E. Lloyd, Esq., F.R.C.S., 11, Buckingham Gate, S.W.
Williams, Rev. Evan, 203, Walton Lane, Stanley Park, Liverpool.
Williams, George Bransby, Esq., Killay House, Killay, Glamorganshire.
Williams, Geo. O., Esq., B.A., County School, Bridgend.
Williams, H. Lloyd, Esq., 2, Upper Wimpole Street, W.
Williams, Howell J., Esq., J.P., L.C.C., Penrhyn, Camden Road, N.
Williams, Rev. Prof. Hugh, D.D., *The Theological College*, Bala.
Williams, J. Jay, Esq., 5, Eliot Bank, Sydenham Hill, S.E.
Williams, Sir John, Bart., K.C.V.O., Plas Llanstephan, Carmarthenshire.
Williams, J. Davies, Esq., 2, Garden Court, Temple, E.C.
Williams, J. H., Esq., Moorgate Station Buildings, 41, Finsbury Pavement, E.C.
Williams, John, Esq., M.I.M.E., Queen's Terrace, Llanrwst, North Wales.
Williams, J. Mason, Esq., 17, Gresham House, Old Broad St., E.C.
Williams, L. Roger (*Isander*), Esq., 222, Upper Parliament Street, Liverpool.
Williams, Leonard L. B., Esq., M.D., 8, York Street, Portman Square, W.
Williams, Neville, Esq., M.D., Sydenham House, Harrogate.
Williams, Owen, Esq., Melrose, Romford Road, Stratford, E.
Williams, Philip, Esq., 220, Earl's Court Road, S.W.
Williams, Richard, Esq., M.D., 82, Rodney Street, Liverpool.



Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland: Robert Cochrane, Esq., F.S.A., *Honorary Secretary and Treasurer*, 17, Highfield Road, Dublin.

Royal Historical Society: c/o. Hubert Hall, Esq., F.R.S., 2, Paper Buildings, Temple, E.C.

Society of Antiquaries: W. H. St. John Hope, Esq., M.A., *Assistant Secretary*, Burlington House, W.

Society of Arts: Sir H. Trueman Wood, M.A., *Secretary*, 18 and 19, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language: J. J. MacSweney, Esq., *Secretary*, 19, Kildare Street, Dublin.

Williams, Richard, Esq., Bod Gwilym, Poynder's Road, Clapham Park, S.W.
Williams, R. T. P., Esq., Town Clerk, Haverfordwest.
Williams, Rev. T. C., Olivers, Haslemere, Surrey.
Williams, Mrs. E. L., Olivers, Haslemere, Surrey.
Williams, Thomas, Esq., J.P., Llewesog Hall, Denbigh.
Williams, Sir T. Marchant (*Stipendiary Magistrate*), Taff House, Cathedral Road, Cardiff.
Williams, W. G., Esq., 27, Staverton Road, Willesden Green, N.W.
Williams, W. Jones, Esq., B.A., LL.B., 42, Rutland Park Mansions, Willesden Green, N.W.
Williams, W. Llewelyn, Esq., M.P., M.A., Lamb Building, Temple, E.C.
Williams, W. Percy, Esq., P.O. Box 333, Durban, Natal.
Williams, W. Prichard, Esq., Cae'r Onnen, Bangor.
Williams, W. Prydderch, Esq., Myfyrion, Isleworth.
Willis-Bund, J. W., Esq., F.S.A., 15, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
Winstone, Benjamin, Esq., 53, Russell Square, W.C. (*deceased*).
Witts, Mrs. Margaret, Fosse Cottage, Stow-on-theWold.
Wood, H. J. T., Esq., 32, Clanricarde Gardens, W.
Wood, R. H., Esq., F.S.A., Belmont, Sidmouth, S.O., Devon.
Wrexham Public Free Library, Wrexham.
Wyndham-Quin, Colonel W. H., 5, Seymour Street, Portman Square, W.
Wynn, Sir Watkin Williams, Bart. (*Lord Lieutenant of Montgomeryshire*), Wynnstay, Ruabon.
Wynne, William R. M., Esq., (*Lord Lieutenant of Merionethshire*), Peniarth, Towyn, Merionethshire.

Societies exchanging Transactions.

Powys-Land Club: T. Simpson Jones, Esq., *Honorary Secretary*, Gungrog Hall, Welshpool.
Royal Institution of Cornwall: Major Edward Parkyn, *Secretary*, Truro.

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland: Robert Cochrane, Esq., F.S.A., *Honorary Secretary and Treasurer*, 17, Highfield Road, Dublin.

Royal Historical Society: c/o. Hubert Hall, Esq., F.R.S., 2, Paper Buildings, Temple, E.C.

Society of Antiquaries: W. H. St. John Hope, Esq., M.A., *Assistant Secretary*, Burlington House, W.

Society of Arts: Sir H. Trueman Wood, M.A., *Secretary*, 18 and 19, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language: J. J. MacSweney, Esq., *Secretary*, 19, Kildare Street, Dublin.

THE SAXON, NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET COINAGE OF WALES
(WITH FOUR ANGLO-SAXON PENNIES).

X–XIII CENTURIES.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1905-1906.

THE SAXON, NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET COINAGE OF WALES.[1]

By P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A.,

President of the British Numismatic Society.

Coinage of Howel Dda, 913-948.

An account of the coin of Howel Dda, the obverse of which figured so prominently at the head of the Prospectus of the British Numismatic Society, has been awaited with much interest. This silver penny, with two others of the Saxon King Eadmund, formed Lot 1 at the sale of a collection of coins and medals, "The Property of a Nobleman," by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, on 29 June 1903, just after the foundation of the Society. The following are the descriptions from the catalogue of the three coins:—

> Lot I. Penny of Eadmund—*Obverse.*—+EADMUND REX. Small cross pattée. *Reverse.*—MELPOMNE in two lines, divided by crosses; above and below, rosette (Ruding, xviii, 4).

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on 17th Jan. 1906. Chairman, Sir Owen Roberts, D.C.L., LL.D.

Another similar, King's name retrograde, moneyer AFRANDER. Another of Eadgar (?), same type, King's name blundered, moneyer GIL + SVL +, letters in field (Ruding, Plate XXI, 10), well preserved.

The late owner of the coins, the pleasure of whose friendship the writer has had for a number of years, relates that the coins were taken by him to the British Museum, and that one of the officials in the coin and medal department undertook the cataloguing of the collection. To the want of perception on the part of this official, and of the numerous other persons who had the opportunity of seeing the lot, the author is indebted for the acquisition, at a nominal figure, of three very interesting coins.

As the catalogue description is in material respects inaccurate, the correct descriptions of the three coins constituting Lot 1 will now be given, although it is only with the last of them that this paper is immediately concerned.

1. *Obverse.*—EΛDMYND REX, between two circles; in centre, small cross pattée.

   Reverse.—MÆLD in the upper line, OMEN̲Ē (the ME in monogram) in the lower line, divided by three crosses; above and below, ornament composed of six pellets around a central pellet. Plate, Fig. 2.

2. *Obverse.*—+FΛdЬdΛИDЬE+ (retrogade and reading outwards) between two circles; in centre, small cross pattée.

   Reverse.—ΛFRΛ in the upper line, II̥DER in the lower line; above, ornament composed of seven pellets around central pellet; and below, ornament composed of eight pellets around a central pellet. Plate, Fig. 3.

3. *Obverse.*—+HOƔÆL REX.·.E between two circles; in centre, small cross pattée.

Reverse.— GIL+:·: in the upper line, ꝏ ZYL+ in the lower line, divided by three crosses; above and below, ornament composed of six pellets around a central pellet. Plate, Fig. 1.

As regards (1), the almost classical MELPOMNE (MELPOMENE!) of the cataloguer is really the well-known moneyer of Chester MÆLDOMEN followed by what is probably intended for the monogram LĒ of the mint name LEIGECEASTER (Chester). This specimen has additional interest in that it is over-struck on a coin bearing a bust, or portrait, but whether of Eadmund or of his immediate predecessor, Æthelstan, is uncertain.

Concerning (2), instead of the moneyer AFRANDER we have the moneyer AFRA, followed by an abbreviation II$_{e}$ for monetarius or moneta, and the mint name DER for DERBY. This is the only coin hitherto noted of Eadmund bearing the name of Derby as its minting-place.

As regards (3), one of the most important coins which has come to light in recent years, the obverse reads with absolute clearness +HOPÆL REX:·Ɛ for Howel Rex, the last letter is probably C with a mark of contraction through the upright stroke, for the mark cuts right through the upright, and is intended for Cymriorum, or whatever the Latin equivalent for Cymri in the genitive plural then was.

The reverse discloses the name of the moneyer GILLYZ, *viz.*: GIL (forward) and LYZ (retrograde), the ꝏ (= S) above the Z signifying the possessive case, MOT for MONETA being understood.

The three coins, when they came into the possession of the writer, were coated with the green deposit so usual in the case of coins of the period, and, in addition, No. 1 had some rusty spots and a dark tone, but looking to their general appearance they may well have been discovered

together. After cleaning, Nos. 2 and 3 disclosed white silver, but No. 1 still retains a slightly darker tone. These indications, coupled with the fact that the three coins are of the not far distant mints of Chester and Derby, raise the inference that they were probably found together in north-west Mercia. The coin reading HOPÆL REX is the first coin found or identified bearing the name of a King of Cymru (the land of brothers), or, as the country is called by those not inhabiting it, Wales (the land of strangers). The name Howel is one frequently occurring in the annals of Cambria, and it is now proposed to consider to which of the kings of this name the piece in question may be reasonably attributed.

The types of the obverse and reverse of the coin are common to the Saxon Kings Eadmund, Eadred, Eadwig, and Eadgar, and, like certain types of the Northumbrian Kings Anlaf and Eric, were imitated from those of the neighbouring Kings of Wessex and Mercia. A moneyer Ingelgar, for example, coined for Anlaf, Eric and Eadred at York, as did the moneyer Hunred at the same place for Eric and Eadred.

In like manner the moneyer GILLYS coined for Eadred (no mint specified), and for Eadgar at Chester, and also for Eadgar, in his last type, at Hereford. The following are descriptions of coins by this moneyer:—

1. Eadred 946-955.—*Obverse:* EADRED REX. Small cross pattée. *Reverse:* GILLE, S MOT, ꝏ++, in three lines; above and below, rosette of pellets. Plate, Fig. 4. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*
2. Eadgar 957-975.—*Obverse:* EADGAR REX. Small cross in centre. *Reverse:* GILLYS MO.OL+EO for GILLYS MO LE in three lines; above and below, rosette of pellets. Struck at Chester. Montagu Sale Catalogue, Lot 713.

3. *Obverse:* Same. *Reverse:* GILLYS MOL+EO, same type. Struck at Chester. Plate, Fig. 5. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*
4. *Obverse:* +EADGAR RE+ *Reverse:* GILLY< OL+EO, same type. *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, No. 28.
5. *Obverse:* +EADGARE. *Reverse:* GIL LYS O+O, same type. Weight, 22·9 grains. *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, No. 157.
6. *Obverse:* +EADGAR RE+. *Reverse:* GILYZ MŌ O+O, same type. Weight, 23·5 grains. *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, No. 158.
7. EADGAR.—*Obverse:* +EADGAR REX ANGLOR. Filleted bust to left. *Reverse:* +GYLLIS M¯O HEREFO. Small cross pattée. Struck at Hereford. *Hildebrand*, No. 16.

The coin of Howel bears a nearer resemblance in workmanship to the pennies of Eadmund, 939-946, than to those of the other Saxon kings of about the period when it was presumably struck, the triangle of pellets on both the obverse and reverse, and the extra cross in the upper line of the reverse, being characteristic features of some of Eadmund's coins.

The most celebrated Howel was Howel Dda, or Howel the Good, son of Cadelh, son of Rodri Mawr, or Roderic the Great. From the *Annales Cambriæ* we learn that King Cadelh (Catell, Catel), the son of Rodri, died in A.D. 909, and that Anaraud (Anaraut), King of the Britons (Welsh), died in A.D. 915. The date of Howel's death is given in the *Annales Cambriæ* as occurring in A.D. 950, but in the *Brut-y-Tywysogion* the entry is

> "948. And Howel the Good, son of King Cadell, chief and glory of all the Britons, died."

The years of the *Annales Cambriæ* appear to be always

two in advance of those of the *Brut-y-Tywysogion*, so that the date of the death of King Cadelh would, according to the latter reckoning, be A.D. 907, and the death of King Anaraud, A.D. 913. It is presumed, therefore, that the reign of Howel Dda extended from A.D. 913 to 948 or from A.D. 915 to 950, a period of thirty-five years.

During some of these years Eadweard, the son of Ælfred the Great, was King of Wessex, while Æthelflæd, daughter of Ælfred, was Lady of the Mercians until her death in 922, when Eadweard became King of Wessex and Mercia until his death in 925. He was succeeded by his son Æthelstan, who ruled until the 27th of October, 939, when he was succeeded by his brother Eadmund, who reigned until assassinated by Leofa, at Pucklechurch, in Gloucestershire, on the 26th of May, 946. Eadmund was followed by his brother Eadred, who in his turn died on the 23rd of November, 955.

The reign of Eadweard was one of constant strife with the Danes; and in subduing them he was most ably assisted by his equally warlike sister Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians. They adopted the system of raising burhs, or fortifications, over against the strongholds of their enemies. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* abounds with accounts of the erection of burhs and with stories of the submission, and rebellion anew, of the Danes and their allies, the Irish-Danes, Scots and Welsh. The Welsh, or Cymri, conscientiously believing in their ancient rights, were always willing to assist a new invader in harassing the older Angle and Saxon usurpers. Under the year 907 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, we learn that Chester was then renovated, a place, which, in 894, had been described as a desolated city called Legaceaster in Wirrall. In June, 916, Æthelflæd sent a force into Wales and took Brecknock by storm, and there captured the King's wife with four-and-

thirty persons; that she was the wife of Howel Dda is usually accepted, and, in any case, this discloses a state of unfriendly feeling between the Mercians and their more anciently established neighbours in Cymru. In 922 all the people in the Mercians' land, who had before been subject to Æthelflæd, submitted to King Eadweard, and the kings of the North Welsh, *Howel* and Cledauc and Jeothwel, and all the North Welsh race sought him for lord. This submissive attitude seems to have been chiefly dependent on the warlike king's near presence, as in the year 924, when King Eadweard had nearly completed his victorous career, the *Chronicle* again recounts that he was chosen for father and for lord by the King of the Scots and King Ragnald (who had won York in the previous year), and the sons of Eadulf, and all those who dwelt in Northumbria, as well English as Danish and Northmen, and others, and also the King of the Strathclyde Welsh and all the Strathclyde Welsh.

In this connexion *William of Malmesbury* tells us that King Eadweard, after many noble exploits, both in war and peace, a few days before his death *subdued the contumacy of the City of Chester, which was rebelling in confederacy with the Britons*, and placing a garrison there, he fell sick and died shortly afterwards at Fearndun.[1]

The "subduing" was not, however, very lasting, as in the next year we read that the new king, Æthelstan, subjugated all the kings that were in this island, Howel, King of the West Welsh, and Constantine, King of the Scots, and Owen, King of Gwent, and Ealdred, son of Eadulf, of Bamborough; and with pledge and with oaths they confirmed peace in the place which is named Eâmôt on the twelfth day of July, 926, and renounced every kind of idolatry, and after that departed in peace.

[1] Probably Farndon in Cheshire.

In the year 926 (924) we find from the *Annales Cambriæ* that Howel Dda, the son of Cadelh, went to Rome, and Elen, his mother, died. He seems to have taken the opportunity afforded by the conclusion of peace with King Æthelstan to have gone to Rome to obtain the sanction of the Pope to the celebrated code of laws, more fully referred to hereafter, in respect of which his reputation has been chiefly preserved to this day. In 937 he is believed to have been one of the kings defeated by Athelstan at the great battle of Bremesburgh.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, during the reigns of Æthelstan, Eadmund and Eadred, contains no further direct reference to Wales, though, under the year 944, it is recorded that King Eadmund harried over all Cumberland, a province then still claimed by the Welsh, and gave it up to Malcolm, King of the Scots, on the condition that he should be his co-operator both on sea and on land. Eadmund and his brother Eadred seem to have been chiefly occupied in wars with Northumbria and its Hiberno-Danish rulers. The *Chronicle* records the history of successive battles, peaces and renewals of strife, ultimately terminating in Eadred's possession of the Northumbrian realm.

Let us now consider when the coin of Howel Dda is likely to have been minted.

In the preface to the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, 1841 (Aneurin Owen), it is stated that "about the commencement of the tenth century we find Howel Dda, or Howel the Good, a conspicuous king in South Wales, in the government of which he succeeded his father Cadell. He inherited from his mother Elen possessions in Powys, and his influence appears to have been powerful throughout North Wales." As we have seen above, Howel went to Rome in 926, and in the same year his mother Elen died.

The reign of Æthelstan seems to have been one when

the strength of the King of Wessex was fully felt, but, on his death in 940, when his brother Eadmund, a lad of 18 years, succeeded, it may well be that Howel Dda, then in the height of his power, tried to put into execution the Cymric ideal of a ruler of all the Britons, the wearer of Arthur's crown. For this purpose Chester was the best available capital, uniting as it did the land of Cymru and the territories of the Strathclyde Welsh, situate in the fairest vale of the land and commanding the seas leading to and from Ireland, the land of the foes to English rule and the constant invaders of Northumbria.

No coin of Eadweard, Æthelstan, or Eadmund bearing the name of Howel's moneyer, Gillys, has yet been recorded, but as we have seen, the name occurs on those of Eadred and Eadgar, and in the case of the earlier coins of the latter king, in conjunction with the mint of Chester. It is therefore suggested that the coin of Howel Dda is of Eadmund's reign, soon after his accession, and that Gillys continued to coin at Chester for Eadred and Eadgar, just as Ingelgar coined at York for Anlaf, Eric and Eadred.

In the laws of Howel Dda he is styled "Prince of Cymru" and "King of all Cymru". There are three versions of the code, one for Venedotia, or North Wales, a copy being deposited at the King's Court at Aberffraw; one for Demetia, or South Wales, a copy being deposited at Dynevor; and the third for Gwent, or South-east Wales. The laws show that the king had a proper conception of his dignity. In his great hall at Aberffraw, in Gwynedd, the King was inviolable; the violation of his protection, or violence in his presence, could only be atoned for by a great fine—a hundred cows and a white bull with red ears for each cantrev, or hundred, he possessed, a rod of gold as long as himself and as thick as his little finger, and a plate of gold as broad as his face and as thick as a ploughman's nail.

His sons, nephews and any relatives he chose to summon, surrounded him, and could make free progress amongst his subjects. Of the great officers, the chief of the household came next to the King: he was the executive officer of the Court. The chief judge occupied at night the seat occupied by the king during the day, so that justice should always be obtainable. The duties and privileges of all the members of the king's retinue are minutely described. (*Wales*, by Owen M. Edwards, 1903.)

But, like all other men, whether good or bad, Howel the Good departed this life, and his dreams of British unity and one king for all Cymru were dissipated by the quarrels of his sons. Thus we learn that in the year 973 Eadgar brought all his naval force to Chester and there came to meet him eight kings, viz. (according to *William of Malmesbury* and others), Kinad, King of the Scots, Malcolm of the Cambrians, that prince of pirates, Maccus, and all the Welsh kings, whose names were Dufual, Giferth, Huval (Howel ab Howel Dda), Jacob and Judethal. These, being summoned to his Court, were bound to him by one, and that a lasting oath. He exhibited them on the river Dee in triumphal ceremony; for, putting them on board the same vessel, he compelled them to row him as he sat at the prow,[1] thus displaying his regal magnificence, who held so many kings in subjection; indeed, he is reported to have said that his successors might truly boast of being kings of England, since they could enjoy so singular an honour.

The selection of Chester for this ceremony of homage is significant when we now know that it had been chosen by Howel Dda for the exercise of his royal prerogative in the issue of a regal coinage.

[1] According to *Florence of Worcester* he took the helm.

Notes as to Howel from Dr. Birch's "Cartularium Saxonicum."

No. 663. Witenagemot at Exeter. Grant by King Æthelstan to Frithestan, Bishop of Winchester, of land at Stoke, co. Hants. 16th April, A.D. 928.

Witnesses. Next after Athelstanus.

Ego Howel subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 675. Witenagemot at Worthy, co. Hants. Grant by King Æthelstan to the thegn Ælfric of land at Wæclesford, or Watchfield, co. Berks. 21st June, A.D. 931.

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York).

✠ Ego Hupal subregulus consensi 7 subscripsi.

No. 677. Witenagemot at Luton. Grant by King Æthelstan to the thegn Wulfgar of land "at Hamme", or Ham, co. Wilts. 12th Nov., A.D. 931.

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and two Archbishops).

✠ Ego Hopæl subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 689. Witenagemot at Middletun. Grant by King Æthelstan to the thegn Æthelgeard of land at Meon, co. Hants. 30th August, A.D. 932.

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and two Archbishops).

Ego Hopel subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 697. Grant of privileges by King Æthelstan to Chertsey Abbey. 16th of December, A.D. 933.

Witnesses. Second (next to the King).

Ego Hupol subregulus subscripsi ✠

No. 702. Witenagemot at Winchester. Grant by King Æthelstan to the thegn Ælfwald of land at Derantune, near Canterbury, co. Kent. 28th May, A.D. 934.

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and two Archbishops).

✠ Ego Hopæl subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 703. Witenagemot at Nottingham. Grant by King Æthelstan to St. Peter's Church, York, of

land at Agemundernes, Amounderness Hundred, co. Lancaster. 7th June, A.D. 930 for 934 (?).

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and two Archbishops).

✠ Ego Howæl subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 1344 (703B) is another form of No. 703.

No. 705. Grant by King Æthelstan to Winchester Cathedral of land at Enedford, or Enford, co. Wilts. 16th December, A.D. 934.

Witnesses. Second (next to the King and before the two Archbishops).

Ego Hupal subregulus.

No. 706. Anglo-Saxon form of No. 705.

Witnesses. Second.

Hupal Vnder cyning.

No. 716. Witenagemot at Dorchester. Grant by King Æthelstan to Malmesbury Abbey of land at Broemel, or Bremhill, co. Wilts. 21st Dec. A.D. 937.

Witnesses. Fifth.

Ego Howel subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 718. Witenagemot at Dorchester. Grant by King Æthelstan to Malmesbury Abbey of land at Wdetun, or Wootton, co. Wilts. 21st Dec. A.D. 937.

Witnesses. Fourth.

Ego Howel subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 719. Witenagemot at Dorchester. Compound Charter of King Æthelstan, embracing the grants in Nos. 671, 672, 716 and 717, etc. 21st December, A.D. 937.

No. 721. Grant by King Æthelstan to St. Peter's Church, Exeter, of land at Topsham, co. Devon. A.D. 937.

Witnesses. Sixth.

✠ Ego Hopel regulus.

No. 815. Poetical grant by King Eadred to Wulfric the "Pedisequus" of land at Workingtone, co. Cumberland (?) A.D. 946.

Witnesses. (After the King, Archbishops, Bishops, and "*pontifices*".)

✠ Hopæl regulus.

No. 882. Grant by King Eadred to Wulfric, "*miles*", of land at Burgtune, on the River Wenris, or Bourton-on-the-Water, on the River Windrush, co. Gloucester. A.D. 949.

Witnesses. Sixth in the first column (or seventh including Eadred).

Hopæl rex.

No. 883. Grant by King Eadred to Æthelmær, "*præses*" of land at Cetwuda and Hildesdun, or Chetwood and Hillesden, co. Buckingham. A.D. 949.

Witnesses. Twelfth in first column.

✠ Hopæl regulus.

No. 1350 (1044c). Record of the dispute between Huwel Da[1] and Morgan Hen as to the descent of the Cantreds of Glamorgan, settled by King Edgar in Council. About A.D. 959 (*sic*).

Coinage of William I, Richard I and John at Rhuddlan.

We must now pass to the consideration of the Norman coinage of Wales, or rather *for* Wales. This consists of very few pieces, the only coins hitherto described being two, from the same dies, of the last issue (the Paxs type) of William the Conqueror of the Rhuddlan mint. These appeared in the great Beaworth hoard, and were originally attributed by the late Mr. Hawkins to Huntingdon, but are now included in the British Museum cabinet as to one specimen under *Huntingdon* and as to the other under *Romney*.

The two coins are read in Mr. Hawkins's list, ELFPINE ON HVDIN, and the following footnote is given:—

> "This letter as much resembles R as H, and the coin may read RVDIN for Rhuddlan, but the name of the moneyer makes H the more probable reading."

What is said as to the moneyer has reference to the coins of the same type reading IELFPINE ON HVT (Huntingdon).

[1] Probably Howel the son of Howel Dda.

The Rhuddlan coins, however, really read **✠ÆLFPINE ON RVDILI**, Plate, Figs. 6 and 7, and there can be no reasonable doubt of the Welsh mint being the correct attribution, indeed it was so appropriated by Mr. Brumell as long ago as in 1838. The name IELFPINE occurs on coins of many mints of the pax-type issue, amongst them, of Hereford, a city on the Welsh border.

From *Domesday Book*, vol. i, folio 269, we learn that Rotbert de Roelent or Rodelend (Rhuddlan) held North Wales of the King at farm for forty pounds. The following entries concerning Rhuddlan also occur in vol. i, folio 269:—

> "CHESHIRE.
>
> "IN ATISCROS HUNDRED.
>
> "Earl Hugh (of Chester) holds of the King ROELEND (Rhuddlan).
>
> "There in the time of King Edward ENGLEFELD lay, and all was waste. Earl Edwin held it. When Earl Hugh received it, it was in like manner waste. Now he has in demesne the half of the castle which is called ROELENT, and is the *caput* of this land. There he has eight burgesses, and the half of the church and of the *minting rights*, and a half of the iron ore that may anywhere be found in this Manor and a half of the water of Cloit (the river Clwyd) and of the Mills and fisheries that may be there, that is to say, in that part of the river which belongs to the fee of the Earl, and a half of the forests which pertain to any vill of this Manor, and a half of the toll, and a half of the vill which is called Bren, &c. &c. . . . . ."
>
> "ROTBERTVS de ROELENT holds of Earl Hugh a half of the same castle and borough, in which Rotbert himself has ten burgesses, and a half of the church and of the *minting rights* and iron minerals there found, and a half of the water of Cloith and of the fisheries and mills there made and being made, and a half of the toll and forests which belong to any vill of the above-said Manor, and a half of the vill which is called BREN, &c.

"The lands of this Manor, Roelend and Englefeld, or of the other bailiwicks pertaining to it, were never gelded or hided.

"In this Manor of Roelend there is made a new castle likewise called Roelent.

"There is a new borough and in it 18 burgesses between the Earl and Robert as above said, and the burgesses themselves have the laws and customs which are in Hereford and in Bretuill, that is to say, that for the whole year for any forfeitures they owe nothing except XII pence for homicide and theft and premeditated Heinfar.

"In the very year of this description toll is given to the farm of this burgh for three shillings.

"The rent of Earl Hugh out of Roelent and Englefeld is worth 6 pounds and 10 shillings. Robert's part is 17 pounds and three shillings."

Turning to Hereford, therefore, we find that, according to the survey, the moneyers paid eighteen shillings for their dies and twenty shillings within a month after receiving them: that when the King came into the city they had to mint as much money as he required, and upon their death the King received a heriot of twenty shillings, or if they died intestate a forfeiture of all their goods. It would seem, however, at Rhuddlan, that the Earl and Robert de Rhuddlan stood in the place of the King.

The Rhuddlan mint was again in operation in the reigns of Richard I and John, when short-cross pennies still bearing, as was usual, the name of Henry II, were issued.

These are of Class II, (1189-1205).[1]

✠ **ƀALLI ON RVLA**, *retrograde, British Museum.*

✠ **ƀALLI • ON • RVLA**, *retrograde,* Plate, Fig. 8. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*

✠ **ƀALLI ON RVLA**, *British Museum. P. Carlyon-Britton.*

[1] See *British Numismatic Journal,* i, p. 365.

✠ ÞALLI • ON • RVTLAN, Plate, Fig. 9. *W. Talbot Ready.*

✠ SIMOND ON RVLA, *British Museum.*

✠ SIMOND ON RVLA, *British Museum.*

✠ TOMAS ON RVLA. Plate, Fig. 10. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*

✠ TOMAS • ON RVLAN, Plate, Fig. 11. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*

Class III (1205-1216).

✠ ÞENRICVS ON RVLA.

✠ ÞENRICVS • ON • RVTN, Plate, Fig. 12. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*

✠ ÞENRICVS • ON RVLTN, Plate, Fig. 13. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*

✠ SIMOD ON RVLA, *retrograde.*

✠ SIMOND ON RVLA. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*

The reading of the mint names RVLAN and RVTLAN in Class II are fuller than those usually found, and the latter reading has not hitherto been published. In Class III the readings RVTN and RVLTN are also unpublished. After the fresh light these coins throw upon their attribution, the mint need no longer be followed by the query we so often see after it, for the readings can leave no reasonable doubt as to Rhuddlan being indicated.

Rhuddlan was a borough and formerly a seaport in the present county of Flint, its name being supposed to be derived from the red colour of the soil of the banks of the river Clwyd, on which it is situate. The adjoining marsh, called Englefield or "Morfa Rhuddlan", was the scene of a great battle in 795 between the Mercians under Offa and the Welsh under Caradoc, King of North Wales, who was there defeated and slain. In 1015 Llewelyn ab Sytsyllt, King of North Wales, erected (or restored) a fortress and

palace here, which, after his assassination in 1021, continued to be the principal residence of his son and successor, Grufydd ab Llewelyn. In the reign of Edward the Confessor the castle was captured by Harold. According to the *Domesday* entries, the castle at the close of Edward's reign was possessed by Edwin, Earl of Chester. A new castle was erected, as we have also seen, by Robert Fitz Umfrid, surnamed from this place "de Roelent", who was a cousin of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester. In 1109 Grufydd ab Cynan attacked the castle, burnt the outer ward and killed many of the garrison.

Henry II in 1157 advanced to Rhuddlan, repaired the castle, and garrisoned it with a strong force. This King was again here in 1165, but for a few days only. In 1167 the castle of Rhuddlan, after a gallant defence of two months, was taken by Owain Gwynedd, and later we find it given by Henry II to Davydd ab Owain Gwynedd on his marriage with Emma, natural sister of that King.

Towards the close of the reign of Richard I, Ranulph, Earl of Chester, was besieged in this castle by the Welsh under Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, King of North Wales in succession to Davydd, but after a long siege he was ultimately relieved by Roger de Lacy, the Earl's Lieutenant. King John, in 1211, advanced through Rhuddlan into Carnarvonshire. In the following year the castle was unsuccessfully attacked by Llewelyn, but was captured by him in 1214.

The short-cross coins of Rhuddlan correspond with the events recorded in the reigns of Richard I and John, on occasions when the privilege and duty of minting the king's coins, existing in the Conqueror's reign, would be revived and enforced. The reference previously given to the custom at Hereford, and therefore also at Rhuddlan, of a special coinage whilst the King was there upon an expedi-

tion, may account for these particular issues at Rhuddlan. These pennies are, as is apparent to anyone who examines them, of rougher workmanship than those of other mints issued at the same periods, so that at a glance, and without reading the inscriptions, those having experience can allocate them to Rhuddlan, just as one can in like manner detect the coins of Edward I and II struck at Berwick-on-Tweed.

It is probable, therefore, that in each case the dies were of local manufacture, the reason in the case of Rhuddlan being the special circumstances attendant on the issue of the coins, and in the case of Berwick the remoteness of the place from the die-issuing centre, at that time London. These remarks will equally apply to the next section of the coinage of Wales described—namely, the coinage of St. David's.

The period assigned to the issue of the various classes of short-cross coins are those suggested by Mr. H. A. Grueber in his account of the Colchester find,[1] being, with a slight modification, the classification arrived at by Sir John Evans many years before. The date 1208, however, is corrected to 1205.

In his account of the Rhuddlan mint contained in the same paper,[2] Mr. Grueber remarks that "the absence of any record of a grant of a mint to the place is due to the exigencies under which the coins were struck". He seems, therefore, to have been unaware of, or to have forgotten, the important entries in *Domesday Book* relating to the "moneta" of Rhuddlan and its ownership, which may also account for the allocation of the Rhuddlan coins of William I to the mints of Huntingdon and Romney, in the trays of our National collection.

[1] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. iii, p. 156.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 173.

The short-cross coins of Henry II, and his immediate successors, reading **CAR** and **CARD**, formerly attributed to Cardiff, have been rightly corrected to Carlisle (Carduil), and Wales was thus left mintless until a short time since.

NOTES ON RHUDDLAN FROM THE PIPE ROLL,
14 HEN. II, P. 199, A.D. 1167-1168.

Windlesores. (Richard de Luci renders the account.)

Gaufrido de Ver. c ti. ad custodiendā Marcħ Walie.

* * *

Et Comiti Cestr̃ .xx. m̃ ad muniēđ Castell de Ruelent.

* * *

Et Gaufr̃ de Ver. .iiii. ti. * * s ad ꝑficienđā libat̃ seruentū ī Discessu ex̃citu⁹ de Ruelēt.

Anglicized.

To Geoffrey de Ver £100 for the guarding of the Marches of Wales.

* * *

And to the Earl of Chester 20 marks for the strengthening of the defences of the Castle of Ruelent [Rhuddlan].

* * *

And to Geoffrey de Ver £4 in the furnishing of payments to servants in the marching off (? retreat or withdrawal) of the army from Ruelent [Rhuddlan].

COINAGE AT ST. DAVID'S, IN THE TIME OF WILLIAM I.

Among the coins of William I discovered at Beaworth in 1833, there are enumerated, in the account by the late Mr. Edward Hawkins of that find printed in *Archæologia*, Vol. 26, and reprinted in Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, five specimens bearing on the reverse the inscription:

+ TVRRI ON DEVITVN.

These are placed under the head of "uncertain", in lieu of being assigned, as are the bulk of the coins, to some definite place of mintage.

By way of an explanation of the uncertainty, the following footnote is added.

> "These pieces are probably forgeries, and the names of the mint and moneyer *factitious*. See the account of some barbarous coins at the end of the catalogue."

Following the direction contained in the footnote we find, not quite at the end of the catalogue, but mixed up with the coins of York:

> "16.[1] The workmanship of which is exceedingly bad, and of a peculiar character; on three only of them the King's name is intelligible, and none of the reverses are so, except perhaps one, viz., NVTIVED NO IIVT, *i.e.* TVRRI ON DEVITVN, written retrograde: and it is remarkable that the five coins inserted in the foregoing list, with this legend, are the only ones which resemble these barbarous pieces in workmanship."

To this description is appended another footnote, in the following words:

> "It is difficult to ascribe a probable origin to these coins; the workmanship is so bad and so different in style, the inscriptions so entirely without probable interpretation, that they can scarcely be considered to have been struck under the royal authority; and yet the weight and fineness of the metal, equalling that of the authentic coins, seem to take away the great temptations to forgery."

The inconsistency between the first and last footnotes is too obvious to render comment desirable or necessary. The uncertainty and want of logical thought, unhappily so usual in the case of the official numismatist, are here displayed, but fortunately clothed in language too honestly

[1] The number 16 refers to the number of specimens discovered.

simple to disguise the facts. We are able to extract the following points :—

1. That twenty-one coins of this "uncertain" class were examined by Mr. Hawkins.
2. That they came from the great Beaworth hoard in company with thousands of undoubted coins of William I.
3. That six bore the inscription + TVRRI ON DEVITVN, which, in one case, was retrograde.
4. That the remaining fifteen "uncertain" specimens resembled the six "Devitun" coins in being of "bad," "exceedingly bad," "different" and "peculiar" workmanship, character and style.
5. That the weight and fineness of the metal of the whole twenty-one "uncertain" coins were equal to those of the undoubted and authentic examples.

The facts that the coins under consideration are of the weight and fineness of the last issue of the reign of William I, the Paxs-type (Type VIII),[1] and were found with a great deposit of money chiefly of that issue, which presents none of the peculiarities alluded to by Mr. Hawkins, should have enabled him to finally dismiss the theory of these pieces being forgeries.

The circumstance of the "uncertain" coins having been found with many others of the same type of good workmanship, precludes the idea of their having been of the later manufacture, and mere degraded reproductions through the faulty copying and recopying over a long period of a well executed original pattern.

It must therefore be concluded :

1. That the "uncertain" coins are genuine, and con-

[1] These numerals refer to the order of types in the writer's *Numismatic History of the Reigns of William I and II*, commenced in Vol. ii of the *British Numismatic Journal*.

sequently not forgeries of their period of issue or of any subsequent time.

2. That they are of the same issue and period as the other coins of the Paxs-type.
3. That they were current coin, and, like the remainder of the Beaworth coins, had stood the test of, and had been deposited in, the Royal Treasury at Winchester.[1]

Having deduced these definite conclusions, it is now proposed to closely consider the coins and the inscriptions borne upon them.

The mint named Devitun was for a long time referred to Devizes, in Wiltshire, apparently because of the similarity of the first two syllables. There seems to have been no substantial ground for this attribution, because, as *Domesday* shows us, at the time of its compilation, which was immediately prior to the period of issue of the Paxs-type coins, Devizes was called "Theodulveshide". The present writer, early in 1901, suggested Downton, in Wiltshire, as the place of mintage of the Devitun coins, but was chiefly influenced in that view by the attribution to Shaftesbury of a remarkable penny of the moneyer Godesbrand, more particularly referred to hereafter.

At the time of the attribution of the Devitun coins to Downton it must be remembered that the subject of a Welsh coinage had not received any consideration, or to be more correct, it was then thought that there was no Welsh coinage to be considered.

The Devitun coins consist of several groups, all intimately connected.

1. *Obverse.*—✠PILLEIM REI✠; similar to the ordinary design of Type VIII—the Paxs-type—but a

[1] *British Numismatic Journal*, i, p. 27.

large annulet intersecting the arches of the crown and a cross pommée on the King's right shoulder.

Reverse.—✠GODESBRAND ON SI; ordinary design of Type VIII, but of rougher workmanship. Plate, Fig. 14.

2. *Obverse.*—From the *same* die as No. 1.

Reverse.—✠TVRRI ON DEVITVN; similar to No. 1. Plate, Fig. 15.

3. *Obverse.*—✠PILLELM REI✠; ordinary design of Type VIII, but of rougher workmanship.

Reverse.—✠TVRRI ON DEVITVN; from the *same* die as No. 2. Plate, Fig. 16.

4. *Obverse.*—Blundered inscription, three pellets on the King's right shoulder (as is usual).

Reverse.—Blundered inscription. Ordinary type but of rough workmanship. Plate, Fig. 17.

5. *Obverse.*—Similar, but cross pommée on the King's right shoulder.

Reverse.—Similar to No. 4. Plate, Fig. 18.

It will be noted that Nos. 1 and 2 are from the same obverse die, and that Nos. 2 and 3 are from the same reverse die, so the three pieces are indissolubly connected.

The large annulet which cuts the arches of the crown on Nos. 1 and 2, and the cross pommée forming the ornament on the right shoulder of the King on Nos. 1, 2 and 5, are unmistakable signs of the ecclesiastical origin of the pieces bearing them, although the cross pommée has not hitherto been noticed in this significance on coins earlier than some of the short-cross series of the reigns of Henry II to Henry III.[1]

The conditions require, therefore, the attribution of the Devitun pieces to an ecclesiastical mint situate in a remote

[1] *British Numismatic Journal*, i, p. 38.

district where the coins emanated from dies of local manufacture, and did not possess the good work and neat design existent in the case of coins issued from mints to which dies were supplied from the great centre of London.

St. David's, in the remote west of Wales, the site of an ancient episcopal, if not an archiepiscopal See, the resting place of the Patron Saint of Wales, a celebrated shrine of pilgrimage visited by William the Conqueror himself, seems to fulfil all the conditions required by the money under consideration. *Dewi* is the Welsh for David, and one of the four townships or "cylchs" (= circles, or courses), into which the parish is divided, is even now called Dewiston, just as the peninsula on which St. David's is situate is known as Dewisland. Dewiston and Oppidum Sancti Davidis are the recognised equivalents to St. David's.

To a Norman moneyer DEVITVN was the obvious rendering of Dewiston.

Having now dealt with the mint, let us see what light is thrown upon the matter by the name of the moneyer, Godesbrand, which occurs on No. 3.

The earliest coin known to the writer bearing this name, and having sufficient of that of the mint to definitely determine the place, is one of Type VII[1] (A.D. 1055-1057) of Edward the Confessor, which reads on the reverse, +GODESBROND ON SCR=Shrewsbury.

It is therefore probable that the coins of Type VI (A.D. 1053-1055) and Type IX (A.D. 1059-1061), Nos. 1164 and 1173 in Vol. ii of the *British Museum Catalogue*, must be removed from Shaftesbury to Shrewsbury, together with the writer's coin of Type X, reading +GODE ꝏBRAND only,

[1] These numerals, when they refer to coins of Edward the Confessor, are the order of his types in the writer's "Eadward the Confessor and his Coins", *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1903.

and the remarkable "mule" reading +GODESBRAND ON S which is No. 1175 of the *British Museum Catalogue*.

The problem is, however, to some extent complicated by reason of the facts that the name Godesbrand, or Godsbrand, occurs at Shaftesbury on coins of Types VI (Hks. 243), VII (Hks. 239), and VIII (Hks. 241) of William I; on an Exeter coin of Type VII (reading not authenticated); at Malmesbury on the mule VII–VIII (Hks. 240) and Type VIII (Hks. 241); also on coins of Type VIII of BA (probably Barnstaple) and C (Cricklade?); and on coins of Type VIII reading SRI and SI hitherto attributed to Shaftesbury, but which probably ought to be removed to Shrewsbury.

There seem, therefore, to have been more than one moneyer of the name of Godesbrand, but it is at least worthy of note that the name does not appear again after the issue of the last type of the Conqueror's coins.

The Godesbrand who struck at Malmesbury probably exchanged towns with Seword, of Barnstaple, during the issue of Type VIII of William I, as both names occur at each town on coins of that issue, and the last named continued to strike at Malmesbury during the issue of Types 1 and 2 of William II.

Godesbrand of Shrewsbury seems to have gone to St. David's, probably by the direction of Roger de Montgomery, as lord of both Shrewsbury and Pembroke, taking with him, at any rate, his movable upper or reverse die.

His mission there was, we may infer, to instruct Turri, the moneyer of Sulien, Bishop of St. David's, in the art of coinage.

His first act would therefore be to engrave an obverse die and to use it in conjunction with his imported Shrewsbury die. Then came the engraving and use of the die which produced the reverses of Nos. 2 and 3, first with the

obverse die of No. 1, and then with a new obverse die, or, it may be, with the obverse die properly belonging to the reverse of No. 1, as it bears no distinctive ecclesiastical mark and may well have been brought by Godesbrand from Shrewsbury.

Godesbrand seems soon to have left his pupil Turri to do his own work, and coins Nos. 4 and 5 and some variants are attributed to this stage of the proceedings.

Turri would appear to be a form of name derived from Thurgrim, other forms of which are Turgrim, Thurrim, and Thurrin, just as Terri came from Tierri, Thidric, and Theoderic.

We have now shown that there is nothing suspicious about the name of mint or moneyer. The issue of coins at St. David's arose, it is confidently suggested, out of the visit of William I to St. David's, an event which is generally assigned to the year 1081.

The English chroniclers attribute a military motive to the expedition, while those of Wales assign to it a religious character. The actual truth seems to be that William went into Wales to inspect, and, if need be, conquer the land by the sword, but, finding no opposition, he went peacefully to St. David's and gave his action a politic turn in gaining the goodwill of the inhabitants by an act of devotion to their patron saint.

Tribute had been exacted from Wales by Harold on behalf of Edward the Confessor, then his king, and the observance of this financial duty, touching as it did both the pocket and dignity of William I, was one that he doubtless provided should be renewed or continued as a condition of his peaceful withdrawal from the land of Cymru. In this connection it must be remembered that, when in England, the Conqueror's custom was to keep his Christmas at Gloucester, and there he kept his last in the

year 1086. Gloucester was conveniently situate as regards South Wales, and thence any neglect to render tribute could have been speedily punished.

It is possible that coins of Type VI (Hks. 243) and Type VII (Hks. 239) may yet be found of the St. David's mint. Type VI was current at the date of the Conqueror's visit to St. David's in 1081. It is, however, probable that the issue of coins began and ceased with those of the Paxs-type (Michaelmas, 1086, to September, 1087).

The death of William I occurred on the 10th of September, 1087, and Bishop Sulien died in the following year, whilst in that year also St. David's seems to have been utterly destroyed by a foreign foe, probably Danes or Hiberno-Danes.

The following entry is taken from Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii, p. 649.

> "Anno MLXXXVIII. Sulgenus Episcopus lxxv. ætatis suæ anno moritur, Menevia frangitur et destruitur a Gentilibus."

Before concluding these remarks on the Mint of St. David's, it is the writer's pleasant duty to acknowledge the co-operation of his colleague, Mr. W. J. Andrew, in the search for a satisfactory attribution of the Devitun coins. Although the likelihood of Devi and Dewi being identical had occurred to the writer during the preparation of the other sections of this paper, the actual crystallization of the idea took place in the course of a discussion with Mr. Andrew on this and other subjects. In making this acknowledgment it is not the writer's wish to burden his friend's shoulders with the arguments adduced in support of the main proposition that the hitherto mysterious Devitun is really no other than the far-famed St. David's of Wales.

It must be remembered that at this period the Bishops

of St. David's still exercised independent archiepiscopal powers, but, under Norman influence, these were waning, and Bishop Bernard, who was elected to the see in 1115, submitted his diocese to the jurisdiction of Canterbury. Upon this event it seems not improbable that the minting rights of St. David's were transferred to the *caput* of the district—Pembroke Castle, the Norman stronghold of south-west Wales.

Coinage of Henry I at Pembroke.

The remaining discovery to be recorded is that of coins minted at Pembroke in the reign of Henry I.

Pembroke (in Cymric "Penvro", signifying a headland or promontory) is situate in the south-westernmost part of Wales, but a few miles from St. David's and near to Milford Haven, where a find of coins of Henry I occurred. Arnulf, son of Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, entrusted the original fortress, or mound with stake palisade, to Gerald of Windsor, who made it an almost impregnable stronghold. During the reign of William Rufus and the revolts of Gruffydd and Cadogan, Pembroke, under Gerald, was the only castle in the west that held out against them. Early in the reign of Henry I, on the fall of Robert de Belesme, his brother Arnulf de Montgomery and Pembroke also fell, and he was sent into exile. *Orderic* twice styles him an Earl, evidently assuming that he was Earl of Pembroke, but he was probably mistaken, although Arnulf's position in South Wales, as Lord of Pembroke, was but secondary in name to that dignity.

Gerald of Windsor, who married Nest, daughter of Rhys ab Tewdwr, according to Caradoc of Llancarvan (a contemporary of Giraldus Cambrensis) rebuilt the castle of Pembroke in the year 1105 on a stronger site, called

Congarth Vechan. The marriage of Gerald of Windsor with Nest, constituting as it did a tie with the princes of Wales, aroused the jealousy and suspicion of Henry I, who used all means of reducing his authority and influence.

We find, therefore, that in 1138 Gilbert de Clare was created, by Stephen, Earl of Pembroke, and thus became possessed of the castle and extensive territories, and that the Earldom received the privilege of *jura regalia*, so that Pembrokeshire became a County Palatine.

The only three known coins of Pembroke are of Mr. Andrew's Type XIV[1] (Hawkins 262), and are in the cabinet of the writer of this paper. This type was current from 1128 to 1131. They may be described as follows:

Obverse.—✠ ÞENRICVS RE. Crowned bust facing; sceptre fleury (held in the King's right hand) to the left, and a star to the right of the head; suspended from either side of the crown three pellets. All within a circle springing from the shoulders.

Reverse.—✠ GILLEPATRI : ON : PEI. A large quatrefoil enclosing a star upon a cross of pellets, each foil surmounted by three annulets conjoined; opposite each spandrel, a fleur-de-lys inwards springing from an inner circle. Plate, Figs. 19, 20, 21.

The Pipe Roll of 1129-1130 records that Hait, the Sheriff, rendered an account of the firma of Pembroke, and that he had paid into the treasury £58 18*s.* 9*d.* and owed £1 1*s.* 3*d.*, thus showing that Pembroke paid a firma of £60. A little lower down is another entry bearing directly on the Pembroke coins just described.

[1] *A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I.*

> "Gillopatric *the moneyer* renders an account of £4 for a forfeiture in respect of the last year's money. He pays £2 into the treasury and owes £2."

This entry on the Pipe Roll of the very period of the issue of the coins described, containing, as it does, the name of the moneyer, whose name also appears on the coins, is conclusive evidence of their being of Pembroke, and is only one more instance of the value of Numismatic science as a handmaid to historical research.

DAFYDD AP GWILYM A'I GYFNOD.[1]

Gan y Parch J. MACHRETH REES.

Mi gymeraf yn ganiataol fod aelodau Cymdeithas Anrhydeddus y Cymmrodorion yn gydnabyddus a chymaint o hanes personol Dafydd ap Gwilym ag y sydd ar glawr. Fel y mae gwaetha'r modd nid yw bynny yn rhyw lawer, ac nid yw yn agos mor ddiamwys ag y buasid yn dymuno. Anodd dwedyd faint sy'n wir o'r traddodiad am ei eni mewn lle oerach na lletty'r anifail, ac am ei fedyddio ar arch ei fam yn Llan Dâf. Mae'r holl stori honno braidd yn rhy ramantus i fod yn wir llythrennol i gyd.

Ac nid yw terfynau blynyddoedd Dafydd yn glir chwaith. Y cwbl ellir ddwedyd yn sicr ydyw iddo ddechreu a gorffen anadlu o fewn y bedwaredd-ganrif-ar-ddeg. Tueddir fi i gredu mai yn y rhan gyntaf o'r ganrif honno y blodeuai, ac iddo farw cyn 1370. Cafodd noddwr caredig yn Ifor Hael o Faesaleg, crwydrodd drwy Gymru o Went i Wynedd dan farddoni ac yfed gwin a mêdd, a chwedleua ag adar a blodau a rhianedd. Nid oes dim sicrwydd lle y bu farw na pha le y gorphwys ei lwch, er yr ymddengys y dystiolaeth yn troi yn ffafr Talyllychau yn hytrach nag Ystrad Fflur.

Mewn ysgrif a ymddangosodd yn un o'r cyfnodolion ychydig dros ugain mlynedd yn ol, dywed y diweddar Ioan Ddu o'r Coedllai:—"Mae enw Dafydd ap Gwilym yn glodfawr yng Nghymru hyd y dydd hwn, a diau y pery felly tra y pery y Gymraeg. Ond eto ychydig o honom a ŵyr

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on 23rd February 1906. Chairman, W. Llewelyn Williams, Esq., M.P.

ddim, neu y nesaf i ddim am dano, heblaw ei enw yn unig." A'r dystiolaeth hon oedd wir. Wedi iddo fod yn dyddori ac yn diddanu gwerin ei wlad drwy'r canrifoedd, pan ddibynnai poblogrwydd ar gôf a llafar, ac ambell lawysgrif, mor fuan ag yr argraffwyd ei waith fe aeth Dafydd ap Gwilym yn "enw yn unig" i'r mwyafrif. Ac nid yw hynny i ryfeddu ato, oblegid dim ond dau argraffiad o'i waith a gyhoeddwyd yn ystod cant a deg o flynyddoedd—y cyntaf o dan olygiaeth Owen Jones a William Owen yn 1789, a'r ail o dan olygiaeth Cynddelw ymhen pedwar ugain a phedair o flynyddoedd wedyn. Ac yr oedd pris y naill a'r llall o'r argraffiadau hyn yn rhy uchel i'r werin fedru ei gyrhaedd. Erbyn heddyw y mae pethau dipyn yn wahanol. Ysgrifenwyd cryn lawer am Dafydd i'r gwahanol gyfnodolion yn ystod y chwarter canrif, a galwyd sylw at doraeth o'i ganiadau, a chyhoeddodd yr Athro O. M. Edwards hefyd ddetholiad bychan tlws o'i waith yng "Nghyfres y Fil" ryw chwech neu saith mlynedd yn ol. Fel drwy'r cwbl y mae'r

"Prydydd a'i gywydd fel gwin",

wedi dod eto yn rhywbeth "heblaw enw yn unig" ymysg ein cenedl. Y darganfyddiad llenyddol pwysicaf yng Nghymru ynglŷn a'r deffroad diweddaraf yn ddiau fu darganfod Dafydd ap Gwilym. Ni allwn ddwedyd, o ran hynny, mai gyda'r darganfyddiad y daeth y deffroad, ac y mae delw y naill yn amlwg ar y llall.

Ond nid yw y deffroad hyd yma wedi gwneud yr hyn y buasid yn disgwyl iddo ei wneuthur yn gyntaf oll—rhoddi i ni argraffiad newydd cyflawn o farddoniaeth Dafydd—argraffiad y gellid dibynu ar ei gywirdeb. Gwn y cytunwch a mi mai dyna angen llenyddol penaf Cymru heddyw, ac nis gall yr ieithyddwr, hanesydd llên, na'r beirniad wneud ei waith yn effeithiol hyd nes y bo'r angen hwn wedi ei gyflawni. Ni raid wrth nemawr o graffter i weled fod yr

argraffiadau presenol ymhell o fod yn gywir. Argraffwyd y rhan fwyaf o un 1789 oddiwrth gasgliad o lawysgrifau oedd ym meddiant Lewis Morris, Môn. Mae'r casgliad hwnnw yn awr yn yr Amgueddfa Brydeinig. Dywed Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans, yr hwn sydd wedi bod ers blynyddau yn copio ac yn cymharu y gwahanol lawysgrifau sydd ar gael, mai llawysgrif ddiweddar ydyw, aï bod y fwyaf gwallus o'r holl lawysgrifau o waith Dafydd a ddaeth o dan ei sylw ef. Ond mae'n sicr fod y gwaith fel y ceir ef yn argraffiad Owain Myfyr yn debycach i'r hyn a drôdd Dafydd ap Gwilym allan nag yw yn argraffiad Cynddelw. Cywiro i anghywiro a wnaeth Cynddelw, hynny yw, cywirodd lawer o'r cynghaneddion yn ol y rheolau diweddaraf, a defnyddiodd ffurfiau geiriol nad oeddynt mewn arferiad yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg.

Ond er mai argraffiad 1789 yw y cywiraf, mae yn hwnnw, yn ddiddadl, lawer o gymysgedd. Rhaid i efrydydd na ŵyr ddim am y llawysgrifau, ac na fedd ond gwybodaeth amherffaith o ieithwedd chwe chanrif yn ol, farnu pethau wrth safon syniadau, awenyddiaeth, a dull y crefftwaith. Cymerer y syniadau i gychwyn. Mae'n amlwg fod pwy bynag a gyfansoddodd gorff y casgliad yn meddu syniadau penodol am fywyd, am grefydd, ac yn enwedig am Eglwys Rufain, a'i hoffeiriaid, a'i hathrawiaethau—yr unig eglwys y gwyddai Cymru ddim am dani yn y canrifoedd hynny. Ond ceir ynddo rai darnau sy'n cynwys syniadau gwahanol am y pethau hyn, mor wahanol nes ei gwneud yn anodd iawn, os nad yn amhosibl credu mai o'r un meddwl y deilliasant.

Cymerer yr awenyddiaeth drachefn. Mae toraeth y gwaith yn wir awenyddol, mor awenyddol a dim barddoniaeth sydd yn ein hiaith, a dweyd y lleiaf am dano. Ond ceir ynddo ddarnau pur ddiawen hefyd, darnau na rydd eu darllen unrhyw fwynhad. Mi wn yn dda mai ofer

disgwyl i unrhyw fardd ganu cystal a'i oreu yn wastad. Ni ddaw yr hwyl bob amser, ac y mae anghyfartaledd mawr yng ngwaith yr oll o'r prifeirdd. Ac eto ni fedr y gwir awenydd ganu llawer iawn o linellau heb brofi i ni fod ysbryd y peth byw ynddo, serch nad yw amgen na hanner effro ar y pryd. Gan gadw hyn oll mewn côf, a eill unrhyw un gweddol gyfarwydd a barddoniaeth gredu mai yr un awen a ganodd y caniadau i Ifor Hael ag a ganodd yr awdl Folawd i Ddeon Bangor (Rhif 228 yng nghasgliad 1789)? Nid wyf yn tybied. Ac fe wêl y cyfarwydd fwy nag anghyfartaledd cydrhwng yr awdl farwnad i Ifor Hael a Nest ei wraig (Rhif 13) a'r cywydd olaf a gant y bardd (Rhif 16, Ychw.) yn yr hwn y ceir y llinellau ymofynol:—

"Mae Ifor am cynghorawdd,
Mae Nest oedd unwaith i'm nawdd."

Tarewir nodyn yn y cywydd na fedrodd awdwr yr awdl erioed ei gyffwrdd.

Pan y trown i edrych ar ddull y crefftwaith yr ydym yn gweled mwy fyth o amrywiaeth ac anghyfartaledd. Daw perthynas Dafydd ap Gwilym a datblygiad y gynghanedd a'r mesurau o dan sylw ymhellach ymlaen: yr hyn y dymunwn ei bwysleisio yn y fan hon yw nas gall yr oll sydd yn y casgliad fod yn gynnyrch yr unrhyw grefftwr. Ni gymerwn y cywyddau yn unig, gan adael y darnau eraill o'r naill du. Mae mwyafrif mawr y cywyddau yn dwyn ôl llaw y crefftwr celfydd, y priod-ddull yn naturiol, yr arddull yn loew, a'r gynghanedd yn rheolaidd, ac yn aml yn gywrain. Wrth ddweyd ei bod yn rheolaidd, ni olygaf ei bod yn dilyn rheolau manylaf Dafydd ap Edmwnd, ond ei bod yn dilyn rheolau sy'n glir i bob efrydydd. Yn wir, gellir dwedyd rhagor am lawer o'r cywyddau—na cheir ynddynt nemawr linell y buasai beirniaid manylaf Eisteddfodau diweddar yn eu condemnio. Dyna'r cywydd i wallt Morfudd (Rhif 25)—cywydd o 28 llinell. Nid oes yn

hwnnw ond rhyw dri gwall, a rhyw hanner gwall yw pob un o'r tri. Yng Nghywydd y Fynaches (Rhif 8)—cywydd o 60 llinell, nid oes ond pedair llinell wallus, a digon dibwys yw'r gwall mewn tair o'r pedair. Mae cywydd y Banadl-lwyn (Rhif 47) a chywydd gwahodd Morfudd i'r Deildŷ (Rhif 83) yn gwbl ddiwall. Ond mewn rhai cywyddau, megys y cywydd i'r Wydd (Rhif 106) mae'r llinellau anafus yn amlach na'r rhai di anaf, a rhai ohonynt yn hollol ddigynghanedd, ac yn afrwydd a chlogyrnog yn ogystal. Cyfeiria Owain Myfyr at y beiau a'r anafau hyn yn ei nodiad "at y Beirdd ac eraill", a sylwa "fod yn ddiamau i lios o naddynt ymlithro i'r gwaith wrth ei amlddadysgrifennu". Diau fod llawer o wir yn y sylw. Ond â Owain Myfyr rhagddo i wneud sylw pellach, fod yn y gwaith "rai beiau cynhenid hefyd, nid o anwybodaeth y Bardd, ond gwamalrwydd a diofalwch yn y cerddi masw caruaidd, weithiau yn dibrisio cynghanedd, yn enwedig y braich cyntaf". Dyna fel yr esbonia ef yr anghyfartaledd. Nid wyf yn meddwl y cytuna odid neb sydd wedi astudio'r gwaith yn drwyadl ag ef. Mae'r gwahaniaeth yn rhy fawr i gyfrif am dano yn y ffordd yna. Os Dafydd ap Gwilym a ganodd Gywydd yr Wydd ynghyda rhai eraill a briodolir iddo, yna nid ei waith ef yw y cywyddau i Ifor Hael, a Dyddgu, a Morfudd. Ond hyd nes y ceir argraffiad o'r gwaith fo'n gynyrch astudiaeth gymharol o'r holl lawysgrifau, nid yw'n bosibl penderfynu faint a gyfansoddodd Dafydd, nac ychwaith a yw y gwaith argraffedig wedi ei drwsio gan ryw law ddiweddarach.

Yn gymaint ag i mi son am y gynghanedd dichon mai yn y fan hon y byddai'n briodol cyfeirio at berthynas Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i datblygiad. Mae'r pwnc hwnnw yn teilyngu ymdriniaeth llawer helaethach a manylach nag a gafodd hyd yma, ac na fedraf finnau roddi iddo yn awr. Cynnyrch y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg ydyw y gynghanedd

fel yr adwaenir hi gennym ni. Mae geiriau Stephens o Ferthyr ar y pen hwn yn werth eu dyfynnu, Dyma fel y dywed: "Our literary history, from the death of Llewelyn to the time of Dafydd ap Gwilym, shows, in the department of poetry, a most striking feature. A complete revolution had taken place; and a period usually considered to be barren was one of earnest cogitation, zealous reforms, and diligent cultivation. In this period was born the incubus of Welsh poetry; those days of silent gloom, and impenetrable darkness, were pregnant with *cynghanedd*."[1] Mae'n awlwg oddiwrth y paragraff yna, yn ogystal ag oddiwrth aml baragraff arall yn ei waith, na feddai awdwr galluog *Llenyddiaeth y Cymry* fawr o hoffter o'r gynghanedd, os oedd, yn wir, yn ei deall yn drwyadl. *Incubus* y geilw hi. Heblaw hynny, y mae, mi gredaf, yn amseru Dafydd ap Gwilym hanner canrif o leiaf yn rhy ddiweddar. Nid wyf yn deall yn glir beth a olyga wrth ddweyd mai yn y cyfnod hwnnw y "ganwyd" yr *incubus* hwn. Os mai yr hyn a feddylia ydyw nad oes dim cynghanedd o gwbl yng ngweithiau beirdd boreuach, yna y mae'n cyfeiliorni. Tyfiant graddol yw'r gynghanedd, ceir ei blagur yng nghaniadau y Gogynfeirdd, megis Gwalchmai a Chynddelw, heb son yn awr am neb arall. Ond y mae'n berffaith gywir i ddwedyd mai'r cyfnod rhwng cwymp Llewelyn a marw Dafydd ap Gwilym oedd "Mis Mai" y gynghanedd. Dyna'r pryd y blodeuodd hi, ac y daeth, nid yn *incubus*, ond yn un o neillduolion prydferthaf ein barddoniaeth. Ac hyd y medraf fi farnu, Dafydd yn fwy na neb arall biau y clod am hynny. Yr oedd ef yn ddigon o grefftwr ac awenydd i ddarganfod fod yr arfer o ddechreu pob llinell o englyn neu awdl gyda'r un llythyren, a gwneud i ugaiu neu ddeg ar hugain o linellau gydodli, nid yn unig yn caethiwo'r bardd, ond hefyd yn gwneud ei waith yn

[1] *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 226.

undonog ae amhersain. Gwelodd, os oedd ffurfiau felly yn briodol i alarnad neu gerdd ogan, na wnaent mo'r tro i ddesgrifio Anian, ac i ganu rhamant serch. Ac eto yr oedd yn rhaid cael rhywbeth yn eu lle, ac mi welodd y prydydd craff y gallesid gwneud llawer mwy nag a wnelsai neb hyd hynny o odlau amrywiog ac o gyd-darawiad sain a chydsain. Wedi dechreu ymarfer a'r ffurfiau hyn swynwyd ef yn fwy gan eu naturioldeb, a'u tlysni, a'u perseinedd, a gwelodd yn gliriach eu bod yn hollol gydnaws ag ieithwedd Gymreig, yn ogystal ag yn caniatau pob rhyddid priodol i'r awen. Defnyddiodd hwy yn ddibetrus, a dilynwyd ei esiampl gan y rhai a ddaethant ar ei ol. Fel y dywedwyd eisoes y mae ganddo gannoedd o linellau hollol reolaidd yn ol y deddfau manylaf. Am y llinellau eraill yn ei waith y mae'n amlwg eu bod yn ol rheolau a droed heibio yn ddiweddarach. Mewn cynghanedd groes neu draws gadewir yr *f*, er engraifft, weithiau heb ei hateb. Y mae'r *rhagwant* mewn cynghanedd sain yn deirsill ganddo yn lled aml hefyd, a dim ond y sillaf gyntaf a groesgynghanedda a'r gobenydd, megis—

"Caru dyn lygeid-du lwyd".

A gwna cynghanedd lusg y tro ganddo os bydd yu odli gyda'r sillaf olaf ond un, serch i'r sillaf olaf fod yn dechreu gyda chydsain, megys,

"Oni'th gaf er cerdd erddrym".

Hyd y sylwais i, dyna y gwahaniaethau o bwys cydrhwng cynghaneddion Dafydd a chynghaneddion beirdd yr oes hon, heblaw ei fod ef yn llai manwl, hwyrach, nag ydym ni ynghylch yr hyn a elwir yn "rhy debyg" ac yn "dwyll odl". Gesyd ef saiu *y* pan y bo'r llafariad olaf mewn gair, i odli hefo sain *u*, a dyna ddylid wneud eto o ran hynny. Yn ol sain gair y barnai Dafydd ei le priodol mewn cynghanedd.

Yn nyddiau Dafydd ap Gwilym yr oedd prydyddu yn

grefft yng Nghymru. A phennod ddyddorol anghyffredin yw hanes y bardd wrth grefft,—bardd yn byw i ganu a dim byd arall. A all rhywun ddwedyd pa mor fore y dechreuodd barddoni fod yn grefft ymysg ein cenedl? Yr oedd felly yn y ddeuddegfed ganrif beth bynnag, oblegid cawn son am y "Bardd Teulu" yr adeg honno. Ac fe barhaodd i fod yn grefft am rai canrifoedd wedi marw Dafydd ap Gwilym. Fe ddywed William Cynwal yn un o gywyddau cyntaf yr ymryson rhyngddo ag Edmund Prys—

"Pregethwr wyd, pleidiwr plwyf,
Parod ddadl, prydydd ydwyf."

A cheir cyfeiriadau cyffelyb yn aml yng nghywyddau dilynol y ffrae. Nid dadleu y mae William Cynwal na feddai Edmund Prys mo'r ddawn brydyddol, ac nid dadleu chwaith ei fod ef ei hun yn well prydydd na'r Archddiagon, ond pwysleisio'r ffaith ei fod ef yn fardd wrth grefft, ac nad oedd yn foddlawn fod offeiriad wrth grefft yn ymgymeryd a chrefft bardd hefyd. Daw hyn yn bur amlwg yn y llinellau

"Cymer y maes, laes lwyswar,
Ddwg gamp wych yn ddigompâr;
Maes rhan cerdd, mesur yn cau,
Yma unwedd i minnau."

Chwi welwch mai tipyn o *Trade Unionist* oedd William Cynwal, yn eiddigeddus dros safle ei grefft a'r gydnabyddiaeth a delid iddi. Ond y mae'r bardd wrth grefft wedi diflannu o Gymru ers llawer blwyddyn, neu'n hytrach mae'r grefft wedi mynd, ysgwaethyroedd, yn un mor sâl i fyw arni fel na cheir neb o dalent yn ddigon rhyfygus i geisio.

Yn nyddiau Dafydd ap Gwilym, fodd bynnag, yr oedd crefft y bardd yn un anrhydeddus, yn dwyn bywoliaeth dda gyda hi, ac yn sicrhau iddo yntau edmygedd a gwarogaeth gyffredinol, ond yu enwedig edmygedd a gwarogaeth yr uchelwyr. Ac mi gredaf, pe buasai pob un ymgymerodd a'r grefft mor fedrus ynddi ag oedd Dafydd,

y cawsid y bardd wrth grefft yng Nghymru hyd heddyw. Serch i rywun ysgrifennu ar ddiwedd y copi o'r argraffiad cyntaf o'i waith sy'n llyfrgell y Cymmrodorion—"Gwir enw'r llyfr hwn ydyw Pentwr y lol"—serch i Oronwy Owen feio ar ei iaith oherwydd ei fod yn defnyddio cymaint o eiriau estronol ac achwyn arno na chanasai ar destynau mwy dyrchafedig,—a serch i Wilym Hiraethog roddi sel ei gydsyniad wrth feirniadaeth lem Goronwy—y mae'r ddedfryd heddyw, os nad yn gwbl, bron yn unfrydol fod Dafydd, a dweyd y lleiaf am dano, y crefftwr barddonol medrusaf a ganodd yng Nghymru erioed. Gwyddai i'r dim sut i lunio brawddegau naturiol, celfydd, a chain odiaeth, a cheir yn ei waith—a chymeryd yn ganiataol mai efe biau a briodolir iddo—gannoedd o linellau nas gellir gwella dim ar eu mireinder llenorol. Llinellau fel y rhai a a ganlyn er engraifft:—

"Gyda Gwen wy'n ddibenyd,
Gwna hon fi'n galon i gyd."

"Gofyn oedd gyfion iddi,
Ddyn fain deg, ddwyn f'enaid i."

"Beth a dâl anwadalu
Wedi'r hen fargen a fu?"

Ac y mae ei awenyddiaeth pan ar ei oreu, yn deilwng o'r crefftwaith. Nid âf i ddadleu dros gywirdeb llythrenol datganiad George Borrow, "Dafydd ap Gwilym, since the time I first became acquainted with his works, I have always considered as the greatest poetical genius that has appeared in Europe since the revival of literature,"—oblegid ofnaf mai nid gwir ragoriaethau Dafydd a ennillodd iddo gamoliaeth Borrow. Ond yr wyf heb ddim petruster yn cydsynio a theyrnged Llewelyn Ddu o Fôn: "Those poems he has taken pains with are inimitable; his images full of life; his language pure and nervous; his prosody unexceptionable according to the new rules then adopted."

Mae'n debyg mai'r hyn a ddengys y gwir awenydd a'r gwir grefftwr barddonol oreu yw gallu i ganfod ac i drin ffigyrau. Meddai Dafydd y gallu hwn tuhwnt i odid neb o'r holl feirdd Cymreig. Cymerer ychydig esiamplau wedi eu dewis megis ar antur. Dywed am wallt melyngoch merch Ifor Hael ei fod

"Fel goddaith yn ymdaith nos."
"Lliw'r mellt goruwch y gelltydd,
Lliw tân y gad Gamlan gynt."

Desgrifia ddwyfoch wridog fel

"Dwy sêl o liw grawn celyn,
Dagrau gwaed ar deg eiry gwyn."

A gwefus a boch Morfudd,

"A'i chlaerwin fin chwerthinog,
A'i grudd fel Rhosyn y Grog."

Gwelodd ferch lygatddu deg rywdro, ac eb ef—

"Amrant du ar femrwn teg,
Mal gwennol ym mol gwaneg."

Yr oedd yr un mor hapus yn y ffigyrau a ddefnyddiai pan yn duchanu. Clywodd floeddiwr aflafar yn rhywle, a dyma ei ddesgrifiad ohono:—

"Gwr yn gwaeddi, gorn gwaddawd,
A'i gân fel bran am ei brawd."

Anaml ryfeddol y deuir o hyd i gymhariaeth anhapus yng nghaniadau goreu Dafydd. Mae un felly yng Nghywydd y Daran lle y cyffelyba swn y daran i swn

"Tarw cryg yn torri creigydd."

Pan welais y llinell yna fe gofiais am linell yn un o awdlau'r gadair yn Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Aberystwyth a wnaeth i Galedfryn wylltio nes tywallt ar ben ei hawdwr truan raiadrau o wawdiaith frwmstanaidd. Yr Apostol Paul oedd testyn y gadair honno, ac wrth ddisgrifio yr apostol yn ymladd ag anifeiliaid yn Ephesus, fe ddywedai

y cystadleuydd anffodus y cyfeiriwyd ato, fod y llew ymysg yr anifeiliaid hynny yn cwrcydu

"Fel cath fewn pumllath i Paul."

Bron na theimlwn innau nad oedd fawr o wahaniaeth cydrhwng trwstaneiddiwch cyffelybu llew i gath a thrwstaneiddiwch cyffelybu rhuad taran i adsain rhuad tarw yn y graig, serch iddo fod yn "darw cryg". Ac y mae afledneisrwydd y ffigiwr yn fwy amlwg oherwydd ei fod yn dod i mewn ynghanol ffigyrau urddasol a gwir awenyddol, megys—

"Taran a ddug trinoedd yn'
Trwst arfau wybr tros derfyn,—
Tân aml a dŵr tew'n ymladd,
Tân o lid, dŵr tew'n ei ladd;
Clywais fry, ciliais o fraw,
Cawrlais udgorn y curwlaw;
Creglif yn dryllio creiglawr,
Crechwen o'r ffurfafen fawr."

Ond fe ddichon mai'r engraifft oreu o'r gallu arbennig hwn yn Nafydd ydyw y llinell honno i'r Llwyn Banadl:—

"Barug haf ydyw brig hwn."

Gwelsoch lawer gwaith lwyn dan farug gauaf a'i frig cyn wynned ag arian. Tybiwch am y byrddydd wedi troi'n hirddydd, gwynder yr eira wedi rhoddi lle i felynder haul, a lle y cewch ymadrodd a ddisgrifia frig y llwyn banadl hafal i'r ymadrodd "barug haf"? Wn i ddim prun ai dieithrwch y cyfuniad neu ynte ei briodoldeb, sy'n fy swyno i fwyaf.

Y dystiolaeth gryfaf i uwchafiaeth Dafydd ap Gwilym yw y ffaith iddo greu cyfnod newydd mewn barddoniaeth Gymreig. I ychydig y rhodded y ddawn i wneud peth felly —y math hwnnw o athrylith a faidd ado'r briffordd, a thorri llwybr iddi ei hun lle ni thramwyodd neb o'r blaen. Ac oni bae fod Dafydd yn ei meddu ni buasai fawr son am dano heddyw. Fe ganodd rai darnau ar fesurau ac yn arddull ac ysbryd y beirdd a'i rhagflaenasant—o leiaf fe

briodolir darnau felly iddo—ond nid oes dim o nodau na medr arbenig Dafydd ynddynt. Mewn mesur newydd, ar destynau newydd, ac mewn arddull newydd y cafodd ef le i brofi beth a fedrai wneuthur. Mae bron yn sicr mai efe ddyfeisiodd fesur cywydd, y mwyaf persain o'r holl fesurau, a'r mwyaf poblogaidd hefyd yn nesaf ar ol yr englyn. Dywed Dr. William Owen Puw iddo ef fethu dod o hyd i un cyfansoddiad o natur cywydd ymysg cynyrchion beirdd boreuach; ac yn y mesur newydd a ddyfeisiodd neu a ddarganfyddodd, fe roes Dafydd farddoniaeth o nodwedd newydd. Tarawodd dant na chyffyrddasai neb ag ef o'i flaen oddigerth, efallai, Rhys Goch ab Rhicert. Swn gloywi arfau a mynd allan i'r gâd, swn dur yn tincian, swn griddfannau a galar sydd yng nghaniadau ein beirdd hynaf o Aneurin a Llywarch Hen hyd Gruffydd ap yr Ynad Coch a alarnadodd gwymp Llewelyn. Glynai pob un o'r beirdd hynny wrth ryw dywysog neu uchelwr, a'i orchwyl ydoedd rhoi mewn cân gofnodiad o orchestion ei arwr, a'r hiraeth a'r galar am dano ar ol iddo syrthio. A'r canlyniad yw fod yn eu cerddi hwy fwy o hanes nag o farddoniaeth yn ystyr briodol y gair. Ond ganwyd Dafydd pan oedd y mynd allan i'r drin wedi peidio, llewyrch olaf anibynniaeth y genedl wedi diffodd, a *Brut y Tywysogion* wedi ei gau i fynu "o achos dyddiau y dioddefaint oeddynt yn agos". Angenrhaid a osodwyd arno ef i chwilio am destynau newydd, ac fe brofodd pa mor wyryfol ydoedd ei athrylith drwy fyned i fyd rhamant ac anian i chwilio am danynt. Nid byd dieithr i'r athrylith Gymreig mo hwnnw chwaith, er ei bod wedi ei esgeuluso am dymor hir. Dyna fyd y *Mabinogion*, ac nis gall neb efrydu gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym heb gael ei lwyr argyhoeddi mai cydnabyddiaeth a'r *Mabinogion* a'i dysgodd i adnabod ei gryfder. Rhyfedd mor debyg yw Dyddgu a Morfudd i Blodeuwedd ac Olwen. Cyffelyb yw'r nwyfiant chwareugar, y cyfuniad o wên a

deigryn, yr ymhyfrydiad mewn lliwiau disglaer, a'r ceinder iaith sy'n nodweddu cywyddau Dafydd i'r hyn a geir yn y Pedair Cainc a'r Rhamantau boreuaf.

Gan fod cymaint wedi ei ysgrifennu mewn blynyddoedd diweddar ynglylch hoffder Dafydd o Anian ni fanylaf ar hynny. Ond carwn ddweyd ei fod nid yn unig yn ymhoffi yn ngwedd gyffredinol Anian, ond hefyd yn sylwi yn fanwl ar ei hamrywiaeth diderfyn. Nid yw byth yn ailadrodd ei hun wrth son am dani. Bob tro yr edrychai arni fe welai "ryw newydd wyrth". Ac y mae ei ddisgrifiadau o'i helfenau a'i thymhorau, ei llwyni a'i choedydd, ei dail a'i blodau, ei hadar a'i physgod, yr un mor gywir ag ydynt o farddonol. Ni thery nodyn allan o'i gywair. Pan yng nghymdeithas Natur cadwai ei ddarfelydd ei lygad yn agored.

Ac eto, yr oedd hyd yn oed Anian yn ddarostyngedig i Serch. Carai riain yn fwy angerddol nag y carai fanadlen a bronfraith. Efe yw tâd ein rhieingerddwyr i gyd, ac y mae ei hiliogaeth, megys hiliogaeth Abram, yn aneirif. Ynglŷn a Dafydd ap Gwilym fel rhieingerddwr, haedda un ffaith fwy o sylw nag a roed iddi hyd yma, sef, ei gydnabyddiaeth a llenyddiaeth glasurol ac a llen gydamserol yr Eidal a Ffrainc. Ceir yn ei waith ddigon o brofion o'i gyfarwydd-deb a gweithiau Ovid, a Virgil, a Horace, a Petrarch. Dywedodd un ysgrifennydd flynyddoedd yn ol fod rhai o'i gywyddau, os nad yn gyfieithiadau, eto yn efelychiadau pur hapus o rai o ganiadau yr awduron a nodwyd. Ond tra nad wyf wedi cael allan y gellir cyhuddo y bardd o lenladrad mewn unrhyw fodd, y mae'n ddiddadl fod ysbryd y deffroad oedd eisoes yn gweithio ar y cyfandir wedi ei gyffwrdd yntau.[1] Nid oes lle i ameu

[1] Gofynais farn y Parch G. Hartwell Jones, M.A., Rhiethior Nutfield, gwr sydd mor gyfarwydd a llenyddiaeth glasurol ac Eidalaidd a neb a adwaenaf, am faint dyled Dafydd ap Gwilym i awdwyr

nad oedd Dafydd yn ysgolhaig. Ac y mae'r ffaith hon yn awgrymu yr ynchwiliad hynod ddyddorol, pa fodd y cafodd ei ysgolheigdod? A anfonwyd ef i rywle i'r cyfandir i dderbyn addysg. Yr oedd mynych gyrchu i Ffrainc a'r Eidal yn y ganrif honno. Neu ynte a oedd sefydliadau addysgol o radd uchel yng Nghymru yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg? A oedd ysgolion ynglŷn a'r mynachlogydd? Tueddir fi i gredu fod, ac mai yn un neu ragor o'r rhai hynny y cafodd y bardd ei hyfforddiant, ac y dygwyd ei feddwl i gyffyrddiad a llenyddiaeth cenhedloedd eraill. Diau fod y mynachod yn ysgolheigion, a llawer o honynt yn dramoriaid o genedl, ac eto anodd synio am danynt yn darllen Virgil ac Ovid a Horace yn gymysg ag astudio ysgrifeniadau Lladinaidd y tadau eglwysig. Ac anaws fyth tybied am danynt yn athrawon i Ddafydd ap Gwilym. Ond sut bynnag y daeth ef yn gydnabyddus a barddoniaeth glasurol ac a barddoniaeth Ffrainc a'r Eidal, fe awgrymodd y gydnabyddiaeth honno iddo faes awenyddol addfed na roisid cryman ynddo eto gan un prydydd Cymreig, ac wrth fedi y maes hwnnw fe enillodd yntau anfarwoldeb.

estronol, ac y mae yntau, yn garedig iawn wedi ysgrifenu y nodiad a ganlyn:—

"The question of Dafydd ap Gwilym's debt to foreign literature is a very interesting one, but requires a more intimate knowledge of both than I possess, and a closer examination than I can devote to it. It seems to me that some Welsh writers have exaggerated the connection between them. Unquestionably there were several channels of communication and not infrequent intercourse between Wales and Italy, but apart from the references to the Papacy, the Roman Catholic Church, and the ecclesiastical organizations, I have not been able to find in Dafydd ap Gwilym's poems more than one direct allusion to Italy. There appears to be no internal evidence to show that he had visited Italy or knew Italian. Many passages, however, prove that he, like several of his contemporaries, was affected by the Revival of Letters and the new spirit which arose in Italy in the Twelfth Century and culminated in the Renaissance. The correspondence between Dafydd ap Gwilym and Italian authors like

Nis gallaf adael Dafydd fel bardd serch heb grybwyll am Morfudd,

"A'i chlaerwin fin chwerthinog,
A'i grudd fel Rhosyn y Grog."

Mae ei henw hi a'i enw yntau wedi eu cysylltu a'u gilydd yn anwahanadwy. Ond pwy oedd Morfudd? Haws gofyn nag ateb. Mae'r oll a wyddis am dani yn y caniadau. Desgrifir ei hymddangosiad a'i hagwedd mor glir a chyflawn fel na cheir dim trafferth i benderfynu pa fath un ydoedd. Ond pan y ceisiwn wneud allan pwy ydoedd yr ydym ar unwaith ynghanol dryswch. Gadawer i ni fwrw golwg dros y cyfeiriadau hynny ati ar y rhai y rhaid seilio pob damcaniaeth yn ei chylch. Mewn un cywydd (Rhif 17) gelwir hi yn "Seren cylch Nant y Seri." Ni feddaf fi ddim dirnadaeth pa le y mae Nant y Seri, ond

Petrarch and Boccaccio, who exerted a profound and far-reaching influence on European literature, seems to consist in general thoughts, and these may well have been derived at second-hand or rather belonged to a common stock-in-trade of the singers of the period, especially in the South of France, between whom and Dafydd there is a close affinity. But when we turn to the Classics, our poets' debt to them is unmistakable. Dafydd ap Gwilym was no slavish imitator. His favourite Latin author was clearly Ovid. He refers to him again and again, and doubtless drew much inspiration from him. His description of *Tadmaeth Serch Morfudd* has been traced to Ovid, but nothing occurs in the *Amores* or the *Ars Amatoria*, nor apparently in any Latin author who would be accessible to him. His adoption of the name Morfudd, to disguise the identity of his ladylove, is thoroughly classical. His poem *Y Drych* is probably a reminiscence, but no copy, of Horace, Epode xv. (*Cf.* Petrarch's sonnet, *Dicemi spesso il mio fidato speglio*). His *Traethodl, Mi a wnaf, a mi a wnaf*, is an expansion of Æsop's Fable *The Ant and the Grasshopper*. A knowledge of Greek was an unusual accomplishment in his day and was practically confined to curious and professed scholars, but our poet was evidently familiar with Greek mythology and story, which reached him probably through a Latin medium. Altogether, there can be no doubt that Dafydd ap Gwilym fell under the influence of the New Learning and the accompanying revival of interest in Antiquity, but it is difficult to trace the influence in detail."

pâr ffurf yr enw imi dybied ei bod yn rhywle ym Mynwy neu Forganwg. Mewn cywydd arall (Rhif 63) edrydd y bardd hanes ei daith i ymweled a hi, ac fe enwa nifer mawr o fannau y bu ynddynt. Y maent oll yng Ngwent yn rhywle, a'r rhan fwyaf o honynt heb fod nepell o Faesaleg. Gellid meddwl, a chymeryd y cyfeiriadau hyn yn unig, mai un o rianedd y parth hwnnw o Gymru ydoedd Morfudd, a'i bod hwyrach yn ferch i Ifor Hael. Ond ni chrybwyllir ei henw yn yr un o'r cywyddau i Ifor a Maesaleg. Mae'n wir y cysylltir hi ag Ifor a Nest yn y cywydd olaf a gant y bardd (Rhif 16 yn y Chwanegiad) :—

"Mae Ifor a'm cynghorawdd,
Mae Nest oedd unwaith i'm nawdd;
Mae dan wŷdd Morfudd fy myd,
Gorwedd ynt oll mewn gweryd."

Ond nid yw y cyfuniad yn profi fod unrhyw berthynas rhyngddynt. Ac eto mae'n bur glir fod un, neu ragor efallai, o gariadon Dafydd yn y Deheubarth yn cael ei chyfarch wrth yr enw Morfudd. Mewn cywyddau eraill, rhy liosog i'w nodi, dywedir yn bendant.

"Hon o Wyuedd a henyw,"

Gelwir hi—

"Y fun glaer fwnwgl euraid,
O Fôn gynt yn fwyn a gaed."

Erfynia ar Dwynwen, nawdd-sant Llanddwyn ym Mon, wneud llateiaeth rhyngddo a hi. Cymerir yn ganiataol mai hi oedd y wenddyn a welodd Dafydd y tro cyntaf yn Rhosyr, pan yr anfonodd ei was a gwin iddi, ac y tywalltodd hithau y rhodd am ei ben ef. Gelwir hi "Y fun o Eithinfynydd", yn ferch "Madawg Lawgam", yr hwn a fynnodd ei rhoddi yn wraig i un Cynfrig Gynin. A gelwir hi hefyd yn "Forfudd Llwyd" droion. Nis gwn i ddim rhagor ynghylch y lleoedd a'r cymeriadau hyn, a thybiaf nas gŵyr neb arall. Dywed Cynddelw iddo ef "fethu

yn lân a chael allan fod y fath le ag Eithinfynydd ym Mon, na'r fath enw a Madawg Lawgam ymysg achau henafiaid yr Ynys". Yr unig gymeriad hanesyddol a nodir yn y cywyddau hyn yw Madog Benfras, ac yr oedd cysylltiad rhyngddo ef a Môn. Mewn dau gywydd (Rhif 41, a 80) lleolir cartre' Morfudd "yng ngoror Dyfi", a'r Forfudd honno a ffodd gyda Dafydd i dir Gwent. Pa gasgliad a ellir yn rhesymol dynnu oddiwrth yr holl grybwylliadau hyn? Ai yr un yw merch Madawg Lawgam a'r "Fun o Eithinfynydd"? Ai y Forfudd honno briododd Cynfrig? Os felly, ai honno breswyliai "yng ngoror Dyfi", ac a ffodd gyda'r bardd? Yn ol traddodiad, ym Mhenllyn, gerllaw y Bala, yr oedd cartre' Cynfrig? Nid yw'n debyg, a dweyd y lleiaf, fod ganddo lys arall yng nghwrr deheuol Meirion. Ond hyd yn oed pe gellid profi mai yr un person oedd y Forfudd a gysylltir a'r holl leoedd hyn yn y Gogledd, y mae'r Forfudd oedd yn "Seren cylch Nant y Seri", a'r Forfudd y bu y bardd yn chwilio am dani ar derfynau Morganwg a Mynwy yn aros wedyn. Deongled arall y dyrysbwnc fel y mynn, ymddengys i mi yn eithaf clir mai *pet name* yw yr enw Morfudd, yr un fath a'r enw Ifor Hael. Mewn geiriau eraill, yr wyf yn gwbl argyhoeddedig na fodolodd y fath bersonau a Morfudd, a Madawg Lawgam, a Chynfrig Gynin ond yn nychymyg ffrwythlawn y bardd. Delfryd (*ideal*) gyffelyb i Laura Petrarch, yw Morfudd Dafydd ap Gwilym, a disgrifiad o'r hyn allasai ddigwydd yw y briodas yn y llwyn, y ffoi i Forganwg, a rhoddi y gariadferch yn wraig i un arall am fod ganddo gyfoeth. O edrych ar bethau yn y goleuni hwnnw y mae y cyhuddiad a ddygwyd gynifer gwaith yn erbyn y bardd o fod yn wamal a thrythyll yn torri i lawr, i fesur beth bynnag. Gwir ei fod o angenrheidrwydd yn benthyca arferion carwriaethol a chymdeithasol ei oes i ddisgrifio helyntion ei ddelfryd. Ond hawdd yw cydsynio

ar hyn a welodd Sion Bradford, medd ef, mewn llyfr ysgrifenedig, gwaith Watkin Powell, "mai er gwyllted a thrythylled gwr y gellid barnu Dafydd ap Gwilym wrth ei gywyddau, ei fod yn ei fywyd a'i ymarweddiad yn ddyn sobr, llonydd, a mwyn iawn oedd; a chyn leied ei siarad, fel braidd y ceid air o'i ben ar un achos; ac mai gwylltineb a chwaryddiaeth awen yn unig yw llawer peth yn ei waith, ac nid effeithiau anian ac anwydau".

Wrth edrych ar Ddafydd ap Gwilym yn ei berthynas a'i gyfnod—a dyna fwriadwn wneud yn benaf pan y dechreuais —y mae un peth yn sicr o daro pob efrydydd, a synnu peth arno hefyd, sef cyn lleied o wladgarwch a geir yn y caniadau. Dyry ryw fonclust neu ddwy i'r Sais megys wrth fynd heibio. Cafodd bâr o fenyg yn anrheg gan Ifor Hael unwaith, ac yn ei ddiolch am danynt dywedodd

> "Menig o'i dref a gefais,
> Nid fel menig sarug Sais."

Ac wrth son am ei serch at Ifor, a serch Ifor ato yntau, eb ef,

> "Serch Ifor a glodforais,
> Nid fal serch anfadful Sais."

Ond dyna i gyd. Ac y mae hyn yn rhyfedd pan gofiwn ymha gyfnod yr oedd yn byw. Os ganwyd ef yn y flwyddyn 1300, nid aethai mwy na deunaw mlynedd heibio er cwymp Llewelyn, ac yr oedd yn bymtheng mlwydd oed pan fu gwrthryfel Llewelyn Bren ym Morganwg, ac y llosgwyd Castell Caerffili, lle heb fod nepell o Faesaleg. Gellid meddwl y rhaid fod adlais cryf o'r galar oblegid y darostyngiad yn aros yn awelon y wlad, ac anfoddogrwydd mawr yn y genedl i ddwyn iau orthrymus arglwyddi y goror. Ond nid oes yn holl ganiadau Dafydd na swn galar am anibynniaeth goll na swn gobaith am ei hennill yn ol, na dim byd i beri i neb dybied na buasai'r bardd yr un mor gartrefol a hapus mewn rhyw wlad arall ag oedd

yng Nghymru, dim ond iddo gael gwin a medd i'w yfed, a llwyni a blodau i syllu arnynt, ac adar i ganu o'i gwmpas, a mun deg i ymddiddan a hi. Wrth i mi bendronni i geisio cyfrif am hyn, daeth syniad i'm meddwl a ymddangosai i mi ar y cyntaf yn ynfyd bron, ac a ystyriwch chwithau, mi dybiaf, yn un rhy ynfyd i'w draethu. Bid a fyddo, mi fentraf roi llais iddo; a dyma fo, Ai tybed fod y nodyn gwladgarol yn gudd yng ngwaith Dafydd? A all cywyddau Morfudd fod yn alegori yn ogystal ag yn ddelfryd? A yw'n bosibl mai personoli ei wlad a'i helyntion blin a wna'r bardd yn y cywyddau hyn? Nid wyf yn sicr nad allasai dadleuydd medrus wneud *case* go gryf dros y syniad—hyd nes y deuai'r dadleuydd i'r gwrthwyneb i'w ddryllio. Nid wyf fi ddadleuydd, ond mi dybiaf mai rhywbeth fel hyn fyddai'r ymresymiad:— Yn y lle cyntaf, nid yw llefaru ar ddameg yn beth dieithr i'r awen Gymreig. A'r adeg honno, ni feiddiai neb roi llais i deimlad gwladgarol oddieithr drwy ddameg. Yr oedd yr awdurdod Seisnig wedi deall mai'r beirdd oedd prif symbylwyr cenedl y Cymry i ymladd dros ei hanibynniaeth ac i wrthryfela yn erbyn yr iau estronol. Ymhlith y deddfau a osododd Iorwerth y Cyntaf ar Gymru ar ol cwymp Llewelyn, yr oedd deddfau i gospi'r beirdd os ceid lle i gredu eu bod yn ceisio ail gynneu tân gwrthryfel trwy ganu cerddi gwladgarol. Yn ail, y mae'n glir mai cymeriad dychmygol yw Morfudd. Os mai delfryd serch yn yr ystyr gyffredin yn unig ydyw, paham y lleolir hi yng Ngwynedd, ac ym Môn, yn hytrach nag ym Morganwg neu Geredigion, y parthau yr oedd cysylltiad agosach rhwng Dafydd a hwy? Nid wyf yn gweled cysgod o sail i'r dybiaeth i Ifor Hael anfon ei ferch i leiandŷ ym Môn er mwyn ei gyrru o gyrhaedd y bardd. Ond os yw Morfudd yn cynrychioli Cymru, yna daw ei lleoliad ym Môn yn eithaf naturiol a phriodol. Yno y cyneuodd fflam anibyn-

nghaniadau beirdd y bymthegfed ganrif. Ac yn eu caniadau hwy y ceir y teimlad gwladgarol cyntaf. Ni wyddai y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg am dano, o'r tuallan i Wynedd beth bynnag. Ac yng Ngwent a Morganwg yr oedd y Saeson a'r Cymry wedi dysgu cydfyw yn bur rhyfedd y pryd hwnnw, yn enwedig yr uchelwyr, a mwy na thebyg fod y naill a'r llall wedi cydgyfarfod mewn heddwch i yfed medd ac i gynnal dawns yn neuadd Maesaleg yn ystod y blynyddoedd a dreuliodd y bardd yno.

Y mae y traethiad hwn wedi mynd eisoes mor faith fel na chaf aros gyda'r goleuni a deifl caniadau Dafydd ap Gwilym ar fywyd cymdeithasol Cymru yn y cyfnod, er mor ddyddorol fuasai hynny. Yr oedd yn bur wahanol o angenrheidrwydd i fywyd yr oes hon, a dylid cadw'r ffaith mewn cof wrth ei feirniadu. Mewn un ystyr beth bynnag yr oedd Cymru y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg yn rhagori ar Gymru yr ugeinfed ganrif. Os oedd y tywysogion yn eiddigeddus o'u gilydd, ac yn elynol i'w gilydd, ffynnai y teimladau goreu cydrhwng yr uchelwyr a'r werin. Cadwai pob uchelwr dŷ agored. Felly y gwnai Ifor Hael ym Maesaleg ac Arglwydd Rhosyr ym Môn. Croesawid y teithiwr, a'r bardd yn arbenig, a breichiau agored, a llenwid y neuaddau gan acenion Cymraeg a swn tant a cherdd. Os oeddynt yn yfed ar y mwyaf o win a medd yr oeddynt yn ffrindiau calon, ac os oedd eu hiaith dipyn yn arw ac anghoeth weithiau yr oeddynt yn byw'n ddifyr wrth hela'r carw a chwareu ffristial a thawlbwrdd.

Er fod ysbryd gwrthryfela yn erbyn awdurdod wladol yn bur llonydd, os nad yn hanner marw yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg, eto yr oedd yr ysbryd hwnnw yn ymysgwyd mewn cyfeiriadau eraill, ac fe roes Dafydd, yn anad neb arall, lais iddo. Mae swn gwrthryfel yn llawer o'i ganiadau. Taflodd ymaith ffurfiau arferedig a feichient gerdd, a lluniodd rai newydd. Gwrthododd

blygu ei awen hoenus i ganu yn y cywair lleddf fel y gwnaethai y beirdd o'i flaen. Ond yr oedd yn fwy o wrthryfelwr na hynny. Fel y dywed yr Athro O. M. Edwards, y peth mwyaf dyddorol yn hanes Dafydd ap Gwilym yw ei berthynas a chrefydd ei oes. Ni raid adgoffa unrhyw efrydydd mai y grefydd Gatholig—crefydd Rhufain—oedd unig grefydd Cymru yr adeg honno. Yr oedd esgobion Cymru yn gwbl ddarostyngedig i'r Pab ers canrifoedd. Brithid y wlad gan fynachlogydd a lleiandai, ac yr oedd y ddwy urdd o fynachod—y mynachod Llwydion a'r mynachod Duon—iw gweled ymhobman. Edrychai lliaws y brodyr hyn ar y beirdd gyda llygaid eiddigeddus, am fod y beirdd yn cael cymaint o nawdd yr uchelwyr, a'r werin yn edrych i fyny atynt. Ond ni fuasai fawr obaith i'r bardd yn erbyn y mynach oni bae fod syniad y wlad am fynachaeth ac am grefydd yn dechreu newid. Diau fod esgymuno Llewelyn yn un achos paham y newidiodd, yng Ngwynedd o leiaf; ond dirywiad yr urddau cardod eu hunain fu yr achos pennaf. Yn Nafydd ap Gwilym mi gafodd y cyfnewidiad hwn yn syniad y wlad enau a llais. Goganodd ef lawer ar y mynachod, fel y dengys ei gywyddau i'r Lleian ac i'r Brodyr o'r ddau liw, a cheir prawf o chwerwder eu teimladau hwythau ato yn y ffaith na roisant le i gymaint ag un o'i ganiadau yn eu casgliadau o lenyddiaeth Gymreig, megys y *Llyfr Coch Hergest*. Wrth ddweyd fod Dafydd yn wrthryfelwr crefyddol, neu eglwysig yn hytrach, nid wyf yn golygu ei fod ef, na bod y wlad yn ymwrthod a holl athrawiaeth eglwys Rufain, er nad yw Cywydd "Buchedd a Dioddefiadau y Gwaredwr" sydd yn y casgliad o'i weithiau yn profi dim, gan fod yn bur glir nad ei eiddo ef ydyw. A chamsyniad fyddai tybied ei fod o ysbryd anghrefyddol ac annuw. Gwir a ddywed un awdwr mai "iaith addoliad yw iaith ei ddisgrifiad o aderyn a llwyn". Yn erbyn gorthrwm y ffurfioldeb anaturiol a gysylltai

eglwys Rufain yn y cyfnod hwnnw a chrefydd y gwrthryfelai Dafydd. Ni fedrai ei ysbryd ymgymodi a'r ffurf o grefydd a gondemniai y byd fel lle pechadurus, a waharddai edmygu tlysni a thegwch, a gauai forwynion prydweddol o fewn muriau diffenestr lleiandai, ac a guddiai eu hwynebau o dan hugan hyll bryd bynnag y caniatai iddynt fynd i olwg y cyhoedd. Dyna gychwyniad cyntaf y deffroad mawr yng Nghymru, dyna yr ysbryd oedd yn ymsymud o'i mhewn yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg—ysbryd yn hawlio yr hyn sydd naturiol mewn crefydd ac mewn pobpeth arall. Drwy y deffroad hwnnw fe arloeswyd y ffordd i Brotestaniaeth feddiannu Cymru, er na roes Protestaniaeth chwaith yn agos ddigon o le i naturioldeb. Yn llonyddwch cyfnod Dafydd ap Gwilym, ac o dan ei arweiniad ef yn bennaf, wedi colli anibynniaeth wladol, dechreuodd Cymru feithrin anibynniaeth well—anibynniaeth meddwl. Ac wrth feddwl dechreuodd agor ei llygaid i weled fod y goedwig yn gangell gysegredig yn ogystal a'r fynachlog, a bod yr ehedydd a'r mwyalch yn addoli ac yn gwasanaethu Duw wrth delori yr un modd a'r brawd llwyd neu'r brawd du wrth hir-weddio ac ymprydio; dechreuodd gredu nad oedd ymhyfrydu yn nhlysni Anian ac edmygu prydferthwch gwyryf yn bechod yn erbyn Creawdwr pob un o'r ddau.

THE DATE AND PLACE OF BURIAL OF DAFYDD AP GWILYM.[1]

By LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, M.P.

By common consent Dafydd ap Gwilym is not only our greatest Welsh poet, but, with the possible exception of Ceiriog, he is probably the only one destined to take his place, once he has been "Fitzgeraldised", among the world's immortals. Welshmen owe to him a debt which they can never redeem. He not only reduced our poetry to form and order, but he revolutionised its spirit, he widened its range, and he cut it adrift from the conventions which shackled the free expression of early poetical thought. No bard that came after him but was profoundly influenced by that creative mind, that lively fancy, and that sense of the magic of style. In the Miltonic grandeur and austerity of Goronwy Owen, no less than in the easy lyrical grace of Ceiriog, we can trace the inspiration and influence of the Master of Welsh poetry.

With what neglect and base ingratitude has he been treated! He has been the poet's poet; he might be, if he were properly treated, the people's poet as well. We have no adequate edition of his works. Dr. Owen Pughe's Edition of 1789 still holds the field. Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans, we have been told, has collated all the known MSS. of his works, but he prefers to publish reprints of the *Black*

[1] Notes of the Address delivered by Mr. Llewelyn Williams, M.P., as Chairman of the meeting held at 20, Hanover Square (*see* p. 31), on 23rd February 1906.—(E.V.E.)

Book of Carmarthen to earning the gratitude of his generation by presenting to us an authoritative edition of Dafydd. No doubt such an edition would be superseded in time, if, by happy chance, an earlier MS. than that of the middle fifteenth century is ever discovered. But no service that Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans has in his power to render his country could equal that of making Welsh scholars and students acquainted with the authentic poems of Dafydd ap Gwilym. Dr. Pughe's text is obviously corrupt. The veriest tyro in the art of criticism can detect that some of the poems that go by Dafydd's name are not the product of his muse. There must be many genuine poems by Dafydd which have never been printed,—some of them, no doubt, of great interest to those who want to know something of the man, even if they will not enhance his reputation as a poet. Few and futile have been the attempts to render him into English. Hitherto English scholars have been indebted to George Borrow for their knowledge of the most original genius that Wales has produced. It is a matter for congratulation that Professor W. Lewis Jones has in the press a volume,—an amplification of his brilliant essay in the *Quarterly Review*,—which will, it is hoped, introduce our Welsh Dafydd to the world of English letters.

How little do we know of his birth and parentage, of his life, or even of the place of his burial. His poems teem with personal allusions. He was mainly concerned with himself,—his emotions, his loves, his sorrows, his misfortunes, his adventures. If he described the golden hair of Morfydd, or the dark beauty of Dyddgu, it was only because he himself had seen them and delighted in them. If he sang in imperishable words the joys of the woodland in May, or the mystery of the wind, or the cold chastity of the snow, or the inspired passion of the nightingale's song,

it was because they reflected some passing phase of his own emotions. He lays bare his soul, he gives us the frank story of his life. He describes to us, with all the ingenuous simplicity of a child, his own appearance, his thoughts, his actions. He is delightfully unconscious of his faults and weaknesses. He never stopped to analyse his feelings or to sit in judgment over his deeds. He was a man in whom Walt Whitman would have delighted, one of those who

> "Do not sweat and whine about their condition,
> They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins,
> They do not make me sick discussing their duty to God",

but they are of "behaviour lawless as snowflakes, words simple as grass, uncombed head, laughter, and naiveté." He was a "friendly and flowing savage".

With a little care and industry it would be easy to reconstruct his life from his own writings. What patient scholarship has been expended to worm out of Shakespeare's scanty references to himself something that would tell us what manner of man he was, where and how he spent his early days, what were his interests, his ambitions, his real thoughts. If a tithe of the discriminating ingenuity which has been largely wasted on Shakespeare were bestowed on Dafydd, we should soon know more of him than of any other mediæval Welshman. I offer merely a few suggestions, not in a spirit of dogmatism, but in the hope that they may stimulate others, more qualified by knowledge and more endowed with leisure, to pursue the subject, and rid us of the reproach that we, as a nation, are indifferent to the life-story of the most gifted of our race.

What was the date of Dafydd's death? Was it 1368 or 1400? In favour of the latter date, there is, I believe, no contemporary authority. Dr. John Davies, Mallwyd, who, though he flourished *temp.* James I, is entitled to great

respect owing to his vast acquaintance with Welsh literature and traditions, says of Dafydd in his Dictionary that "*floruit anno Christi 1400*". Dr. Owen Pughe improves upon this, and says that he "died, without doubt, 1400". What authority Dr. Davies had for his statement will probably remain undiscovered. Dr. Pughe undoubtedly based his on Dr. Davies. He realised the difficulties that would confront him if Dafydd lived after 1400, the year of Owen Glyndwr's rebellion.

The evidence in favour of 1368 is superficially more satisfactory. According to the *Iolo MSS.* Hopcin ap Thomas ap Einion o Ynys Dawy, who is said to have been living in 1420, wrote in 1380:—

> "Mil meddant trichant trwy ochain—irad
> Wyth ereill a thrigain
> Marw y bu Prydydd mirain
> Mab Gwilym gerdd edlym gain."

This "englyn" was taken by Iolo from a MS. in the Hafod Library, which was afterwards burnt. It is, therefore, impossible now to ascertain, by the judgment of an expert palaeographer like Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans, what was the approximate date of the MS. It may be possible, however, for someone, like Professor J. Morris Jones, versed in the history of the Welsh metres, to determine from internal evidence the date of the "englyn". For my own part, I confess to some scepticism as to the date. The "englyn" seems to me to be too metrically correct for 1380 or even 1420. It is more likely to have been composed after Dafydd ap Edmwnt had stereotyped the metre at the Carmarthen Eisteddfod of 1451. Nor do I know anything of Hopcin ap Thomas of Ynys Dawy; or of his date.

There is, therefore, no satisfactory direct evidence as to the date of Dafydd's death, and we are driven to try and discover internal evidence in his own works or in those of contemporaries or successors.

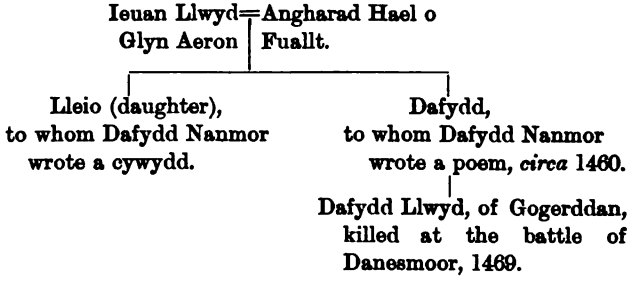
There are many references in Dafydd to contemporaries. Let me name a few.[1] Ifor Hael (poems 1 to 13); Rhys Wgan (99); Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd (234); Hywel ap Tudur ap Ednyfed Fychan, Dean of Bangor (228); Rhys Meigen (230); Llewelyn ap Gwilym Fychan (231-2); Ieuan o Fôn (229); Angharad Hael (233); Madog Benfras (147, 235); Gruffydd ap Adda ap Dafydd (236); Rhys ap Tudur, Harper (237); Morfydd Lwyd, daughter of Madog Lawgam of Anglesea; Cynfrig Cynin, y "Bwa Bach"; Gruffydd Grug; Dyddgu, daughter of Ieuan Gruffydd. This is not an exhaustive list: I have only taken a few at haphazard. If we could only fix the date of three or four of them, we would go some way to solving the mystery which at present surrounds Dafydd's life. Take, for instance, the name of the man whose name is indissolubly connected with Dafydd—Ifor Hael. Who was he? When did he live? We know that he lived at Maesaleg, which was one of the many mansions of the great family of Morgan of Tredegar. Years ago I tried to discover if there was any document at Tredegar which would help us to the knowledge of Ifor Hael's identity. Such a document does not exist. According to the *Iolo MSS.* and G. T. Clark (neither a very trustworthy witness on such matters) Ifor Hael died in 1361. Pughe, in his Introduction, says that "the father of Ifor was Llewelyn ap Ifor ap Llewelyn ap Bledri ap Cadifor ap Gwyn ap Collwyn . . . . The eldest son of Llewelyn ap Ifor was Morgan ap Llewelyn, Lord of Tredegar in the parish of Maesaleg; Ifor, the second son, was the Lord of Maesaleg, y Wenallt, and Gwern-y-gleppa. He died without heirs, and the estate went to his nephew, Llewelyn, son of Morgan ap Llewelyn . . . Ifor's mother was Angharad,

[1] *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym* (Llundain, 1789).

daughter of Sir Morgan ap Meredydd ap Gruffydd ap Meredydd Gethin, the son of Rhys ap Tewdwr Mawr."

Mr. J. H. Davies has, I believe, discovered some references in the Record Office which inclines him to put the date of Ifor's birth about 1335. It would be something to the good if Mr. Davies were to publish whatever he has been able to glean on this subject. In my discursive adventures into the unfathomable bog of our Records, I have not happened to come across anything which connects Ifor Hael with Ifor ap Llewelyn, or which helps us in any way in the investigation into Dafydd's date.

Dafydd's Elegy (234) to "Rhydderch" is said to be to "Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd". There is nothing in the body of the poem to bear out the heading. Until we get Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans's edition, we shall not know if the heading was suggested by a late scribe, or even by Pughe's ingenious fancy, or if it appeared in the earlier MSS. If, indeed, it be Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd, it affords a useful clue. We know something of this Rhydderch.



Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd was the owner of *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*, the oldest copy of the *Mabinogion*, now in the Peniarth collection. He was alive in 1391 (v. *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Ser., vol. ix, p. 300): he died, according to a note in *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*, in 1397. There is this reference to him in Lewys Glyn Cothi (p. 315) :—

"Iolo'n wir yng Nglyn Aeron
A wnaeth wers yn yr iaith hon:
Eithr y mab oedd athraw mawr
Ac i Rydderch yn gerddawr."

If, therefore, Dafydd ap Gwilym wrote the elegy to Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd, it must have been after 1397. But I should like to ask three questions about this "Cywydd".

1. Is it certain that Dafydd is the author? For my own part, I have little doubt that he was.

2. Is the elegy to Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd? He is only mentioned as "Rhydderch" in the body of the poem. "Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd" was a great patron of the bards, and his name was a famous one among the fraternity for generations. May not some copyist of a later age have for the first time suggested that it was to Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd?

3. Who is the "Llewelyn" mentioned in the poem? Can it be "Llewelyn ap Gwilym" of Emlyn, said to have been Dafydd's uncle?

"Pa dwrwf yw hwn, pryderoch?
Pefr loes! Pwy a roes yr och?
Llewelyn, o 'syddyn serch,
A roddes hon am Rydderch
Fychan, gerllaw ei lân lys,
Ffydd-frawd Rhydderch ddiffodd-frys!
Och Emlyn, ei dyddyn dig,
Galaeth mammaeth am ewig!"

But Llewelyn was killed presumably when Dafydd was young (231-232).

"Os marw f'ewythr, ys mawr—o ryfig
Aur aerfa Cymru fawr!
Nad oeddwn, ei nai diddawr,
Nad af y'ngwyllt—Duw fy ngwawr."

Is it not possible to discover when Llewelyn ap Gwilym, of Dolgoch and Cryngae yn Emlyn, flourished?

Another puzzle that confronts the inquirer is, who was Cynfrig Cynin, y "bwa bach", who was married to Morfydd, and who (according to poem 99) went with "Rhys fab Gwgan" to the French wars. So complete is the mystery that envelopes him that some have been driven to conjecture that "Cynfrig Cynin" was not his real name. But who, then, was "Rhys fab Gwgan" who went to the French wars? Is he the same man as the "Rhys Wgawn" who, according to the heading of the first poem ascribed to Iolo Goch in Ashton's collection, was killed at Crecy, and was buried in Carmarthen?

> "Yngo fy nghar yn anghudd
> Yng Nghaer fardd Emrys yng nghudd."

I have found no reference to "Rhys fab Gwgan" anywhere in the lists of the captains who took part in the French wars. "He went to France in 1369" according to Owen Pughe; but Pughe, as usual, gives no data which can guide us to a conclusion. There are two, if not more, men of the name of Rhys ap Gruffydd who figured in the wars. In Rymer's *Fœdéra*, one Rhys is said to have joined the expeditions to France in 1345, 1346, and 1352, and he is mentioned also in 1359. Possibly this is the Rhys ap Gruffydd who is mentioned in Carnhuanawc as helping Edward III against his mother in 1327, and is mentioned in the Patent Rolls, Edw. III, in 1328, as aiding against the Scots. But another Rhys ap Gruffydd, according to Rymer, was appointed to guard the Pembrokeshire coast in 1377, and was appointed to hold the Assize of oyer and terminer in the Midlands in July 1379 (Pat. Rolls). In 1380 he died, and his lands are given to others "during the minority of the heir" (4 Rich. II, pt. i, Pat. Rolls). Rymer describes this Rhys as "of Nerber" (Narberth). If Cynfrig was an Anglesea or Merioneth man, it is hardly

likely that he would have joined the force of a South Wales chieftain.

We are on firmer ground when we come to Hywel ap Tudur (poem 228) to whom Dafydd wrote "awdl o folawd", a "Song of praise". Hywel was Dean of Bangor from 1359 to 1370, and Dafydd refers to him as "gwr henaidd". We have it therefore that this poem was written some time before 1370. If Dafydd "flourished" before 1370, it is scarcely conceivable that he lived till 1400: for life was short in the Middle Ages.

But it is in the "ymryson" between Gruffydd Gryg and Dafydd that we find numerous personal allusions. Gruffydd is said to have "flourished" 1340-1370, but how Pughe was able to fix his date is not apparent. In any event, Gruffydd seems to me to have the better of the poetic tournament, though he was, according to his own confession, Dafydd's disciple.

"Disggbl wyf, ef am dysgawdd,
Dysgawdr cywydd heawdr hawdd."

According to Dafydd, he was a year younger than he "mewn gwaradwydd".

"Gwr iau ydyw mewn gwaradwydd
Mewn difri na'm fi o flwydd."

Dafydd is said to have been born out of wedlock. Is this a reference to the fact that both he and Gruffydd had both been born "mewn gwaradwydd"?

Gruffydd taunts Dafydd that he is not a Rhys Meigen.

"Medra bwyll, a mydr o ben,—
Mogel!—nid wyf Rys Meigen.
. . . . . .
A Rhys Meigen, rhos magawd,
Gwn fo las y gwas a gwawd."

This seems to be an allusion to the tradition that Rhys Meigen was so overcome by Dafydd's satire in the court of

Llewelyn ap Gwilym that he died. Rhys is said to have provoked Dafydd by taunting him,

"Mil trichant, meddant i mi—y ganwyd
Y genaw dan lwyni."

No doubt this is a reference to Dafydd's unhallowed birth, but can it mean that Dafydd was said to have been born in 1300? If so, it can only be the poet's license, in order to make the young Dafydd appear older than he was.

That Dafydd was a "plentyn llwyn a pherth" is almost beyond question. But it is curious that Cynddelw should conclude in his Introduction (p. 39)[1] that in "Cywydd yr Oed" the bard alludes to his own birth "under a hedge at Llandaff".

"Yn wir nos Wener nesaf
Yw nos Wener haner haf,
Genyf y mae, gwyn fy myd!
Ugain haf ac un hefyd.
Y dydd y lluniwyd Addaf
Y lluniwyd oed yn Llandaf:
Dan berth, ni wyr dyn o'r byd,
Yma haner fy mhenyd."

But surely this refers to an assignation which he made with his "mun" at Llandaff when he was twenty-one.

When the "ymryson" between the two bards broke out, Dafydd was no longer young and unknown. He had been hymning Morfydd's praises for ten years.

"Er deng mlwydd i heddyw
Dafydd a ddywawd wawd wiw," etc.

He taunts Dafydd with his loss of popularity in North Wales.

"Hoff oedd y' Ngwynedd, meddynt,
Yn newydd ei gywydd gynt."

The popular idea is that Dafydd, after once meeting Morfydd, remained ever after true "i'r fun o Eithinfynydd". He himself seems to lend colour to the belief.

[1] *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym* (Liverpool, 1873).

"Pryddydd i Forfydd f 'eurferch
I'm hoes wyf a mawr yw'm serch
Mi ai cerais im cerydd
Hoew loer deg er's lawer dydd," etc.

Yet, in the "ymryson", Gruffydd says,

"Trwm iawn yth farnaf Dafydd
Trist a fu Dyddgu o'r dydd."

And in the elegy which he composed on hearing a false report of Dafydd's death, he says,

"A synwyr cerdd naws unud
A gwae Dyddgu pan fu fud."

In his own poem to Dyddgu, daughter of Ieuan Gruffydd, "wyr cyhelyn" (12), he seems to imply that he was an old man.

"Ni'm car hon, fo'm curia haint,
Fe'm gad hun, *fe'm gad henaint.*"

Is it to be concluded that Dafydd came to know Dyddgu after Morfydd? or that "Morfydd" was only a fancy name, like Horace's Chloe or Ceiriog's Myfanwy? This would appear to be his own confession in one of his lightest, liveliest *cywyddau.*

Before closing these haphazard notes, I should like to draw attention to one other vexed question. Where was Dafydd buried? Was it at Talley Abbey, in Carmarthenshire, or at Ystrad Fflur, in Cardiganshire?

Gruffydd Gryg, in his "false" elegy, says:

"Yr ywen i oreu-was
Ger mur Ystrad Fflur a'i phlas
Da Duw wrthyd, gwynfyd gwydd,
Dy dyfu yn dŷ Dafydd."

On the other hand, Hopcin ap Thomas ap Einion in the Hafod MS., which I have mentioned before, wrote (in 1380 according to Iolo):

"Ym medd y gorwedd a'r garreg—arnaw
Mawr ernych gloyw ofeg
Accw yn ynys cain waneg
Lle uwch dwr, Tal-llychau deg."

But, as I have said, I suspect this and the other "englyn" to be of much later origin than 1380 or 1420. Indeed, the allusion to a stone on the poet's grave seems to me to convict it of a late seventeenth or early eighteenth century date.

Sion Bradford (d. 1785) quotes from *Llyfr Achau Thomas Jones, Fountain Gate* (written *circa* 1600) that Dafydd was buried in Talley. *Llyfr Achau* is now in the Cardiff Library. Can somebody who has access to the MS. verify Sion Bradford's extract? If so, it would prove that as early as the time of Thomas Jones, Fountain Gate, there existed a tradition that Dafydd was buried at Talley, and as Thomas Jones was of Tregaron, near Ystrad Fflur, it would afford some proof that there was no such tradition at the time in favour of Ystrad Fflur even locally.

In one of the *Mostyn MSS.* Thomas William (Thomas ap William) gives a "list of bards and their burial places". The MS. was written or copied before 1609, and it gives Talley as the poet's burial-place.

These are some of the questions which occur to one's mind after a cursory glance at Dafydd's poems. At present no final or satisfactory answer can be given to any of them. But enough, it is hoped, has been said to show what a fruitful field of enquiry opens before the Welsh student who is willing to devote some attention to the investigation of the life-story of Dafydd ap Gwilym.

DAFYDD AP GWILYM—A FURTHER NOTE.

By J. H. DAVIES, M.A.

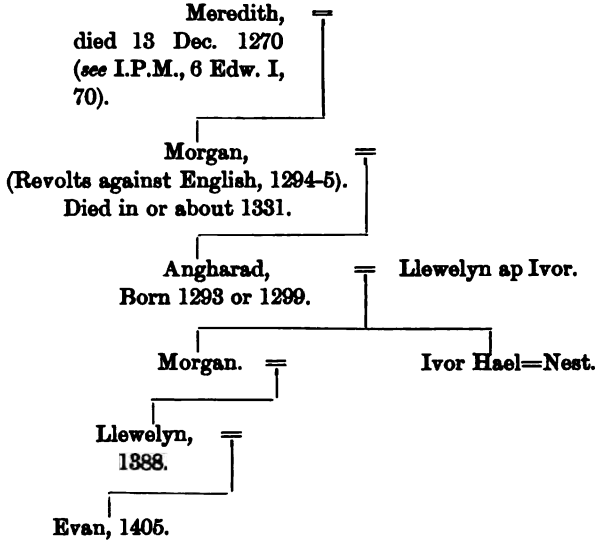
In consequence of the reference[1] made by Mr. Llewelyn Williams in the foregoing Notes to some data bearing on the history of Dafydd ap Gwilym, which I came across at the Record Office some time ago, I have been asked to add a few observations to what Mr. Williams has already written. In dealing with the poetry of the Welsh bards, it is often difficult to assign certain poems to one out of perhaps three or four contemporary poets. Thus many of the poems attributed to Dafydd ap Gwilym in the printed editions of his works were possibly not written by him, and any argument as to his history founded on such poems would be unreliable. As an instance of this let us take "Marwnad Rhys ab Tudur, Telynor", p. 474, in the 1789 Edition. For various reasons, which it is unnecessary to enquire into here, it is fairly certain that Dafydd did not write this poem. If he did write it, then he must have been alive in 1412, the date of Rhys ab Tudur's death. It is therefore of prime importance to ascertain what poems were really written by Dafydd, before we draw inferences as to his personal history and the period in which he lived.

It may be assumed that Dafydd himself wrote the poems which group themselves around the person of Ifor Hael, for not only does every scrap of tradition which we possess support this view, but the poems themselves reveal his master hand.

It is thus important that we should ascertain who Ivor Hael was, and when he lived. From Poem II it

[1] See *ante*, p. 60.—(E.V.E.)

appears that Ifor lived at Maesaleg in the ancient province of Morganwg, and we are thus able to identify him with a certain Ivor ap Llewelyn who lived at Maesaleg during the fourteenth century. This Ivor had an elder brother Morgan, and their father, who in some accounts is called Lord of St. Clears, was married to Angharad, only child and sole heiress of a certain Sir Morgan ab Meredith. I have failed to come across any contemporary reference to Ivor Hael at the Record Office, but there are still in existence numerous records containing references to his mother, his grandfather, and his nephews. The pedigree may be set out in the following way:



In an *Inquisition Post Mortem*, dated 10 Dec. 1331, on the death of Morgan ap Meredith, the jurors "being asked who is the next heir of him Morgan and what age they say that Angharad daughter of him Morgan is his next heir who is thirty-two years of age". In another Inquisition held at Carmarthen in May 1333 the jurors said "that Angharad

the daughter of the same Morgan is his next heir and is forty years of age". In a third Inquisition Angharad is simply said to be of full age. It will be seen, therefore, that Angharad was born either in 1293 or 1299.[1]

There is no reference in either of the Inquisitions to Angharad's marriage, a fact which it might be thought the jurors would be certain to mention. Even if Angharad was married at the time, and if it be conceded that she was born in 1293, her second son Ivor could not have been born much before 1318. If she were not married then he could not have been born before about 1335. Dafydd ap Gwilym was in all probability a younger man than Ivor Hael. If the title of Poem XII is correct, the nun he was accused of courting was Ivor Hael's daughter. If he and the daughter were about the same age, one could not on any hypothesis place Dafydd's birth earlier than 1340.

It will be noticed that according to the above pedigree Ivor Hael's brother Morgan had a son Llewelyn. This Llewelyn ap Morgan is frequently mentioned in records.[2] He was appointed steward of Magor on Oct. 3rd, 1388. He, again, had a son Evan, who witnessed a charter on 21 Oct. 1405.[3] These dates, as far as they go, are an argument for locating Ifor Hael's birth about the beginning of the second quarter of the fourteenth century. As a test of accuracy in pedigrees it is fairly safe to count a generation as thirty years, and applying this to the present pedigree we would find that Angharad, who was born in 1293, should have a son born in 1323, a grandson in 1353, and a great grandson in 1383. These dates fit in

[1] Owing to the distance from London I am not able to give the exact references to these Inquisitions, but they may be easily found by reference to the Calendars of *I. P. M.* for the period.

[2] *Pat. Roll*, 11 Rich. II, pt. 1, m. 7; *P. R.*, 12 Rich. II, pt. 1, m. 16; *I. P. M.*, 10 Rich. II, no. 38; *M. A.*, 1,166, 1.

[3] *Add. Ch.* 20,509.

fairly accurately with the known dates in the above pedigree.

Mr. Llewelyn Williams deals with the points arising out of the elegy written by Dafydd ap Gwilym on "Rhydderch" (No. 234). In Owen Pughe's edition this poem is said to have been written on the death of "Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd o'r Gogerddan". Now this statement is manifestly inaccurate, for Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd, who is frequently mentioned in the records, did not live at Gogerddan. His grandson appears to have been the first of the family to settle there. In the course of the poem the following lines occur:

"Pwy a roes yr och?
Llewelyn, o 'syddyn serch,
A roddes hon am Rydderch
Fychan, gerllaw ei lân lys;
Ffydd-frawd Rhydderch ddiffodd-frys,
Och *Emlyn*, ei dyddyn dig!"

There are two points to note in this extract: in the first place Rhydderch is called Rhydderch Fychan, and this Rhydderch Fychan had a "ffydd-frawd", a "brother in the faith", known as Llewelyn; and secondly the word *Emlyn* is used in Owen Pughe's version, whereas the manuscripts, as far as I have inspected them, invariably have not "Emlyn" but "erlyn".[1]

The word Emlyn was imported into the poem, as the transcriber thought the Llewelyn referred to was Llewelyn ab Gwilym Fychan of Emlyn. There is every reason to believe that this was not so, because, in the first place, if the reading "Emlyn" is inaccurate, there is nothing whereby to identify Llewelyn ab Gwilym Fychan with the Llewelyn of the poem.

In the second place we have a definite statement in at least one Manuscript (Llanstephan 53, p. 124) that the

[1] *Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru* (Edition 1773) has "erlyn".

Llewelyn referred to was one "Llewelyn Fychan ap Llewelyn Gaplan". The question then arises as to the identity of Llewelyn Fychan, and on turning to the *Myfyrian Archaiology* (Gee's Edition), pp. 340, 341, we find two poems addressed to him by Llewelyn Goch ab Meurig hen,[1] a contemporary of Dafydd ap Gwilym. From these elegies it appears that Llewelyn was the abbot of Ystrad Fflur, and that the bard looked upon Llewelyn and a certain Rhydderch[2] as his patrons. Of Rhydderch he says—

> "Rhydderch wrth hir-ferch ddigynghorfynt
> Rhi deutu Aeron ein rhaid yttynt
> Rhwydd rhag Llywelyn fo hyn o hynt
> Fychan ddiymgel echel uchynt."

It may be noted in passing that Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd lived at Parc-Rhydderch in the parish of Llanbadarn-odyn, on the banks of the river Aeron. He was "bedellus", or beadle, of Mabwynion in 1387, thus holding the chief official position under the Government in the Crown Manor adjacent to his home. The Welsh poets of the period continually refer to Rhydderch and his family, and his ancestors for many generations had been generous patrons of the bards. Rhydderch was certainly alive in 1392, as he is mentioned in the Patent Roll 15 Rich. II, pt. 2, m. 38. Whether he was the same person as the Rhydderch Fychan of Dafydd's poem it is difficult to say. I have not been able to trace Llewelyn Fychan later than 1381, but references to him will be found in 1369 (Williams' *Strata Florida*, p. 148) and in 1362 (Chamberlain's Accounts 35 Edward III). In the Great Roll of

[1] Iolo Goch wrote elegies on the deaths of Dafydd ap Gwilym and Llewelyn Goch (*Gwiethiau Iolo Goch*, pp. 310, 378).

[2] In the title of the poem Rhydderch is said to be a brother to Llewelyn, but there is nothing in the poem to give colour to this idea, and the titles of Welsh poems are frequently modern additions, and notoriously inaccurate.

Debtors (M. A. 1159, 14) of 23 Richard II (1399) one John was Abbot of Strata Florida, so it is probable that Llewelyn Fychan was dead at that date.

The effect of this evidence is to prove that Dafydd ap Gwilym, who wrote an elegy on Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd, must have been alive in 1392, and if the date of Rhydderch's death as given by Mr. Williams is correct (p. 60), he was alive in 1397.

The other point touched upon by Mr. Llewelyn Williams is far easier to elucidate. In the edition of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poems edited by W. O. Pughe (p. xxxiii) there appear two elegies written by Gruffydd Gryg on the death of Dafydd ap Gwilym. There is a tradition as regards one of these elegies that it was written before Dafydd really died, as the result of a stratagem on the part of one Bola Beuol.[1] The story is set forth in *Llanstephan MS.* 133, p. 1034. After copying all the "cywyddau ymryson" within his reach, the transcriber states:

> "Nid oes gennyf fi ond hyn o'r cywyddau ymryson a fu rhwng Dafydd ap Gwilym a Gruffydd Gryg. Mi ddarllenais fod dau ar hugain o honynt, ac yr oedd pob un wedi rhoi ei fryd na chai'r llall y diwethaf. Ac e ddaeth Bola Beuol ac a ddaliodd gynglwst a gwr bonheddig y gwnai fo hwynt yn gyfeillion ac a ddaeth i Wynedd ac a ddywaid i Ruffydd Gryg farw ei feistr Dafydd ap Gwilym ac a wnaeth ynteu Gywydd Marwnad iddo fo, ac a ddaeth yn ol i Ddeheubarth ac a ddywad farw Gruffydd Gryg ac e wnaeth Dafydd ap Gwilym gywydd marwnad iddo yntau ac yna gwedi deallt gwaith Bola Beuol a chlywed marwnad eu gilydd hwy a aethant yn gyfeillion ac yma y canlyn yn gyntaf Marwnad Dafydd ap Gwilym o waith Gruffydd Gryg,
>
> "Dafydd fab Gwilym ymmy," etc.

From this statement it is clear that the so-called "false elegy" is the one beginning "Dafydd fab Gwilym ymmy". Any person who will take the trouble to read the

[1] *See* 1789 Edition, p. xix.

"cywyddau ymryson" between Dafydd and Gruffydd Gryg will find that the elegy beginning "Dafydd ap Gwilym ymmy" is the natural sequel to these poems. To give a few instances, Gruffydd Gryg states:

"Dewiswn dduchan glanbryd
O ben Dafydd, brydydd bryd,
Cyn prydu ym, gloywrym glod,
O arall, angall yngod."

Again,

"Cyn ei farw bu gyfarwas
Rh'of ac ef i bu rhyw gas
Pwy bynnag, ddinag ddinam
O ferw cerdd fu ar y cam,
Maddau i'r prifardd hardd-faeth
Hoyw Dduw nef heddyw a wnaeth."

I have looked through Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans's catalogues cursorily for the purpose of finding out which of the two elegies follows the "cywyddau ymryson" in the various transcripts, and I find that in every case I have noticed the one beginning "Dafydd ap Gwilym ymmy" is regarded as the "false elegy".[1]

If this is the case, then it surely follows that the other elegy was a genuine one, written after Dafydd's death. This elegy begins as follows:

"Yr Ywen i oreu-was
Ger mur Ystrad Fflur, a'i phlâs
Da Duw wrthyd, gwynfyd gwŷdd
Dy dyfu yn dŷ Dafydd!"

Dafydd ap Gwilym was undoubtedly buried under a yew-tree in the graveyard of Strata Florida Abbey.

If Dafydd was buried at Strata Florida how is it possible to account for the englynion written by Hopcin ap Thomas ap Einion (who was certainly a contemporary of Dafydd's).[2]

[1] *Mostyn MS.* 160, p. 47; *Mostyn MS.* 212, p. 99; *Llanstephan MS.* 133, p. 1034; *Hafod MS.* 26, p. 100; *Cwrtmawr MS.* 5, p. 347.

[2] There are references to him in the first volume of the *Myfyrian Archaiology*, p. 340, etc. Bradley's *Glyndŵr*, p. 198.

The englynion are stated to have been taken from a MS. in the Hafod Library. There is no proof that the MS. has been burnt, for as Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans points out in his preface to Vol. II of his Calendar, twenty-nine of these MSS. are still in existence. The englynion do not occur in one of these twenty-nine MSS. The only suggestion I can make is either that the englynion do not refer to Dafydd ap Gwilym at all, or that they have been fabricated. A great deal of the material relating to Dafydd in the *Iolo MSS.* was undoubtedly fabricated, and it is impossible to draw the line between what is true and what is false in the historical sections of the book.

Mr. Williams lays stress upon the fact that Sion Bradford quotes from *Llyfr Achau Thomas Jones o Dregaron* a statement that Dafydd spent the end of his days at Talley, and was buried there. The *Llyfr Achau* referred to is not in the Cardiff Library. There is a book of pedigrees at the library which has been attributed to Thomas Jones, but it was written after his death.

"The list of bards and their burial-places" given by Thos. Williams may be found in many seventeenth century manuscripts, but it is clearly a late compilation, as it contains the names of bards who died late in the sixteenth century. As regards the latter, it may be admitted as *prima facie* proof, but it can not be considered as an authority of any value with regard to the burial-place of a bard who died two hundred years before it was compiled. The general conclusions I come to are that Dafydd ap Gwilym flourished approximately from 1340 to 1400 and that he was buried at Strata Florida. I hope to have an opportunity soon of publishing a more detailed discussion on the facts of the life of Dafydd ap Gwilym.

BALLADS OF WALES.

THE LAY OF PRINCE GRIFFITH.

BY

LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, M.P.

The boding clouds hung dark and drear
Above the waves of Llangorse mere,
While two wayfarers hied their way,—
The one a harper, old and grey,
Bearing with him his well-lov'd *crwth*,
The next, a tall and slender youth,
Whose stately mien and comely face
Betokened no ignoble race.

On every hand there met their sight
Grim traces of the Norman's might.
The kindly folk of Brychan's land
Were gripped in Bernard's ruthless hand,
While fair Glamorgan's wide domain
Was mastered by Fitzhamon's train,
And proud Dinevor's youthful heir
Lay hiding in some Irish lair.
The hopes of Wales had fallen low
And no one dared withstand the foe.
E'en Conan's son, Eryri's pride,
In slothful ease had still to bide.

Alone the minstrels fanned the flame
That purifies a nation's shame.
They sang of Arthur's Table Round
And of Avallon's mystic ground,

Where slumbering lay the Hero-King
Ready to life again to spring,
Surrounded by his armed knights,
And deal a blow for Cymru's rights.
They strove in deathless song to teach
The splendour of the Cymric speech.
They tuned their martial airs anew
And from them inspiration drew;
They bade the Cymry lift their head,
To let the dead past bury its dead,
And stand erect, a nation free,
As told by ancient prophecy.
And of the minstrels none so great,
None 'gainst the *estron* nursed such hate,
None strove so hard to lift the ban
As Morgan Hên of Pen-y-van.

Of Morgan's life strange tales were told
That blenched the cheeks e'en of the bold.
His father fell at Harold's hand
What time the Saxon scoured the land.
His mother, reft of home and mind,
Her husband's corse went forth to find,
And in a lone and darksome glen
Where lay the bleaching bones of men,
She died in travail, and her child
Grew up on whom no mother smiled.
No woman gave him of her breast,
With love of maid he ne'er was blest.
Close by his mother's unmarked grave
He found a dank and dismal cave,
Bored in the rock on Merlin's Van
Far from the ken of mortal man;
There he dwelt, a hermit wild,
Alone with nature, nature's child.

Who taught him in his earliest youth
To win sweet music from the *crwth*,
Or weave the songs that make the blood
Course through the veins in surging flood,
No one could tell, and all in vain
The curious asked of Morgan Hên.
He dwelt alone, apart from men,
Nor ever left his lonely glen,
Unless some *estron* lord or knight
Brought in his train war's fatal blight,
Then none so forward in the fray,
So ready with a warlike lay,
Or mix with sound of harp the strain
That lifts the heart as Morgan Hên.

The Van lay hidden 'neath a cloud,
Its glens dripped in their vapoury shroud:
The shivering trees, like spectres gaunt,
The lonesome hillside seemed to haunt:
No cry of beast, no scream of bird,
No voice of man the dull air stirred:
The world in ghastly silence lay
And darkness took the place of day:
The boldest shepherd lurked at home
Nor dared to brave the hideous gloom:
The sullen sun ne'er threw a beam
To gild the greyness of the stream,
Which tumbled down, in angry flood,
Past the cave where Morgan stood.

The harper, wrapped in reverie,
Gazed with eyes that did not see
Into the slowly thickening gloom
Which veiled the wildness of the *cwm*,

When suddenly a bugle-horn
Awaked the echoes of the morn,
And from the mist the lingering strain
On Morgan's ear fell once again.
While silent still the harper stood,
Loth to leave his poor abode,
Attracted by the fire's gleam
The lonely bugler crossed the stream,
And standing, startled and amazed,
Before the cave at Morgan gazed.

No manlier form, no nobler face,
Did ever classic sculptor trace.
The generous look of wholesome youth
Was kindled with the fire of truth;
The thoughtful brow, the stately frame,
The sparkling eye, so quick to flame,
Betrayed, in spite of manner bland,
The lifelong habit of command.
The stranger gazed in dumb surprise
At Morgan Hên's eccentric guise,—
The flowing locks in disarray,
The unkempt beard, long and grey,
The cavernous eye, the withered form,
That bore the marks of sun and storm,
The sheepskin habit, soiled and torn,
The *crwth* across the shoulder borne,—
A stranger figure did he seem
Than e'er was pictured in a dream.

Anon the youth advanced a pace
And spake to Morgan face to face,
"A stranger I", he frankly said,
"Who from my way have blindly strayed,

The mountain mist obscured my road
And drove me loth to thine abode."
Morgan scanned with piercing eye
The stranger e'er he made reply;
" Fair sir, I cannot bid thee share
My poor abode or lowly fare:
A summons came but yester e'en
To call me to a distant scene.
My mission will not brook delay,—
E'en now I should be on my way,—
If thou my lagging steps canst bide
Past Brecon town I'll be thy guide."
"I give thee thanks," the stranger said,
" Sweeter to me than food or bed,
Thy courteous pledge to guide me down
From this wild peak past Brecon town.
I, too, have tarried on this hill
Far longer than has pleased my will."

They started forth, an ill-matched pair,
The labours of the way to share:
The stranger strode with wingèd heel,
Nor seemed the journey's toil to feel;
While Morgan's lithe and lissom frame
E'en put his comrade's youth to shame.

The mist in vapoury circles rose
As if wild nature to disclose,
—The golden gorse of radiant hue,
The heather, fragrant with the dew,
The foxglove, flaming in the shade,
The trefoils carpeting each glade,
The mountain ash, the stunted oak,
Found slender foothold in the rock,

The silver birch and towering pine
Gave shelter to sweet eglantine,
While far below them in the sun
The devious Towy's waters shone;
—The prospect seemed, so wildly grand,
A glimpse at an enchanted land.

Each landmark served to wake some strain,
Some subtle chord in Morgan Hên,
He weaved brave tales around each spot
Of wars and battles long forgot,
Of knights who fought our Wales to free,
And ancient lore of chivalry.
He dwelt on legends that are told
Still by the mountaineers bold.
He told the story, ever new,
Of young Rhiwallon's love so true,
That made the Lady of the Lake
Become a mortal for his sake.
Each place throbbed with some romance
That cause the listener's blood to dance.
The youth in lively wonderment
The tedious hours of travel spent,
Nor recked that night was falling fast
As Brecon town they gladly passed.
Full soon they came to Llangorse mere,
They stood beside its waters clear,
And in the twilight, dim and cold,
This is the tale that Morgan told.

I.

"Savaddan the Golden, walled city of Dyved,
False to Prince Urien, and Arthur his lord,
Bribed by false Modred, third curse of Britain,
Drew on its *T'wysog* a traitorous sword.

Savaddan the Golden, walled city of Dyved,
Woe to thy people, a curse on thy name!

II.

"Merlin enchanter, third wise man of Britain,
Laid on Savaddan a direful spell,
Sunk the proud town 'neath seven fathoms of water,
That sprang at his word from a magic well.
Savaddan the Golden, walled city of Dyved,
Woe to thy people, a curse on thy name!

III.

"Merlin the wizard, third wonder of Britain,
His weird enchantment laid on the men,
Bade them assume the form of the waterfowl
That still haunt unquiet this mere and fen.
Savaddan the Golden, walled city of Dyved,
Woe to thy people, a curse on thy name!

IV.

"Still 'tis decreed by wise Merlin's enchantment
When Prince Urien's *etivedd* passes this lake,
The waterfowl fly, in sorrowful penance,
Around him, their Lord, their homage to make.
Savaddan the Golden, walled city of Dyved,
Woe to thy people, a curse on thy name!"

The minstrel ceased, and turned his eye
In sad and dreamy reverie
Upon the waters of the flood
That marked where once Savaddan stood.
A strange sight met his startled eyes
And turned him stark with dumb surprise.

As when, the sun sunk in the west,
A cloud springs from the ocean's breast,

And mounts aloft the starry sky
And dims the moon's bright ecstasy,
And in its wake its kin appear,
Scudding the sky so lately clear,
And turn it to a murky pit
Where wind and storm enthronèd sit,
Shaking their dank dishevelled hair
And rolling thunder through the air:
So now the fowl with raucous cries
Seemed to the bard's astonished eyes,
To mount like cloudlets 'gainst the sky
And form a moving canopy,
Flapping loud wings, above the head
Of the tall youth that Morgan led,
And high aloft, in azure blue,
The ravens of Dinevor flew!
"My lord, my prince!" old Morgan cried
And knelt in rapture at his side,
"Hail, Griffith, heir to Rhys's sword,
Dinevor's heir, all Dyved's lord,
The spell still works wise Myrddin's will,—
Dinevor is Dinevor still!"
The youth's eyes flashed, and in his mien
An added dignity was seen.
He stood revealed, the worthy heir
Of honours proud beyond compare,—
The heir of Rhys ap Tewdwr Mawr,
Of Howell Dda, and Rhodri Gawr,
Of Urien and of Arthur Great,
Whose sister Urien took for mate.
And as he gazed with love and pride,
His eyes aflame, old Morgan cried,
"To arms! my Prince, let Wales be free
Under her native sovereignty!

No more shall our distressful land
Groan 'neath the Norman's iron hand!
No more the Saxon tongue shall sound,
To our mute shame, on Cymric ground!
Unfurl the Dragon, my liege lord,
Win back our freedom with thy sword!"

And from the depths of Llangorse mere
Savaddan's bells rang sweet and clear.

ITALIAN INFLUENCE ON CELTIC CULTURE.[1]

By the REV. G. HARTWELL JONES, M.A.

The Italian and the Celt, in spite of their separation by so many leagues of land and sea and by nations intervening, in spite of the centuries during which they were estranged, in spite of the mosaic of motley elements that made up these races, and the chequered fortunes that each has experienced, still have, at the various epochs of their career, exhibited common characteristics and sustained a similar *rôle* in the world's history. Let us mention two of these natural qualities common to both. Sentiment is one of them. The Celt has been pre-eminently distinguished by this quality. He has always been marked by a delicate sensibility, a refinement of taste, a quickness of apprehension, a luxuriance of imagination, a sense of proportion, and an appreciation of form, elegance and grace. Such have been some of the plain and unmistakable traits of Celtic character. No less has been the devotion of the Celt to those branches of knowledge for which Nature has fitted him and the impress that he has left on the thought, especially on the literature, of his neighbours. For I suppose no one would venture to deny that the Celt preceded the "Anglo-Saxon", not only in the desire for mental cultivation, but also in the custody of learning and in an eminently characteristic zeal for its diffusion. Hence, Celtic influence, predominant in many direc-

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on 10th May 1906. Chairman, the Right Hon. D. Lloyd George, M.P. *(President of the Board of Trade).*

tions, is discernible in an alien literature, such as German. Antecedently, therefore, one might conjecture that the Celt, so soon as he found an inspiring teacher, would become at once an apt disciple, a ready instrument, and an ardent missionary of the knowledge that he had acquired. Such a teacher and such a field for his enthusiasm he found in Italy.

To say that Italy was a teacher of the nations savours of a truism. Through a happy combination of events Italy became a foster-mother of culture, and many causes combined to render her a centre of enlightenment and a metropolis of knowledge. Her geographical position, her proximity to the Mediterranean (ever the seat of culture), her extent of seaboard opening Italy to every foreigner, her heirship to the treasures of Greek intellect, her constant communication with the mysterious East,—all these circumstances conspired to make her permanently a depository of literary tradition and canons of taste and the starting-point of more than one Renaissance.

Next, it may be observed that the Celt and the Italian carried these above-mentioned qualities into the province of religion. This point is specially relevant to our purpose to-night. A close connection has ever existed between mental and spiritual refinement, and herein the histories of Italian and Celt present parallels to each other. Thus, just as an Italian Bishop, and indeed a long line of Pontiffs, felt a watchful and earnest solicitude for the welfare of the pagan Saxon, so the Celtic missionaries at a later time reciprocated the feeling and repaid the debt by their missionary enterprise in the Italian peninsula. Just as Monasticism, in the early epoch of Christianity, played a principal part in the religious developments of Italy, and the monastic idea passed from the Valley of the Nile, the land of its birth, to Italian soil and there germi-

nated and throve, so in like manner, although quite independently of Italy, Monasticism spread to Celtic Britain and assumed a like form in the Northern regions as previously in the Southern. Just as Pope Gregory despatched from the steps of St. Andrew's on the Coelian Hill in Rome an Augustine, so, long before this, a galaxy of luminaries—Patrick, Columba, and Dewi and their attendant satellites—had been engaged in evangelising the North and the West.

Yet, after all, the resemblances existing between the mind and the mission of the Italian and the Celt respectively, need not excite surprise, for these were due in a great measure to kinship. Kinsmen the Italians and Celts were, who in a era beyond definite historical investigation, had broken away from the parent-stem, who after an estrangement extending over a thousand years and after being moulded by a hundred races, intersecting and conflicting with some, intermingling and combining with others, yet had succeeded in living on and preserving the characteristics that they both inherited from one and the same source. So true are the words of a Latin poet that though "you may drive out Nature with a pitchfork, she will ever come running back again".

But while we recognize in both Italian and Celt the presence of inherent and inborn instinct operating in the same way, Italy enjoyed greater advantages than her sister country in the North, and was peculiarly favoured by a fortunate combination of qualities and concurrence of events. Italy was the spoilt child of Nature, and History co-operated with Nature in lending her importance, in transforming her into a centre from which artistic and æsthetic influence radiated. She has cast her spell upon various conditions of men in various ages, and the enchantment has remained undissipated to this day. The reasons

are not obscure. Her salubrity, her equable climate, the fertility of her soil, the richness of her products, the material splendour of her cities, the majesty of the Imperial organization,

"Qua nihil in terris complectitur altius aether,"[1]

the beauty of her scenery, the legendary associations that gradually gathered around her, the art of which she was the cradle, the literature that she nursed, the hallowed associations that clustered around many spots—all these considerations have united to invest Italy with a glamour calculated to attract and arrest as well the barbarian, the soldier, the scholar and the saint; in short, to make her at once a battlefield, a pleasure-ground, a resort for the pilgrim and a university for the world. The Celtic countries fared differently. High up in the misty North, within their sea-encircled domain, far distant from the Mediterranean, on whose shore the stirring drama of Man's history has been enacted, unaffected by the epoch-making events, but also secure from the succession of convulsions that were shaking the old world to its foundations, the Celtic races, thanks to their very secluded situation, were able to repay Italy in a tumultuous time and dark hour for benefits previously received, and to come to the rescue of a crumbling civilization. But this was as yet hidden in the future.

Meanwhile it is interesting to observe that there were three links between Britain and Italy which had not been severed. The first was the Army. Although Rome, paralyzed at its centre, was obliged to recall its troops, the connection between Britain and the Army did not entirely cease. The profession of arms must even at that early

[1] The Burgundians embraced the Roman religion because they were impressed by the fact that the "God of the Romans is a strong helper to those who fear Him". Socrates, *Hist. ecc.*, vii, 30.

day have possessed an attraction for our ancestors, and the glories of the Welsh Fusiliers at Alma and Driefontein, the renown of the South Wales Borderers at Rorke's Drift, and of the Irish Fusiliers at Quatre Bras and many another battlefield, have been foreshadowed. Many of our countrymen must have served in the Roman ranks, though their names have passed into oblivion. So much we might have imagined, and the facts bear us out. The inscriptions that have come to light from time to time in various parts of the old Roman Empire attest the presence of British contingents serving under the Roman eagle. Thus, Celtic soldiers were quartered in the following garrison towns in Italy, one at Camerinum, another at Firmum, a third at Pisaurum, and a fourth at Ariminum.[1] Nay, they are found further afield in Pannonia and Hungary, North Africa and Pamphylia,[2] where by a curious coincidence they would be brought into contact with their kinsmen the Galatians. Centuries before this time these latter had joined in a Celtic incursion into Europe—a favourite diversion of our ancestors—but, becoming separated from the main host, had settled down in the fruitful valleys of Asia Minor.

Nor Britons alone served. The Irish, or Scots, as they were then called, were distinguished for their fighting propensities, and we possess clear evidence in the form of inscriptions proving their presence also in various parts of the Empire, while St. Jerome is a voucher for the existence of an Irish legion or regiment in his time. The Saint, who is writing from Treves in North Germany, bears unequivocal testimony to their warlike qualities, and adds

[1] Orelli, *Inscr., passim.*

[2] Le Bas and Waddington, *Voyage Archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, iii, 332. *σπείρας βρεττανικῆς ἰ χειλίαρχον λεγεῶνος ιά Ἀπολλιναρίας.*

that their bravery was popularly attributed to the practice of feeding on human flesh.[1] This testimony is confirmed by witnesses from the Irish side. For when the Empire was in peril, and Aetius was entrusted with the task of defending Gaul against the Franks, Dathi, the High King of Ireland, led an Irish contingent in person to help the Roman general to repel the invaders from the Eastern frontier. He met his death beyond the sea. These circumstances, proved as they are by well-authenticated historical evidence, justify the assumption that in those turbulent times and stirring scenes, when Italy resounded to the tramp of armies marching from one province to another, the sturdy, thick-set Welshman and red-haired Scot fought shoulder to shoulder with blue-eyed Gaul, swarthy Spaniard, and olive-skinned Syrian, against the Goth, Hun, and Frank.[2]

The next link between Britain and Italy consisted in the common use of the Latin language, which was largely due to the diffusion of troops among various nationalities and the existence of a network of colonies throughout the Roman dominions. The Latin language became the vehicle of international intercourse, of the Roman administration, of officialdom, of commerce—not, be it observed, the classical style of Virgil or Cicero, but a lower, debased conversational dialect. There is in language a tendency to "phonetic decay" or corruption, which is

[1] *Epist. II, Adv. Jovinianum* and context. But the Irish had a higher opinion of St. Jerome. So great was his authority in the primitive Irish Church that any who disputed his word on Scriptural questions was regarded almost as a heretic.

[2] The arrival of the captive Caractacus at Rome, and the impression created by his bearing and his speech, are vividly described by Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 36-38. The story of Claudia (2 *Tim.* iv, 21) and the part supposed to have been played by her in the introduction of Christianity naturally possessed a strong fascination for Welsh historians, and

always operating, and especially active in a state of social chaos or transition, such as ensued upon the fall of the Roman Empire. The dialects of the unlettered classes became predominant. The barbarian intruders carried the process of corruption still further, and introduced a multitude of new words. Ultimately there came into being the *lingua Romanza*, out of which sprang the melodious Italian, the vigorous Spanish and the flexible French. But side by side with this popular *patois*, the masterpieces of Roman genius were passed from hand to hand; the *Georgics* and the Second *Philippic*, Horace's *Satires*, and Martial's *Epigrams*, would be perused and applauded on the banks of the Thames as on the Tiber. The Latin vocabulary also, in its turn, gained something by contact with Celtic tongues. Together with some of the Celtic customs and Celtic objects, the Romans adopted their Celtic names, and even some Welsh words were incorporated into the web and warp of classical Latin. The spread of Latin possesses an historical significance when it is considered that Greek, in which treasures of the intellect are enshrined, was destined to be forgotten during several centuries, and the tradition of intellectual culture to be conveyed through Latin. In this way the world was insured against the consequences of a loss which would have changed the character of civilization. The adoption of Latin as the liturgical language, and its spread into the remotest corners of the West, as for instance to Ireland, strengthened the hold of Italy on

they have woven a tissue of charming idylls around her name. There certainly was a lady of British birth whose gifts and graces were celebrated by the poet Martial in the following epigram :—

Claudia caeruleis cum sit Ruffina Britannis
Edita, cur Latiae pectora plebis habes?
Quale decus formae? Romanam credere matres
Italides possunt, Athides esse suam.

Britain, and contributed largely towards staving off the severance between them.[1]

The third link that bound Britain and Italy together remains to be mentioned, and has a direct bearing on the subject in hand. It formed part of the Roman policy to establish Imperial schools in various parts, and even on the extreme frontier of the Empire. Education was a department of government; schools were set up and professors endowed, just as soldiers were stationed and law courts opened in every considerable city of the East and the West. One was situated at Caerleon, in Monmouthshire. Indeed, respectful mention is made by the Latin writers of the schools in Britain generally, and the popularity of the movement betokens the same aspiration after culture in the Celt at that day that distinguishes him at the present, and has become a permanent Celtic attribute. The withdrawal of the legions from Britain in 407 was a serious reversal of the course of progress, and a blow to the prosperity of Britain, but it would be a mistake to suppose that the connection with Rome ceased altogether. Though denuded of her natural defenders, Britain clung tenaciously and proudly to her Imperial inheritance; in spite of the disintegrating influences that followed, the irruptions of wild hordes, and (worst of all) financial ruin that stared the Britons in the face, it was long before Roman civilization was extinguished.[2]

The series of cataclysms which followed in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, undid the work of the soldier and the statesman. Down came the black clouds of wild hordes from the North of Europe, the "Northern

[1] Cf. P. Frédéricq, "Les conséquences de l' évangelisation par Rome," in *Bull. de l' Académie royale de Belgique*, 1903, n. 11, 738-751.

[2] The popularity of Rome as an educational centre is attested by the *Codex Theodosianus*, Liber xiv, Tit. ix, 1 (A.D. 370).

Hive", as it was called on account of the successive swarms that emerged from that quarter of the globe, and swooped upon the plains of the South. Tired of slaying each other out in the dark on the outskirts of the habitable world, they burst into civilized communities like a tempest let loose, and spread havoc and devastation before them. Rome, heaving with internal agitation, was now sufficiently engaged in fighting for her own existence and saving the remnants of a tottering Empire. The outlying portions of that vast organization were left to their fate; adieu to intercourse between Britain and Italy; the very mention of culture was a mockery; the actual aim to exist was occupation enough for mind and body.

So passed away the ancient voices of genius and learning.

The centuries rolled by. After a long period of blank bewilderment in men's minds, so great that they firmly believed that the dissolution of the world was at hand, of widespread ignorance (alike of the clergy, the repositories of knowledge at that age, as of the laity), hope began by degrees to revive. The work of Old Rome was over: her laws had been upset, her civilization quenched, and her Empire torn into fragments. The barbarians had done all in their power to stamp out any element capable of recovery, and destroy every vestige of progress. They felt a joy in their work of destruction. Yet these self-same invaders became both instruments and subjects of a new revival. Under the influence of the Church they unlearnt their former ferocity and were vanquished by the captive of their sword and bow. Thus, after a weary interval, a re-action ensued, not only because of the recovery of the afflicted population, but also by means of the incipient domestication of the conqueror; and the introduction of this new and vigorous element recruited a

decaying civilization. To restore the lost treasures of Greek and Latin literature, and fan into activity the sparks of dormant genius, was no slight task, and in fact occupied generations; monk, clerk and layman entered into the work with rekindled hope and renewed vigour, and co-operated to spread the enthusiasm for antiquity. And what country so suited for a Renaissance as Italy, studded with emblems of past glories, intellectual triumphs, artistic and literary achievements, and strewn with the fragmentary monuments of ancient splendour? It was at this point, namely, the era of slow attempts at reconstruction, that the Celt emerged into prominence. He assisted in rebuilding the social fabric fallen into material and moral ruin.

The evolution of culture appears to have followed a natural law, and to be divided into three stages or periods:—

1. The poetical.
2. The scientific.
3. The practical.

To each of these I shall address myself in succession.

I.

First of all, then, as to the poetical stage. This practically coincides with the period during which the old order was dissolving. As to poetry, in this connection, without committing ourselves here to a definition of it, or trying to state its metaphysical essence, it may be said to address itself to the imagination and affections, and dwell in the realm of the immeasurable, the impenetrable and inscrutable—in a word, the mysterious. Poetry is the attitude or habit of mind that seeks to live in communion with Nature; it is the feeling of the child when he becomes conscious that he knows so little. Such a frame of mind was eminently suited to an age which may be

described as the childhood of that new world already arising out of the ashes of the old. Thus it came about that the care for culture was almost limited to the monks, and the monasteries became a focus for educational effort; so education partook of a monastic complexion. The times were evil. The ideal of monasticism is expressed in the conception of *beata solitudo* and the *sola beatitudo* which, as it was imagined, only the cloister could afford to the mind. The recluse's first consideration was to be quit of the world, to flee from the stagnant mass of squalor, famine and disease, that festered in the towns. He did not permit himself to indulge any dream for a distant day, to make plans for a future which might never come. It was enough for him to provide for his immediate wants, to till the soil, to fell timber, to meditate and pray, to raise solemn chant or soothing dirge, to toll passing bell, to count the monotonous beats of the pendulum of time. Such was the primary notion and essential genius of monasticism.

Let us return to the crisis in the intellectual history of Italy, and indeed of Europe, in the sixth century. Ruin and desolation had overtaken most civilized countries. What refuge was there for the learning, education and culture of the day, when chased away by the barbarian invader? What city or country could afford them the necessary protection, if they were not utterly to perish? Not Antioch, once the seat of a brilliant civilization, for there, too, the enemy was at the gates. Not hostile Constantinople, New Rome, whither the Emperor Constantine had transferred the government and administration. Not Alexandria, prosperous hitherto but soon to fall. But learning and culture did find a refuge, and that in the two sister islands, Hibernia and Britannia (Ireland and Britain). At that time Ireland was the wonder of all

people, by reason of her knowledge, sacred and profane. There, in the great schools of Bangor, Durrow and Armagh, learning had enjoyed an immunity from the havoc and ravages wrought upon her on the Continent, and had flourished. There the fugitive Muses were accorded an asylum. There the tradition of culture was maintained and learning was saved, and what the haughty Alaric or fierce Attila had driven out from the Continent meditative men in British and Irish cloisters collected, housed, and made to live again. This was in the fifth and sixth centuries.

The British monks thus bridged over the abyss: their services to culture did not terminate there. The mission of these two islands came to an end; the peace that they had hitherto enjoyed was not destined to last for ever, and at last misfortune overtook them also. Ragnar Lodbrog with his Danes began his descents on the Irish and British coasts; ruin and bloodshed marked his footsteps. Neither learning nor sanctity afforded protection; libraries and schools were consigned to the flames, yet not before the two islands had, so to speak, made their wills and bequeathed their system, tradition and professors to another rising power and imposing personality, who was destined afterwards by the fruits of his policy to exert so widespread and so beneficent an influence on European culture—that is, Charlemagne.

The interest now centres in Italy and the outburst of activity displayed there. A phalanx of apostles of Christian culture and dogmatic doctors passed over to the Pagan continent, and not only laboured in Gaul and Germany, but also extended their operations south of the Apennines.

At the same time it is not maintained that the inhabitants of these sister islands were at that day all

cultured any more than they were all Christians. The Monastic Schools were as beacons shining in the darkness, and the learned monks as voices crying in the wilderness. A re-action set in, and Ireland was again swept into the spiritual federation of the West, of which Rome was the pivot.

The position occupied by Rome is liable to exaggeration. Thanks to the primacy accorded to that See and the prestige that the church enjoyed as successor to the vast organization of the Empire (the very name of which, as we have seen, had awed the races on the frontiers into submission), she tacitly possessed two prerogatives which in course of time made possible a wider sphere of operations. The first was the *Appellate jurisdiction*. Under Pope Leo it assumed special significance and marked an important stage in the advance to spiritual supremacy.[1] Next, appeals for counsel or applications for advice tended to throw further power into the hands of the Papacy or the Bishop of Rome. Although resting on no "formal enactment" there was a custom, at any rate, of referring any debatable or disputed question of principle to Rome. That See took the precedence in point of age, and, as the church of the Capital of the Empire, served for a model. These formal answers were called *Decretals*. But we must guard against misapprehension. Originally the ruling of the Roman See was not binding, but constituted an expression of opinion, invited for the object of securing uniformity of practice throughout the various provinces of the Western Church. The veneration paid to the resting-places of confessors and martyrs offered another and a powerful inducement to

[1] Valentinian I and Gratian had recognized the Roman see as a court of appeal from other ecclesiastical councils of the western provinces of the Empire. This prerogative went back as far as the end of the fourth century. Cf. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 62.

visit Italy, and the prospect or hope of securing relics of the saints nerved the pilgrim to the endurance of any discomfort or danger. Relics were believed to possess a dormant, if not an energetic, virtue of supernatural operation. So much store was set upon the possession of them that the discovery of the tomb of an eminent saint caused far-spread excitement and often controversy, as, for example, the notorious contention that arose over the bones of St. Gervasius and St. Protasius of Milan in the year A.D. 386. Similarly other sacred places, churches, bishops, chapters and whole communities vied with each other for the possession of a fingerbone or cerement-cloth of a lesser luminary in the Church Calendar. What miracle might not be achieved by such media of Divine manifestation and graces! But the acquisition of a relic of the Blessed Apostles, whose remains rested at Rome, was an occasion of loud rejoicing, a badge of distinction and a source of wealth. Induced by so great a hope many cheerfully undertook the journey to the sacred shrines of Italy or visited Italy on the way to the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.[1] If we are to believe the testimony of ecclesiastical writers a cloud of Celtic saints[2] and confessors of all ranks crossed the Alps and Apennines in the earliest centuries, on their way through to Italy. It might appear from the elaborate details drawn from the imagination of these narrators, that there is a tendency to exaggerate with a view to a controversial triumph, but

[1] "Every man of note in Gaul hastens hither; *the Briton, 'sundered from our world'*, no sooner makes progress in religion than he leaves the setting sun in quest of a spot of which he knows only through Scripture and common report." *Ep. to Marcella*, in the name of Paula and Eustochium, xlvi, referring to Palestine.

[2] The difficulties of such an extended journey were not so great as might be imagined; the means of communication were various. St. Jerome's letters incidentally furnish evidence on this point. Thus in

there are also well-authenticated proofs of many of these pilgrimages at an early epoch. Towards the end of the seventh century the current to Rome set in strongly, the movement had assumed alarming proportions and was even discouraged owing to the dangers and inconveniences that it entailed. The ecclesiastical authorities were obliged to set their face against the rage for pilgrimages. The Anglo-Saxon Apostle of Germany, Boniface, in some of his letters strongly deprecates the exodus. These pilgrims, he urged, "were continually falling victims to the dangers of the journey or a prey to the temptations that beset their path". Occasionally the pilgrims embraced callings very different from what they contemplated in starting.[1] His testimony may be taken as equally true with regard to the Celts, who were not behindhand in devotion, and embarked on such an enterprise with enthusiasm. True, they had their sanctuaries or sacred shrines nearer home, and to these they flocked in large numbers. If we confine ourselves to Wales, Ynys Enlli, the Isle of the Saints, the burial-place of "twenty thousand saints", was one; Ty Ddewi was another; Sant Ffraid a third place of frequent resort; all three were hallowed by immemorial usage. But Rome possessed higher claims, and a pilgrimage thither was the height of the ambition of the faithful, fired with a hope of seeing for themselves the scenes of the charitable deeds of the good and great, their life-long

his *Letter against Vigilantius*, sec. 17, he speaks of his messenger: "My brother Sisinnius, hastening his departure for Egypt, where he has relief to give to the saints and is impatient to be gone." This active intermediary was constantly on the road between Marseilles and Bethlehem, and probably travelled by way of Sardinia, Rome, Greece and the islands of the Adriatic. Sisinnius's love of gossip and clerical news caused an estrangement between Augustine and Jerome.

[1] Boniface to Cuthbert, A.D. 745. Migne, *Ep.* lxiii, p. 765.

penances, the spots where they had sojourned in life and hallowed by their death.[1] Nor were the Irish slow to obey the call to Rome.[2] They flocked in crowds, and, as we shall see, some of them left a deep impress on Italy and memorials of their visit, which are treasured to this day. Usher[3] notices the "inextinguishable desire of the Irish to visit the relics of the Holy Apostles, Saint Peter and St. Paul." Of these was Palladius, the first Bishop in Ireland who betook himself to Rome to obtain consecration.[4] Of these was St. Finnian of Moville, who came over in the sixth century, became Bishop of Lucca and ended his days in Italy.[5] Of these in the sixth century also was

[1] "Roma semel quantum bis dat Menevia tantum," ran the adage.

"Dos i Rufain unwaith ag i Fynyw ddwywaith
Ar un elw cryno a gai di yma ac yno."

The poet Meilir (eleventh-twelfth cent.) in his *Deathbed of the Bard*, reflects the sentiment of his age: Fortune has smiled on him; he has received "heaps of gold and velvet" from princely patrons, but now he feels another impulse:—

"Mi, Veilyr Brydyt, berierin i Bedyr,
Porthawr a gymedyr gymmes deithi."

Still, he chooses as his last resting-place, the sequestered, untrodden, sea-encircled Isle of Saints—

"Ynys Vair Virain:
Ynys glân y glain,
Gwrthrych dadwyrain—
Ys cain yndi."

Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 14.

[2] Montalembert says that the journey to Rome or even to Palestine finds a place in the legend of almost every Cambrian or Irish saint.

[3] *Eccles. Antiq.*, ch. xviii, p. 521.

[4] Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 54, 298: Prosper, *Epit. s.a.* 431, *ad Scottos in Christum credentes ordinatus a papa Celestino Palladius primus episcopus mittitur.*

[5] His name in religion was Frigidianus, from which is derived the name by which he is known in Italy, Frediano. See G. Fannuchi, *Vita di S. Frediano* (Lucca, 1870); Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i, p. 794; P. Francatti, *Storia dei Santi di Lucca.*

St. Sillan, known in Italy by the name of St. Silao,[1] who died at Lucca on his return from Rome and was buried there.[2] But none exceed in interest St. Columbanus and his galaxy, like St. Attalus, Dogmael (or as he is called in Italian, Domiziale), Eogain (Egnano), Eunan (Eunoco), and in the century succeeding, SS. Pellegrinus and Cummian. Of these in the ninth century was Donatus, who as he passed through Florence on his way to Rome was taken by force, in obedience to an omen, and elected Bishop of Fiesole, Andrew, Archdeacon of San Martino and Mensola, and the Holy Brigid.

The Welsh, in like manner, were well-represented among the pilgrims. Such zeal might have been expected. A race which has always signalized itself by fervent faith, lively sensibility, an impressionable nature and romantic temperament, would feel drawn to a land around which legendary, historic and sacred associations clustered. The visits of saints, who were born in Wales or were naturalized there, are attested in a variety of ways. "Before all things", says Giraldus Cambrensis, "the Welsh preferred to lay their devotions on the Apostles' tomb." Among these Welsh pilgrims appear some notable names. St. Patrick, perhaps a native of Morganwg, certainly a Briton,[3] contemplated a journey thither in the early part of his life and accomplished his purpose at a later day. St. Cadoc and St. Kentigern, who were closely associated with Wales, both claimed to have made the journey seven times.[4] The visits of Pedrog, Beuno, Brynach, Senan, whose names are enshrined in place-names like Llanbedrog, Llanfeuno,

[1] See E. M. Fiorentini, *Vita di S. Silao, vescovo Irlandese.*

[2] Stokes, *Six Months in the Apennines*, p. 107.

[3] Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. vii, 17, 322.

[4] Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, vol. iii, p. 63. Bollandists, xiii Jan. Mackinlay, *Continuity or Collapse*, p. 56.

Llanfrynach, Llansannan, are merged in considerable obscurity. St. David is also stated to have visited Rome in the company of Saints Fin Barr of Cork, Aidan of Ferns and Eulogius.[1]

When we turn to ecclesiastical historians, Gildas acquaints us with the fact that he visited Rome "to invoke the merits of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, that by their intercession he might obtain from the Lord the pardon of his sins".[2] Others were actuated by less pure motives. Gildas throws a lurid light on the objects that induced some of these votaries to embark on this journey. After condemning the practice of installing traitors "in the chair of St. Peter", he proceeds to speak of "unworthy Britons who found a difficulty in obtaining their dioceses at home", because some people protested strongly against the traffic in church livings. He explains that intriguers of this kind, "covetors of such a precious pearl, delighted to cross the seas and travel over extensive countries after they had carefully sent their messengers beforehand". He has doubtless in mind simoniacal transactions countenanced at Rome.[3]

Although we must attribute some of these statements to party zeal and a desire for controversial triumph, it would seem that the description of a palmer in *Piers Plowman* would be equally realized in Wales as in England, and many a Welsh pilgrim might have been seen wending his way to Italy—

[1] Inde cum S. Davide Menevensi eorum se societate jungente Romam ad limina Apostolorum visenda profecti sunt. See Mackinlay, *Continuity or Collapse*, p. 15. A passing notice of St. David's pilgrimage occurs in Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. 1, p. 221, xxxi Jan.

[2] Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum*, O.S.B., tom. i, p. 142, Vita S. Gildae.

[3] Cf. Adam of Usk in the fourteenth century: "Every man who had wealth and was greedy for empty glory kept his money in the merchant's bank ready to further his advancement." *Chronicle* (ed. Thompson), pp. 245-6. (So did Adam himself, see p. 276.)

"He bare him a staff, with a broad stripe bound,
That round it was twined like a woodbine's twist;
A bowl and a bag he bore by his side;
A hundred vials were set on his hat,
Signs from Sinai, Gallician shells;
With crosses on his cloak, and the keys of Rome,
And the vernicle before, for that men should discern
And see by his signs what shrines he had sought."[1]

With such convincing evidence it would be difficult to question his visit to the chief pilgrim-resorts in Christendom—

"Sinai and the Sepulchre Holy,
Bethlehem and Babylon, I've seen them both,
Armenia, Alexandria and other like places."[2]

---

[1] *The Seven Deadly Sins*, 524-5 (edited by Skeat). Cf. Prologue, 46.

[2] The pilgrim movement was not confined to ecclesiastics or ecclesiastical writers, and swept in many personages, who, though themselves men of the sword rather than the pen, turned their faces towards Rome. Tradition tells us that from Strathclyde, Dunwallon, the last champion of the independence of the British remnant in that region, went to Rome and received the tonsure. From Wales Cyngen, Prince of Powys, and Howel, lord of Glamorgan, bent their steps in the same direction. Controversy has gathered around the name of another king, who was believed to have laid his bones in St. Peter's, namely, Cadwaladr Fendigaid. This famous but somewhat nebulous personage took part in the ineffectual struggles of the Welsh of the North and Strathclyde against Oswin. Geoffrey of Monmouth states that he took refuge in Armorica, abdicated his throne and retired to Rome, where he died (A.D. 687-9). This story really arises from a confusion between Cadwaladr or Caedwalla of Wessex who, it is historically ascertained, died at Rome about 688. His epitaph in old St. Peter's has been preserved (Fabretti, *Inscrip. Antiq.*, 1702, Rome, p. 735, No. 463) and is couched in laudatory language. There exists in the Vatican Library a protest addressed to the Pope by a Robertus Oënus, who, jealous of his country's honour, remonstrates against the ascription of the epitaph to Caedwalla, and cites a long list of authorities on his side. But our fellow-countryman might have spared himself the trouble, moderated his indignation and consoled himself with the reflection that Caedwalla himself probably had British blood in his veins, as his name *Mul* (half-breed) seems to indicate.

The popularity of these pilgrimages explains the solicitude on the part of English kings and princes to facilitate the passage of pilgrims, ensure their safety, and promote their comfort on their arrival at their destination. The *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* show that the Roman pilgrimage was recognized by law. Thus it is enacted that "there are three persons against whom, according to law, no-one is to be 'received or heard': the second is . . . a person who might chance to commit some act so as not to be able to obtain the communion of the Church of God, until he obtained absolution from the Pope, and if, after setting out upon his pilgrimage, a claim should be preferred against him, the plaintiff is not to be heard . . . until a year and a day shall have elapsed."[1] Hitherto the enterprising palmer had depended upon the charity of the religious houses on the road. Every monastery was open to him, and its occupants regarded hospitality towards pilgrims as a pious duty and a sacred obligation. A chain of such foundations stretching across the continent linked far-off Palestine with Britain, and the wayfarer lacked no means of entertainment, or the lack would be supplemented by the benevolence of the

[1] Vol. ii, p. 385. The etymologies of the words for pilgrim point in the same direction and bear unconscious testimony to the prevalence of pilgrimages in the Ages of Faith. "Pilgrim" meant originally "foreigner", "traveller", but the original signification of the word was narrowed down. Under the same category fall the Italian *pellegrino*, Provençal *pelegrin*, French *pélerin*, and Welsh *pererin*. Rome has left its impress in the following terms for "pilgrim" and "pilgrimage": Romeria, Romipeta, Romipeda, Romerius, and their derivatives in Old Italian, French and Spanish (*"chiamansi romei inquanto vanno a Roma"*, Dante, *Vit. nuova: "romero quiere decir como ome que va á Roma pora visitar los santos lugares"*. Diez, *Etymol. Wörterbuch der roman. Sprachen)*. So also the Middle English "Romerenner", "a runner to Rome". Even the Modern English word "roam" and its derivatives, though not from the same root, betray the influence of this idea.

faithful. But soon the kings took these travellers under their protection. Special interest attaches to the *hospitium* for housing English visitors at Rome. St. Jerome alludes to Britain and the hospital for strangers at the mouth of the Tiber[1] as existing in his day (the fourth century), and the first monument of diplomacy relates to negotiations for the protection of pilgrims. For at the end of the eighth century the Saxon Offa arranged a treaty with his rival Charlemagne, guaranteeing the safe conduct of merchants, pilgrims and others who were making their way in growing numbers to Rome. Moreover, Offa founded an *hospitium* to accommodate the English sojourners in the city.[2] Under the patronage of the Normans the Latin Church grew apace, and attention was still more drawn to the claims of the Holy See.

By the way, it may be asked, where are we digressing? What connection has this with Celtic culture? But let me reassure you. I have not lost hold of the thread of the subject; the pilgrim movement could not fail to exert

[1] Mackinlay, p. 41.

[2] So we learn from a Latin document in the Vatican, *Brevis narratio de origine ac progressu Collegii Anglorum in civitate Romana ab anno Dom. 1578, usque 1582.* This institution was subsequently remodelled, and dedicated to the memory of King Edward the Martyr. It was located in Trastavere, perhaps for the benefit of English sailors, either because that class especially needed such an institution or because the overland route was often rendered impracticable by disturbances in the countries through which passed the route to Rome. The *hospitium* was placed under the patronage of St. Thomas of Canterbury. It was afterwards transferred to the inner part of the city, near the *Piazza dei Fiori*, and endowed for the entertainment of pilgrims and the support of chaplains whose duty it was to officiate in the church adjoining and minister to the pilgrims' wants. As will appear in the sequel, it assumed great importance in connection with Wales. Here it may suffice to mention that the *Pilgrim Book* of the College records a succession of visitors from Wales. Dr. Croke's forthcoming book on the English institutions of Rome, in which he will deal with the *Pilgrim Book*, promises to be of unusual interest.

a marked influence upon the intellectual advance of Celtic countries by bringing two consequences in its train. Unquestionably these sojourners in Italy, the chief seat of culture and the centre of Western Christendom, according to the ideas of that day, affected intellectual progress favourably. The missionary system of the Celtic Church was a direct development of the pilgrim movement towards the Continent. For many of the Irish saints who set forth as pilgrims for Palestine or Italy, being profoundly impressed by the multiplied miseries to which Italy had been subjected, the moral and spiritual darkness of the regions which they traversed, and the need of religious teachers, either remained in Italy or returned to found schools and churches. Culture and religion then went hand in hand. The enthusiasm that they displayed in the face of formidable difficulties and depressing conditions compels our admiration, and forms a chapter in human history which demands reverential study. For while the surface of Europe was being agitated and sometimes convulsed by wars, invasions, and social disorders, the Celtic saints helped to keep burning the lamp of religion in the darkest day. But another and more direct advantage accrued. Apart from these enterprising spirits who threw themselves with ardour into their missionary labours, the bands of pilgrims who found their way to Italy year by year brought back with them stores of "spiritual treasures" and a mental equipment, in the shape of precious volumes, copies of the Latin Classics and the Fathers, of the Scripture Oracles, of commentaries, and other ecclesiastical gear.[1] But—more important still—they came back with ideas enlarged,

[1] Bede, on St. Augustine's Mission to England, mentions among the indispensable objects that he brought with him "necnon et codices plurimos". *Hist. Eccles.*, i, 29.

horizon widened, a taste for knowledge, a spirit of intellectual adventure, vision cleared by consorting with many minds, richer in experience, in discovery, in information, in the merit of hardships bravely endured and of dangers bravely encountered.[1]

Place beside the above evidence of communication with Italy, the following passage from the life of the Irish saint Senan, which, if it does not prove an intimacy with continental Christianity, adds weight to the evidence already adduced. "While he was on the island of Inis Cara, near Killaloe on the Shannon, there came a ship's crew of the land of Latium (*i.e.* Italy) on a pilgrimage into Ireland. Five decades was their number, all were perfect folk. These pilgrims before starting . . . placed themselves under the protection of one or other of the Irish saints."

The passage does not stand alone. Lives of the Irish Saints afford glimpses of Italy and especially of Lombardy. Thus we read, "Sechnall the companion of St. Patrick, was son of Restitutus of the Lombards of Letha, *i.e.*, Italy." His mother was St. Patrick's sister, Darerca. The passage runs as follows :—

> "A Lombard by race was Sechnall,
> Of a pure fierce race, whiteness of colour,
> Lombards of Italy."

Another passage, from Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, is interesting at the present moment, when the eruption of Vesuvius is fresh in our memory, and further shows that the monks of Iona in St. Columba's lifetime were in active

[1] The name of one of these itinerant monks, Pelagius, summons up somewhat sinister associations. A native of Ireland, or of one of the Irish colonies in Britain, he settled in Rome, and distinguished himself by his knowledge of Scripture and by his sanctity. But he afterwards developed views of his own, chiefly consisting of an assertion of the dignity of human nature, which brought him into sharp

sympathy and touch with their brethren in Italy. Said the Holy Man one day: "'A sulphurous flame from heaven has this hour been sent down upon a city of the Roman Empire, situated within the boundary of Italy, and nearly three thousand men, besides a number of mothers and children, have perished. And before the present year is ended Gallic sailors, coming hither from the provinces of the Gauls, shall relate these same things to thee.' Which words, after some months, were proved to have been true. For the same Lugbe (one of the brothers in Columba's community) going with the holy man to the Land's Head (Cantyre) and questioning the captain and the sailors of a bark that arrived, hears narrated by them all those things concerning the city with its citizens just as they were foretold by the Illustrious Man."[1]

This era of ecclesiastical education witnessed the rise of many stars in the intellectual firmament, of whom it might be interesting to speak in detail. Indeed, never in any age did personality wield so great an influence on human history as at that time. But we are chiefly concerned

conflict with the Church. Never a very active propagandist himself, he found a ready instrument for disseminating his ideas in Celestius, a Scottish monk, whom he attached to his cause. His life was largely spent in Italy. There is an anecdote told by a countryman of his, which throws an interesting light on Pelagius's origin and notoriety. St. Mochta, a "Briton" and a disciple of St. Patrick, had in his early life studied at Rome. It would appear that during his sojourn in the capital city, the quidnuncs of the day taunted him with his British faith and fatherland, because the heresiarch Pelagius had hailed from Britain. To which the saintly Briton retorted: "If for the fault of one man (*i.e.* Pelagius) the inhabitants of a whole province (Britain) are to be banned, let . . . Rome be condemned, from which not one but two, three or even more heresies have started." Pelagius, arraigned before several synods and before the Pope, was finally banished from Rome in 418, and from that date disappears from view.

[1] The reference is to *Citta nuova* (the Alvum of Ptolemy), north of the river Quieto, in Istria.

with movements rather than men, and two movements call for special notice.

The sixth century is remarkable for the rise of two great movements and two great centres of intellectual illumination in Italy at opposite ends of the peninsula. The first will be ever associated with the name of St. Benedict, the founder of Monachism in the West, whose rule, composed in the year A.D. 515, became, subject to modifications, adopted generally in the West. His work started from Subiaco; but it was at Monte Cassino, near Naples, that he laid the foundations of the vast organization that was destined in after ages to exert such a far-reaching influence on religious life in the whole of Western Christendom. The religious aspect of his Mission does not particularly affect us to-night, but the provision that he made for the mental exercises of his monks has a distinct bearing on the subject in hand. Though, strange to say, Benedict was himself so little of a scholar that St. Gregory the Great described him as being "learnedly ignorant and wisely unlearned", yet the provision that he made for giving his monks employment proved the salvation of learning in that age. He strictly enjoined the study of literature and the religious duty of instructing the young. At Subiaco and afterwards at Monte Cassino, the metropolis of the Benedictine name, he began the work which came to be regarded as the peculiar and proper occupation of a medieval monk, namely, that of copying, illuminating and embellishing manuscripts, or writing annals or chronicles of the simplest structure and the most artless composition. The Benedictines of a later day established a printing press and introduced the art of printing into Italy. Throughout the early history of the Benedictines the persistency with which they overcame obstacles, rebuilt their houses, when wasted with fire and sword, and began anew in their old quarters

or sought fresh fields, cannot fail to command admiration. The consequence was that from the century which witnessed the educational endeavours of Charlemagne, to the eleventh, education was practically in the hands of these "Black Monks", and the period has been styled the Benedictine Age. In course of time the Order made its way over Western Europe, and among other places to Wales. Under the protection and patronage of the Normans the Benedictines soon gained the ascendancy, sometimes by harsh measures, ofttimes by the adaptability of the Benedictine Rule, but always persistently advancing, until at last this Latin form of monasticism assimilated or supplanted local Orders of an earlier or an independent foundation. The Rule of the Benedictines received the Emperor's sanction, was formally adopted throughout his dominions, and superseded or coalesced with the Celtic monasteries which were organized on a tribal basis. But though the Benedictines gradually extinguished the native houses, they popularized themselves and gained hold of the inhabitants of the countries where they settled. Their advent was not an evil; they brought with them pictures, manuscripts of the Fathers and the Latin Classics, and founded schools. To them and their offshoots, like the Cistercians, was due the preservation of much of our literary lore.

While the disciples of St. Benedict were extending their operations, another torch was lighted in the North of Italy among the deep valleys and hills of Bobbio. This time it was an Irish monk, who had engaged in a like charitable toil, namely, Columbanus.[1] A pupil of the famous school of Bangor, brought up at the feet of Finnian, he had enjoyed exceptionable privileges. For the Irish schools had originally inherited the Roman tradition. St. Patrick, though unlettered himself, had made Latin the ecclesi-

[1] A.D. 543-565.

astical language of the Irish Church and had brought the Irish mind into contact with Roman thought, thereby opening up an avenue to the products of Roman genius. Columbanus was, therefore, well fitted intellectually for the self-imposed task. But to his mental equipment he added an inextinguishable religious fervour and soon made his individuality felt. Fired with religious zeal he flung himself into the work of restoration with all the enthusiasm of which his Celtic nature was capable. Italy afforded an outlet for his exuberant energies. Tradition records that at the age of thirty, whilst an inmate at the Monastery of Bangor, he received an inward intimation that his lifework lay in Italy, or as the narrators put it, "A voice, that spake to Abraham, get thee up out of thy country, and from thy kindred and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee". Nor was the Saint disobedient to the heavenly vision. Accompanied by twelve trusty companions,[1] burning with zeal like himself, he set out for the Continent. He established three monasteries in France and Burgundy. Still unsatisfied and unwearied he crossed the Alps, and the year 595 found him at Milan combating the heresy of the Arians and especially bending his energies to the task of recalling to the Faith the Lombards, who were tainted with that pernicious error. His biographer Jonas speaks of a book that he wrote here, a book of "abounding knowledge" (*florentis scientiae*), which had apparently a wide vogue in Italy, but has not come down to us.[2] His efforts were crowned by the conversion of the King of the Lombards, Aigulph by name, who held him in high esteem and desired him to remain and stamp out the expiring embers of Arianism. Columbanus yielded to his importunity and spent the rest of his days in Italy. The King presented

[1] Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.*, annot. 6. [2] C. xxix.

him with the Basilica of St. Peter at Bobbio, high up in the Apennines, which welcomed many a Celtic saint and pilgrim. Some of his original followers were British by birth or naturalisation. As at Bangor-is-y-coed and other monasteries of the ancient Cymric Church, so at Bobbio, in the savage recesses of the mountains, many Welshmen from Wales and Welshmen from Strathclyde, caught by the enthusiasm and fired by the example of Columbanus, came to spend the remainder of their days there.[1] This far-famed house was no exception to the rule that enjoined a strict mental exercise. Of the evidences of their activity displayed there, we have no time to speak in detail. St. Columbanus himself set the example; sermons, tracts, epistles and hymns (a favourite mode of composition with Irish saints) emanated from this source.[2]

The monks were kept "as busy as bees" (says an old writer) and we might try to obtain a glimpse of them. I do not vouch for the historical accuracy of the following description of daily routine in this hive of Christian activity, but it is certainly in keeping with the spirit of monasticism, whether in Wales, Ireland, or Italy. Enter then, in imagination, the *Scriptorium* or writing-room of the monastery of Bobbio or Monte Cassino, and picture the inmates, Irish and Welsh, with a sprinkling of others—for the founders made no distinction of races in their ecumenical work—engaged in copying manuscripts, binding, rubricating, decorating, under the superintendence of the *Cantor*, or librarian, Brother Celestinus; a strict superin-

[1] At Bobbio may be seen frescoes relating to St. Columbanus, and the tombs of Bishop Cummian, Bishop Attala, and other followers of the saint.

[2] *Thesaurus Palaeo-Hibernicus*, by W. Stokes and Strachan, vii, 40. Lovers of romance will remember Barrili's *Le confessioni di Fra Guilberto*, which is based on the supposed discovery of a manuscript at Bobbio.

tendent he was, a very Rhadamanthus and a regular bookworm as well, who would remain in the library for days together. Dead silence reigned while he was there. He used to say "a monastery without a library is no better than a castle without an armoury". No one could escape his watchful eye. He insisted on the copyists taking the utmost care of the manuscripts, because they were more precious than "fine gold", and any maltreatment of his favourites caused him poignant anguish. One day the Cantor came upon Brother Benignus putting straws between the leaves to mark where he was leaving off. The Cantor was appalled. Said he: "That means death to the poor things; the book hasn't a stomach to digest the straws; they swell and rot." He surprised Brother Einion, sleeping with his head on the volume in front of him, and almost danced with rage, as far as it was consistent with the dignity of a Cantor. Just as Brother Seraphinus was reaching a book from the chest, a wasp lighted on his hand, and what should he do but drop the precious manuscript. Meugan was caught cutting the borders of a manuscript to make writing material for a letter. This almost drove the Cantor mad. A brother named Pacifico committed a heinous offence. Actually he had the effrontery to lend a book to a layman, who pretended he could read, and was all the while holding it upside down. Brother Eleutherius sinned grievously. He had been suspected of leanings towards the world outside, and (would you believe it?) one day, forgetting his holy company he swore aloud, saying, "Hang this quill", or something equally shocking, and the words came quite glibly and naturally! The brethren were electrified, and stared at the offender, exchanged glances, then looked towards the Cantor. Thereupon the Cantor was filled with indignation. "O son of Belial", qouth he, "why

swearest thou like a layman? where dost thou expect to go to?" He received pardon this time, but his presumption cost him dear; for soon after he died, and the Cantor said, "*Nid hir y ceidw y diawl ei was.*" There we will leave the monks at their employment, year in and year out, of carefully looping their l's, or shaping elaborate capitals, or embellishing title pages with fantastic figures and grotesque monsters, till at length each in turn is called away from his task, drops his pen and is gathered to his brethren under the shadow of the old abbey.

The Spirit of the Great Reformer Columbanus lived after him, and of the number of Irish manuscripts which at the end of the dissolution of the establishment were scattered abroad, a remnant now repose in the libraries at Turin, Milan, Vercelli, Florence, Naples, Rome and Vienna. Some of them were written in Ireland, like the ancient Antiphonary of the eighth century from Bangor; others, written or annotated at Bobbio, survive to this day to attest at once the former wealth of the library at Bobbio and the enthusiasm for knowledge which this Celtic scholar had infused into his followers. And the Benedictines had not allowed the tradition to die out; the new comers added to the store of "rich treasures and precious volumes", as an old writer tells us. Of these the most famous was the Muratorian fragment, now preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan.

The two monastic houses that we have been describing, that is to say, those at Monte Cassino and Bobbio, paved the way for further development, a fresh stage in the evolution of culture, of which the issues were destined to be momentous. The inaugurator was no other than Charlemagne. The movement began in the eighth century. This enlightened and far-seeing monarch, the commanding figure of his age and the subject of a hundred legends,

initiated it at a time when literature was at a low ebb. Though he was not destined to live to see the fruit of his labours, he imparted an incalculable impulse to intellectual progress by establishing a system of schools, which, while retaining their ecclesiastical tone and character—an inevitable necessity at that day—were yet to be an advance on their predecessors. He devoted special attention to Lombardy, and the establishment of public schools in that province was pregnant with results.[1]

The death of Charlemagne, however, which occurred in 814, checked the progress of the movement. Unrestrained barbarity on the one hand and simony on the other succeeded in stifling the spirit of reform and suspending intellectual activity, so that things were at a standstill till the year 825. The Emperor Lothair, true to his great ancestor's ideal, animated by a like desire for the spread of culture, issued an edict to the following purport: "As regards true teaching, which through the extreme carelessness and indolence of certain superiors is on all sides shaken to its foundations, it has pleased us that all should observe that which we have established." He decreed the establishment of a central seat of learning at Pavia, to which subordinate schools at Milan, Vercelli, Tortona, Lodi, Acqui, Bergamo, Novara, Genoa, Asti, Como, should be affiliated. And what better instrument to execute his will than another Celt, Dungal? Under Dungal's rule Pavia became a nurse and training-ground for theology, jurisprudence, literature and medicine, and moreover, an interesting fact, many English of note like Lanfranc,

[1] His earliest educational measures hardly fall within the scope of our enquiry, for though Clemens and Albinus, whom the Emperor employed to further his policy, may be claimed as the joint products of the Celtic and Saxon Schools, their connection with Celtic culture was indirect.

Archbishop of Canterbury, were educated there. The School of Pavia, with its dependencies and institutions, was the forerunner of educational establishments on a larger and more ambitious scale at Verona and Rome in the tenth century, and at Milan, Parma, Modena, Siena and Rome in the eleventh.

The Universities were now at the door, and their entrance marks a momentous stride, viz., the beginning of the scientific period, which forms our second section. Science now supersedes poetry; poetry becomes ancillary to science.

II.

The old educational system, with its usual accompaniments, the unambitious teacher of the Benedictine and Columban type, his undisputatious methods, his unexciting studies, was well suited to its time and place. Excellently did these instructors fulfil their meritorious mission. But the times were changed; the instructors of the future were called by the exigencies of the new age to quit the tranquil creeks and safe waters on the coast for the currents and cross-currents of thought, and steer for the open sea; for new forces had come into being, were making themselves felt, and demanded new methods. The system of studies, therefore, underwent a revolution. The old methods, while not entirely abolished, were subordinated to the new-fangled fashions. Theology and the Philosophy that underlies all religion, rather than the forms in which Theology and Philosophy are enshrined, these now began to engage attention. Scholasticism had come, and soon rose into favour. For a time at least it eclipsed its predecessors, pure poetry and pure literature, in public estimation.

This revival, which began as early as the eleventh century, brought in its train far-reaching consequences.

They will become clearer, as we proceed. Meantime it may be well to point out the causes that contributed to swell the current. Of these causes the Crusades were not the least important. The seventh and last Crusade came to an end in the thirteenth century and was synchronous with the intellectual awakening due to the rapid rise of the new studies. Indeed all the Crusades co-operated in a very direct and decisive manner, since they operated in the direction of an enfranchisement of the human mind from the trammels of traditional principles and methods by opening the gates of the East and familiarizing the Westerns with two civilizations richer and more advanced than their own, namely, the Greek and Saracenic. The Welshmen, not a few, who were swept into the movement, were keenly alive, as will appear in the sequel, to these fresh intellectual influences; these felt their vision widened and their ideas enlarged; even those who remained at home could not remain unaffected; they listened with wonder, and passed from mouth to mouth the tales and traditions of the storied Orient.

Another movement, connected with the Crusades, communicated an immense stimulus to intellectual pursuits and was fraught with far-reaching results. This was due to the rediscovery of the Aristotelian writings, which were introduced into Europe partly through the agency of a monk, a Celtic monk too. These writings had fallen into neglect with the decline and final suppression of philosophy in the time of Justinian. But they found zealous patrons in Persia. Afterwards, the Arab conquerors appointed translators, who rendered the whole works into Arabic. It was in the middle of the thirteenth century, *i.e.*, after the last Crusade, that the Greek philosopher's writings were finished. The year immediately following the translation witnessed an extraordinary revival of interest in Aristotle

and a wide extension of the influence of the Aristotelian philosophy or methods. The subjects that formed the staple of scholasticism have in a great measure lost their interest for us; some of the points of hot dispute then are now viewed as axiomatic truths, or relegated to the limbo of exploded errors. Therefore I do not propose dwelling upon them. The personal element, however, enters here, and I might say something of the Celts that bore a leading part in the controversies that raged for at least two centuries and rent the theological world asunder. The irrepressible Scot (*i.e.*, Irishman) was ubiquitous; lecture halls and other arenas of debate rang with his voice. It has ever been the singular and somewhat pathetic lot of Irish genius, and at the same time it is a tribute to its calibre, to have achieved its most brilliant triumphs outside Ireland. This was the case in the age of which we are speaking, and indeed from the eight century onwards the Scot found fullest scope for his intellectual acumen and subtlety of thought in foreign countries. The Irish Scots are mentioned by an ancient writer as "renowned for wisdom", and by another as a "herd of philosophers".[1] Irish monk was almost a synonym for philosopher, and Ireland the very home of speculation. A natural independence of mind, combined with the seductiveness of the new science, often carried away these Scottish thinkers. They incurred consequently the displeasure or provoked the jealousy of their contemporaries and they were publicly pilloried or censured. What Clement, Samson and Virgil were in the seventh century, that and much more were John Scotus Erigena (a son of Erin, as his name clearly denotes), Mamnon, Macarius and Patrick (presumably another native of the Emerald Isle) in the fourteenth. These wrote their names large in the scroll of Fame.

[1] Heric of Auxerre; Brucker, *Philos.*, t. iii, p. 574.

It is in no degree disrespectful to our Welsh ancestors to assign the palm in this province of thought at that day to the Scots, for, as we have seen, they were pre-eminently the philosophers of the age. But the Scots did not maintain undisputed possession of the Schools; the Welsh were also represented, and well represented, among these intellectual gladiators. Time would fail me were I to enter into particulars regarding their history, and I can only say, in reference to all of them, that I have recently had an opportunity of seeing how widely their treatises or tracts were circulated in Italy during the Middle Ages.[1] Welshmen were not lacking to throw down or take up the gauntlet in debate. Such, in the thirteenth century, was Joannes Wallensis (John of Wales), a celebrated canon lawyer who taught at Bologna and wrote glosses. Such was Thomas Wallensis, the "enemy of monks", a Franciscan, who was well-known on the Continent. Lord Bacon ranks him among the wise men of old, who studied foreign languages and knew the value of philology (*i.e.*, literature). Such was the Franciscan John Waleys. He enjoyed a high reputation, and his works were frequently reprinted at the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth. We have yet another famous Welshman in the person of Thomas Wallensis, the Dominican, a voluminous writer for that age. Though born in London he was a Welshman by descent. In 1305 he was created Cardinal of S. Sabina, and seems to have spent the rest of his life at the Papal Court. In 1310 he was commissioned to dispute with the Franciscan Petrus Johannes Olivi. Another such was his namesake Thomas Wallensis, the Dominican. In

[1] The works of these Wallenses are frequently found in Italy, for example, among the books and manuscripts of the old monasteries of Santa Maria Novella, Vallambrosa, and others, which have now been transferred to the libraries in Florence.

1333 he argued on a certain doctrine before the Cardinals who were then residing at Avignon with the exiled Pope. He was charged with heresy by two Franciscans. This led to his imprisonment in the Inquisitors' prison, and his treatment led to a long correspondence between the Pope, Philip VI, and the University of Paris. Ultimately he was released. He had now gained his point. The Pope had endorsed his view. There is a full account of his trial in the University Library at Cambridge, and in the Vatican there is a document extant in which he speaks of himself as "old, paralysed and destitute". Among his many works is a treatise on the art of composing sermons, addressed to the Bishop of Palermo. The list is not yet exhausted. Laurentius Wallensis or Frater Laurentius Brito, Philippus Wallensis, Frater Johannes Went, were also men of note in the Middle Ages.

We may not suppose that Welshmen resident or sojourning in Italy were entirely taken up with discussions on Nominalism and Realism, all-absorbing and all-important as these disputes were in the eyes of that age; or again with the famous question over which many crossed swords: "How many angels could dance together on the point of a needle?" They were not all of a scientific turn of mind, not all philosophers, not all grammarians. Life had its lighter side. Other arts and sciences, which had risen to notice, gravitated towards Italy and combined to render Italy itself a World's University—for a country, as well as a college or colleges, may furnish all the essential elements of a University. The very word University implies, in its elementary idea, the assembling together of strangers through a wide extent of country, a collection of teachers and learners from every quarter, for the communication and circulation of thought by means of a personal intercourse.[1]

[1] Newman, *Historical Sketches*, iii, 6.

Italy afforded these advantages in an eminent degree. It is in Italy that the interest of that complex movement called the Renaissance, that reached its high-water mark in the fifteenth century, lies in the main. The decline of "New Rome" and the Byzantine Empire generally, the fall of Constantinople before the Turks in 1453, the bequest to Rome of the masterpieces of Greek genius, the rise of various cities and states, like Florence and Venice, to be centres of light and leading, the impulse afforded to the Fine Arts by the munificence of noble families and princely patrons, who vied with each other in the embellishment of their buildings, the competition of craftsmen and the stimulus communicated to talent, the play of genius, fancy, care for physical beauty, the worship of the body, wit, grace and invention—all these considerations co-operated in the result. To Italy, therefore, flocked aspirants after culture from all parts of the civilized world.

The attractions of Italy were reinforced by political events in England. Such an event occurred in the fifteenth century. Owen Glyndwr's negotiations with Charles VI of France and his recognition of Benedict XIII against his rival Innocent, cemented the relations between Wales and Italy. Henceforward the Welsh Bards garnished their war-songs with appeals to St. Peter's Seal to aid their just cause, and invocations of the benediction of the Apostolic See. This organized combination of forces provoked reprisals on the part of the Crown, which, considering the terms of some of Glyndwr's overtures to the French King and the Pope, were not surprising. Thus one proposal ran: "That Henry of Lancaster should be branded and tortured in the usual form" for his acts of sacrilege, and "that full remission of sins should be granted to those who took up arms against the usurper".

Be that as it may, the ill success of Glyndwr's military enterprise dissolved the fair fabric of his dream, namely a National University and a National Church. This reversal of his hopes involved serious consequences to the intellectual life of Wales. Among other projects Owen Glyndwr entertained the idea of founding two universities for Wales, one in the North, the other in the South;[1] but it proved abortive; the hopes raised in that generation were rudely shattered by a stab at the very vitals of Wales. For on the failure of the insurrection Henry IV and his counsellors proceeded to remorseless retaliation. They conceived that the best way of crushing the spirit of Wales was by crippling its youth, thus poisoning the springs of national life, and postponing for generations the realization of Welshmen's educational ideals. Accordingly, in pursuance of his schemes, he denied them the privilege of higher education. The result was that many a young Welshman of the day, who aspired after culture, as all Welshmen do, was compelled to seek it on foreign shores. Then began an exodus towards the Continent which was for a long time uninterrupted.

The upheaval of the Reformation swelled the number of emigrants. Many went into exile for conscience sake. Some of these votaries of knowledge exhibit remarkable instances of a combination of religious conviction, intellectual interest and patriotic zeal.

The name of Gruffydd Roberts, who flourished about the year 1570, is familiar to us. He betook himself to the University of Siena to study medicine. But he did not forget his native land, nor did his departure from Wales diminish his desire to serve it. On the contrary his patriotism was accentuated by exile. In 1567 he published his Welsh Grammar, and those who have seen one

[1] Cf. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV*, p. 313.

of the two copies extant will recall some of the sentiments expressed in the Preface, where he mentions his reasons for undertaking the task. The whole is a salutary rebuke to the tribe of Dic Sion Dafyddion and ought to find a responsive chord in every Welshman's breast. In 1585 he reappears as the author of another Welsh volume, a Roman Catholic manual, entitled, *Y Drych Christiongawl*, which was published at Rouen under the direction of Roberts's fellow-countryman, Rossier Smith. Sion Dafydd Rhys, another Welshman, found his way to Siena and graduated also in the faculty of medicine there. He afterwards became public moderator of the school at Pistoja, and published two Latin treatises at Venice and Padua respectively. His residence in foreign countries did not cool his patriotic ardour; he also published a Welsh Grammar, which saw the light in 1588. In course of time he returned to his native country and followed his profession near Brecon. These names are comparatively well-known, and therefore I refrain from expatiating upon them, but I may enlarge upon one man who evidently enjoyed a great reputation in his day, namely, William Thomas, Clerk of the Council to Edward VI. He tells us himself that in 1544 he was "constrained by misfortune to abandon the place of his nativity", perhaps on account of his religious opinions. In 1545 he appears at Venice. In 1552 he published a treatise or monograph bearing the title: "*Il pellegrino Inglese nel quale si defende l'innocente e la sincera vita del pio e religioso re d'Inghilterra, Henrico Ottavo.*" In 1548 or 1549 he is found forwarding from Padua to his "verie good friende Maister John Tamworth, at Venice", an Italian primer, which he had undertaken to compose at his correspondent's request. His Italian grammar and dictionary were "the first of the kind published in English", and reveal an intimate knowledge of

Italian literature. Ultimately he returned to England, where he made known the stores of knowledge accumulated during his residence abroad under the title of *The Historie of Italie.* The book was suppressed, but afterwards reprinted. The author perished in the reign of Queen Mary on Tyburn.[1]

There you have some specimens of Welshmen who owed much of their intellectual acquirements to Italy, and whose exile eventually redounded to the benefit of Wales. It would be impossible within the limits that I impose upon myself, to speak of many others, certainly impossible to do justice to their memory. We may notice in passing Giraldus Cambrensis, Gerald the Welshman, that charming, if somewhat egotistical, writer of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He informs us that his lectures in Paris were so popular that he was credited with having studied at Bologna, pre-eminently the University of Law and the glory of the Middle Ages. Be that as it may, he was, according to his own showing, a frequent and welcome visitor at the Papal Court, and knowing the objects of his errands, we may be sure that he did not let the grass grow under his feet. The indefatigable intriguer, during one of his business visits to negotiate about a benefice or obtain the See of St. David's (a constant bone of contention and theatre of intrigue), presented six copies of his writings to the Pope. The Holy Father was pleased, read them carefully and showed them to the Cardinals; and on the whole was inclined to assign the palm to the *Gemma Ecclesiastica.* The verdict comes down to us on the best authority, Gerald's own, but the *Gemma* did not win the author his suit.

We have again in the fourteenth century that garrulous old divine, Adam of Usk. He also, like the Archdeacon of

[1] See *Dictionary of National Biography.*

St. David's, exhibited an aptitude for wire-pulling and repaired to Rome to push his fortunes. His departure in 1402 was accelerated, if not occasioned, by a charge of highway-robbery, in which he seems to have been implicated,[1] for a King's pardon granted to him is still extant. The existence of a pardon is not absolutely conclusive, for Welshmen were sometimes graciously granted pardons for what they had never done! Still, in the case before us—grievous as it is to relate of a dignitary of the Church and a Doctor of the University of Oxford,—the evidence is awkwardly explicit and circumstantial. However, Adam did not allow these trifles to stand in his way. He succeeded in ingratiating himself in high quarters at Rome, and assures us that he wielded no inconsiderable influence there. Whatever view we may take of his credulity and egregious vanity, certain it is that his Latin *Chronicle*, in spite of all its good-natured garrulity, affords a valuable insight into the social life of the Capital; contains a lively and engrossing narrative of the stirring scenes in which he bore a prominent part; proves him to have enjoyed the favour of the Chief Pontiff, and to have been an acute observer of the progress of events, as well as a consistent place-hunter.

We have yet another Welsh worthy in John Owen of Carnarvonshire, the Latin Epigrammatist of a much later day. He needs no introduction; his epigrams enjoyed quite a European reputation, were translated into several languages, and gave rise to a crop of imitators.[2] But his

[1] The reason alleged for his banishment in 1402 was the boldness with which he criticized King Henry's Government. But it transpires that the real reason was the one stated in the text. (Pardon in 1403 to Edward Usk. *Patent Rolls*, 4 Hen. IV, ii, 22.)

[2] For Owen's influence on German literature see E. Urban, p. 5. "Von diesem Jahre (1606) an ergiesst sich ein Strom von Nachahmungen und Uebersetzungen des Owenus in die deutsche Litteratur:

debt to Italy is unmistakable. For his epigrams are, in their turn, modelled on those of Martial, and he often betrays Italian as well as French influence. He is connected with Italy in another way. A Protestant to the core, he frequently took occasion to gird at the see of Rome, as in the well-known couplet:

"An Petrus fuerit Romae sub judice lis est
Simonem Romae nemo fuisse negat."[1]

His temerity cost him dear, for in consequence a relative of his, who was also a zealous Papist, and had intended making him his heir, cut him off with a shilling.

I now turn to a very interesting point; a point, however, which I have only time to touch upon, namely, whether there is any evidence of reciprocal influence between Celtic and Italian literature.

The Republic of Letters knows no distinction of races, and transcends all limitations of place. It is not too much to assert, though it may sound paradoxical, that the interchange of thought was at that time easier even than now with our improved methods of international intercourse. The reason lies in the general use of Latin by the learned classes at that day, a legacy bequeathed by the Roman Empire and still the medium of communication. Nearly all the disputations of the Schoolmen, to which I referred just now, were conducted in Latin; theological and philosophical theses were written in Latin. The use of Latin ensured for an author or disputant, if not immortality, at any rate a wide circulation of his theories. Through this medium of exchange Briton, Spaniard, Sicilian,

jeder Dichter erachtet es als eine Zierde seines Werkes, Gedanken des gefeierten Epigrammatikers hier und dort einzustreuen, ohne es im übrigen mit der Quellenangabe sonderlich genau zu nehmen." Cf. pp. 6, 8, *et seq.*

[1] Book I, 8. Cf. III, 139, 141.

and Syrian became neighbours in the commonwealth of letters. Even when Dante and Boccaccio had shaped the Italian language and rendered it a vehicle for expression of thought, the scholastic writers retained a faulty form of Latin. Nay, more, the Italian language was cultivated by those who had pretensions to learning, and some Welshmen were evidently well versed in it. The question therefore arises, did Celtic authors, or *vice versa* Italian authors, imbibe ideas from one another?

Let us turn to Dante, the first to bring learning from the retirement of the cloister into the human community. He reveals an acquaintance with the storehouse of legends, secular and sacred, of Celtic countries, and not only of "Hibernia Fabulosa", as Ariosto calls Ireland; these he assimilated and stamped with the impress of his own genius. Among the wealth of floating tales and tradition whispered with awe and wonder at firesides in the Middle Ages was the Western legend of *Purdan Padrig*, or "Patrick's Purgatory". This had a wide vogue in Wales, for our forefathers revelled in the morbid. The scene is laid at Lough Derg in Ireland and the hero's name is Owain Miles, one of King Stephen's knights. Around him a tissue of legends has been woven, and they almost outdo Dante in hair-erecting incidents. The story runs that he descended by a Hell's mouth into the lower regions to do penance for sins of rapine and sacrilege. Entering by this subterranean passage he witnessed a panorama of lurid horrors, but, by dint of certain ceremonies, he came out of the ordeal unscathed.[1] There can be no doubt that the monkish

[1] The popularity of *Patrick's Purgatory* is shown by a letter from Francesco Chieregato, Apostolic Nuncio in England, to Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua. The writer mentions that "he is going to Ireland to see St. Patrick's Purgatory and all the other wonderful things which are said and written about it". *Mantuan Archives*, July 10th, 1517, p. 399.

composer was influenced by the Tenth Book of Virgil's *Æneid*.[1] On the other hand, there are good grounds for believing that Dante drew from this source.[2] Parallel passages are readily recognizable. In fact we know that the wild old romance *Guerino il meschino* of the fifteenth century reproduced the main features of *Purdan Padrig* bodily. Eventually the legend fell into disrepute and was suppressed by order of the Pope, but afterwards revived in full force, regained its popularity and enjoyed a long lease of life.

Further, Dante was not insensible to the spell of the Arthurian legends. He introduces the knights of King Arthur's Round Table three times at least. In the exquisite story of Francesca of Rimini and Paolo, who are paying the penalty of their passion as "in a sea in tempest torn by warring winds", Francesca relates that the two lovers at the time they were surprised by the suspicious husband were reading the story of Lancelot's love for Guinever:

"Noi leggevamo un giorno, per diletto,
Di Lancilotto, come amor lo strinse."

Indeed, Lancelot's liaison seems to have seized Dante's fancy, for he returns to it in the *Paradiso*. Mordrec, the King's son, figures elsewhere:

"tutta la Caina
Potrai cercare, e non troverai ombra
Degna piu d'esser fitta in gelatina:
Non quegli a cui fu rotto il petto e l'ombra
Con esso un colpo, per la man d'Artù."[3]

The poet is alluding to the incident in which Arthur, having discovered the traitorous intentions of his son,

[1] And the Necyomanteia of the Cave of Trophonius in Greece. Pausanias, ix, c. 39.

[2] See Labitte, *La Divine Comédie avant Dante*, 1843.

[3] *Inferno*, xxxii.

pierces him through with the stroke of his lance, so that the sunbeams passed through his body. The stern Florentine consigned Tristan himself to the *Inferno*, but we may console ourselves that he is in honourable company, for he is a near neighbour to a Pope.

The Scot fared no better than the Knights of the Round Table. Of the astrologers, necromancers and magic-mongers of the Middle Ages no name possessed greater terror or fascination for the public imagination than that of Michael Scotus. He also finds himself among those who, having "pretended to a skill in forecasting" future events, are condemned to have their faces reversed, so that, being robbed of the power to see before them, they are constrained ever to walk backwards:—

> "Quell' altro che ne' fianchi è così poco,
> Michele Scotto fu, che veramente
> Delle magiche frode seppe il giuoco."[1]

The explanation of the hold that Michael Scotus possessed on the public mind is doubtless to be found in his reputation for mental accomplishments; a penalty attached to intellectual superiority in that age, until advance in knowledge by disclosing the cause dispelled the fear.[2] He was credited with extensive erudition and practised divination at the court of Frederick II. He "feared neither God nor man", was in league with devils, and addicted to judicial astrology, alchymy and chiromancy. He published many

[1] *Inferno*, c. xx. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, says:—"Egli non ha ancoro guari che in questà citta fu un gran maestro in negromanzia il quale ebbe nome Michele Scotto, percio che di Scozia era."

[2] Benvenuto da Imola says that he foresaw his own death but could not escape it. He had predicted that he should be killed by the falling of a small stone upon his head, and always wore an iron skull cap under his hood, but one day on entering a church a stone fell on his bare head. See also Villani, *Hist.*, lib. 10, C. cv, cxli, and lib. 12, C. xviii; Fazio degli Uberti, *Dittamondo*, lib. 2, C. xxvii. For his notoriety in Scotland see Scott, *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, canto ii.

works, but his chief achievement was the translation of the Arabic Aristotle into Latin, with the commentaries of Averrhoes.[1] He undertook this task in Spain, and was much indebted for help to the Spanish Saracens.

The name of Dafydd ap Gwilym is interesting in this connection. The century to which he belonged, the fourteenth, was marked by literary activity, and was lavishly productive of original literary creations. This poet's are in some respects surpassed by none. His frequent allusions to Latin writers, and the standard of culture that he reveals, have lent colour to the theory that he must have studied in Italy. It is quite within the bounds of possibility. As we have already seen, there is no reason, judging from the experience of other Welshmen, why he should not have visited that country, but in the absence of any allusion to such an event, which would probably have left some trace in his writings, and of any direct evidence of an acquaintance with Italian authors, it seems better to account for his culture in another way. The channels by which he may have derived his knowledge were various; for example, the love of travel, which began with the twelfth century and gradually grew in intensity, the Crusades, the constant communications kept up between the various hospitals of the Knights of St. John and the Templars, the frequent tournaments and wars. Commerce was another agency in the dissemination of literary or legendary lore. Moreover, the monks were continually roaming to and fro, and students regularly passed from one School or University to another. Bear in mind Dafydd ap Gwilym's association with the monastic houses at Talley and Ystrad Fflur! bear in mind also that a gallant of his

[1] Renan thought he was the first to introduce Averrhoes into the Latin schools of Europe.

description, welcomed at every castle or mansion, would experience no lack of avenues to the literary harvest that was springing up at that time!

The task of discovering parallels between our poet's writings and others of the confraternity in Italy lies outside the scope of this paper. I hope that Professor Lewis Jones or the Rev. Machreth Rees will undertake the work and give us the results of his research. Meanwhile, there may be room here for one or two observations. The fourteenth century, in which Dafydd ap Gwilym flourished, witnessed an intellectual awakening in Europe which, in the Middle Ages, had gradually slumbered and finally sunk into exhaustion. It saw the supersession of Latin as the literary language, and the rise of Italian literature. It was the age of Francesco Stabile, Cecco d'Astoli, Francesco da Barberino and Cino da Pistoja. Above all, it was the century that produced Petrarch and Boccaccio. In the fourteenth century, Chaucer, "the master of the science, the theology, and the literature of his time", visited Genoa and Florence, where he may have come into contact with the two chief luminaries of the new learning, namely, Petrarch and Boccaccio. This visit proved the turning-point in the poet's literary life. He returned to England enriched with stores of knowledge, ideas and inspirations. Perhaps he had already conceived and adumbrated, in imitation of Boccaccio's *Decamerone*, his *Canterbury Tales*, the magic mirror of the fourteenth century, that stirring and "gaily apparelled time".[1] It would be strange, therefore, if Dafydd ap Gwilym were unaffected by the movement, which was operating far and wide. There is an additional reason for thinking so. Chaucer's voice awoke no echo, and this "first burst of English song died suddenly and utterly away". But it so happened that

[1] Cf. Peter Borghesi, *Boccaccio and Chaucer*, Bologna, 1903.

Wales was well fitted for the reception of these new ideas, and had already shaped and moulded its language. Welsh poets had already arisen, and the relation borne by the poets above mentioned to Petrarch and Boccaccio may be paralleled by the relation of Rhys Goch ap Rhiccert to Dafydd ap Gwilym. There is, therefore, a strong presumption in favour of connecting our poet with this widespread and many-sided movement, which, beginning in a tentative manner, and gradually gathering force, passed out of the winter of the Middle Ages and finally burst forth in the summer of the Renaissance. The supposition derives additional colour from the fact that there was frequent intercourse between England and the Continent. Military expeditions, ecclesiastical errands, and political missions at once made necessary and formed channels of communication between the northern country and the southern. Dafydd ap Gwilym's own writings contain evidence of a cultivation of continental customs in Wales.[1] Nor were political exigencies the only occasions for intercourse. Reference has already been made in these pages to the constant communication between the various branches or provinces of the Church. Whatever the defects may have been which drew down upon it the denunciation of a Petrarch, Rome was still the centre of authority. The mutterings of the coming storm that culminated in the Reformation were as yet hardly audible; the network spread by Rome was unbroken; the machinery rolled on as usual. Learning was still largely in the hands of the monks, though their monopoly was broken down. It is not improbable that our poet may have owed part of his mental equipment to the monasteries, for

[1] References to France occur in XXVI, CXXXVII, CCII, CCXIII, CCXX (Cynddelw's edition, 1873).

"Skilled" were "its holy monks of orders grey
In Latin lore and in poetic lay."[1]

But learning was far from being the exclusive possession of the religious orders. The Bards enjoyed a reputation, and, in fact, combined in their own persons the functions of chroniclers, genealogists, and instructors of youth in music and poetry, thereby intruding on the special province of the monks, which doubtless was one cause of the friction and feud that arose between the two classes.

Further, Dafydd ap Gwilym reveals a knowledge of the classic poets. Whether he knew Greek, as has been asserted, is open to question, for that accomplishment was confined to the curious and professed scholar, but that our poet was imbued with Homeric legend appears from several passages. Comparing Morfudd to three heroines of Greek story, he sings:—

"Cyntaf o'r tair disglaerloyw
A'i cafas ehudwas hoyw—
Polisena, ferch Bria,
Gwaisg o grair yn gwisgo gra;
A'r ail fu Diodema,
Gwiwbryd goleudraul haul ha';
Trydydd fun, ail Rhun y rhawg
Fu Elen felinwen fanawg,
Yr hon a beris yr ha'
A thrin rhwng Groeg a Throia."

But these legends may well have been derived from a Latin source.[2] Of his acquaintance with the poets of the Augustan age there can be no doubt. Ovid, a kindred

[1] *Johnes's translation*, p. 384; compare:—

"A brodyr a wyr brydiaith,
Llwydion a wyr Lladin iaith
O ran mydr o ramadeg."

[2] XXIX. Other classical allusions occur in VIII, LIX, XCIV, CXXXVIII.

spirit in more senses than one,[1] as well in his lays as his loves, would naturally possess an attraction for him, and we find our poet writing to a nun, probably his patron's daughter, who had been placed in a nunnery owing to an attachment that had sprung up between her and the poet, her tutor, and bidding her—

> "Forsake the cloister cell,
> Dispense with *Pater nosters* and give o'er
> The Romish monk's religious lore,"

and—

> "Haste to the knotted birchen tree,
> And learn the cuckoo's piety.
> There in the green wood will thy mind
> A path to Heav'n, O lady, find.
> There Ovid's volume shalt thou read
> And there a spotless life we'll lead.
> . . . . . .
> Nor is it harder to reach Heav'n
> For those who make the groves their home,
> Than to the sojourners at Rome."[2]

On the whole the evidence points to a connection between Dafydd ap Gwilym and the revival of learning, as some further considerations may serve to show. The two writers with whom Dafydd possessed the closest affinity are, as it happens, just those who determined the course of the principal streams of poetry in all the languages of Europe for more than two centuries after their lifetime, and in some important respects even to the present time,[3] namely, Petrarch and Boccaccio, who took

[1] It is a remarkable fact that Ovid's *Ars amatoria* was widely read in Wales at a very early period. There is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford a manuscript, belonging to the ninth century, of the first book, with a large number of Welsh glosses or explanations of the words. See Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, p. 1054.

[2] To the above evidence may be added the reputation for knowledge of foreign tongues which earned for him the title of *Pensaer yr ieithoedd*. The phrase occurs in Iolo Goch's elegy on his death. But it is possible to lay too much stress on it.

[3] Cf. W. P. Ker in *Mediæval Literature*, pp. 64, 357.

the lead in emancipating humanity from the superstitions of the Middle Ages—Petrarch,

> "Whose retorique sweete enlumyned
> al Itail of poetrie,"

the creator of Italian lyric poetry, distinguished by his airy grace, delicacy of sentiment, exquisite sensibility and elevation of tone, Boccaccio, the moulder of Italian prose, even-tempered, sanguine, a master of the light and lively tale.

The love of Nature is a marked feature in Dafydd ap Gwilym's poems. He delighted to paint her in all her moods. His appeal to the nun already mentioned, his summons to her to forsake her cell and come with him and worship in the temple of Nature, is one illustration. His commissions to the birds and beasts to act as his *llatteion* and convey messages to Morfudd is another. It is tempting to connect this attitude of mind with the spirit of freedom that sprang up in the Renaissance. This spirit is discerned in the province of the imagination. Art was beginning to display a fearless love of Nature, and was no longer subordinated to human interest. Literature now treated Nature not as a background, as a set-off or setting to the pleasant indolence of man, but for its own sake. The delight in Nature therefore reveals Dafydd ap Gwilym as a forerunner of the Renaissance. But his writings suggest another parallel; the spirit of intellectual liberty, the revolt against the narrowness and limitations of the Middle Ages, the spirit of a large humanity, the freedom from convention and superstition, formed another marked feature of the European movement. This unconventionality shows itself in the writings of several poets long before the Renaissance in the strict sense of the term. Petrarch's sensitive soul relieves itself in the form of righteous indignation against abuses; Boccaccio, tranquil,

comfortable, flippant, ironical, finds food for mirth in the merry jest or scurrilous tale at the expense of a corrupt Church. Langland's *Piers Plowman*, in his passion for reform, avers—

"With the rest and the remnant by the rood of Lucca!
I will worship therewith Saint Truth, while I live,
And at plough be His pilgrim for poor men's sakes."[1]

. . . . . .

"*Religion in reason hath somewhat for certain.*"[2]

Nor is Dafydd ap Gwilym less ready than his contemporaries to throw off the trammels of conventionality and break loose from the fetters forged in days of ignorance and superstition, and rivetted by the custom of ages on the heart and imagination. As an example of his attitude the following lines may be cited.[3] The poet has been taken to task by a monk for his vagaries:—

"Minau atebais i'r Brawd
Am bob gair ar a ddywawd,
'Nid ydyw Duw mor greulon
Ag y dywaid hen ddynion;
Ond celwydd yr offeiriaid
Yn darllain hen grwyn defaid;
Ni chyll Duw enaid gwr mwyn,
Er caru gwraig na morwyn.
Tri pheth a gerir trwy'r byd,
Gwraig a hinon ac iechyd.
Merch fydd decaf blodeuyn
Yn y nef ond Duw ei hun!'"

The thought re-appears in the same poem:—

"Gwir a ddywed Ystudfach,
Gyda'i feirdd yn cyfeddach,—
'Wyneb llawen llawn ei dŷ,
Wyneb trist drwg a ery.'
Cyd caro rai sancteiddrwydd,
Eraill a gâr ganghaneddrwydd;
Anaml a wyr gywydd per,
A phawb a wyr ei bader."

---

[1] *The Ploughman and Hunger.* Passus, vi, 103.
[2] *Ibid.*, 153. [3] Traithodl, CXLIX.

The genius of the poet, however, though it burst its bonds, yet carried a few links of the old chains after the spring into liberty.[1]

It might, perhaps, be possible to trace parallels between Dafydd and his Italian contemporaries, but it is certainly difficult to draw out the correspondence in detail. Thus, his escapade, which forms the subject of his poem *Y dyn dan y gerwyn*, might be an echo of a tale in Boccaccio's *Decameron*.[2] But it would probably be nearer to the truth to say that the poets of the day, whether Italian *improvisatore* or Provençal *troubadour*, German *minnesinger*, or Celtic bard, laid under contribution a floating fund of folklore, legend, and tradition, the origins of which may have been various and are now obscure, but that each class of poet moulded them after its own fashion.

So, too, with regard to the relations between Dafydd ap Gwilym and Petrarch. The curious may find scope for speculation and the exercise of their ingenuity in comparing such poems as the following:—

Dafydd ap Gwilym.	Petrarch.
Gorllwyn ydd wyf, ddyn geirllaes.	*Tra quantunque leggiadre donne e belle.*
Dodes Duw, da o dyst wyf.	*L'aura celeste che'n quel verde Lauro.*
Y ferch borffor ei thoryn.	*Quando'l sol bagna in mar l'aurato carro.*
Ni thybiais ddewrdrais ddirdra.	*Dicemi spesso il mio fidato speglio.*
Curiodd anwadal galon.	*Quanto più m'avvicino al giorno estremo.*

[1] Though, for example, he had chafed against artificial religious restraints, he has not given up his belief: CI, CXIX, CXLIX, CCXXXIX, CCXLVIII.

[2] *Giorn.* vii, *Nov.* 11.

Galar ar ol mabolaeth.

Alla dolce ombra de le belle frondi.
Che fai? Che pensi? Che pur dietro guardi.
Tennemi Amor anni ventuno ardendo.

But the parallels were doubtless accidental. While, therefore, it is not difficult to trace general resemblances between the writings of the two poets, these may with more probability be attributed to the similarity of subject or situation. The stages in the advance of the love passion and the accompanying symptoms, the sleeplessness of the distracted lover, the imminent dissolution of the poet unless his prayer be granted, the rapture over the lady's hair, the dialogue between Phyllis and Damon, the lover carried captive by Cupid, the love-god's dart, torch, and the rest of his armoury, the lover's comparison of his divinity to the Sun, the attachment to the spot where the lovers first met, the complaint against fair Inamorata's disdain, the lament over the sear and yellow leaf—all these traits Dafydd possesses in common with Petrarch, and with love poets in general.

Yet again there are certain passages in our poet which are direct imitations or reminiscences of the classic poets of Rome. This interest in the Latin classics was another result of the general excitement and enlightening of the human mind that arose in his day. His Cywydd, called *Y Drych*, or the Mirror, bears a general resemblance to one of the *Epodes* of Horace.[1]

[1] IV, 10. The adoption of the name Morfudd as a disguise (which might be thought an imitation of Petrarch's address to Laura) is really a commonplace of classical poetry: Propertius's divinity was Cynthia, Tibullus's Delia, Ovid's Corinna. Many passages occur which seem to be echoes of the classics. Compare Dymuniad o foddi y Bwa Bach, xcix, Horace *Epodes* x; xxxiv, Morwyn yn pennu oed heb gywiro, Horace, *Epod.* xv, Ovid, *Amores* iii, 3; cviii, Tri phorthor Eiddig, Ovid, *Amores* i, 6, Horace *Odes*, iii, xii. xxxviii, Tadmaeth

The origin of the following light and airy poem, so much in harmony with the subject, is unmistakable. It is an expansion of Æsop's fable:—

"Y ceiliog Rhedyn a'r Grugionyn.

"Mi a wnaf, a mi a wnaf,
Ir wraig aeth i daith yr haf,
Fel y gwnaeth y grugionyn
A'r ceiliog rhywiog rhedyn—
Y ceiliog rhedyn a fu
Yn llemain ac yn llamu,
O wyl Ieuan yn yr haf,
Oni ddaeth dyw-c'langauaf.

"Dyw-c'langauaf, y bore
Fe a droes y gwynt o'i le,
I odi, ac i luchio,
Oddiar lechwedd Moel Eilio,
I luchio, ac i odi,
Oddiar ystlys Eryri.

"Fal yr oedd y grugionyn
Yn ei esmwyth glyd dyddyn,
Wedi cael yn ei gywair,
Ei gynnyd, a'i yd, a'i wair;
A'i *larder* i nen ei dŷ,
A'i farch is traed ei wely;
A'i wraig yn chwilio ei ben,
Yn hyfryd ac yn llawen:
Fo glywai o gil y ddôr
Egwan yn erchi egor.

"'Nid er d'ofn, nid er d'arswyd,
Ond er gofyn pa un wyd?'

"'Myfi sydd redyngar geiliog,
Dy frawd ffydd a'th gymydog,
A'th gâr, a gwr o'th unwlad,
Yn dyfod i west atad.'

---

serch Morfudd. I have seen the last-mentioned spoken of as a paraphrase of Ovid, but this must be a mistake, as it does not occur in the lighter poems. The general character of the poem is very Greek, and is not unlike the description of Eros in Theocritus and Bion.

"'Mae yma y grugiogyn,
Dy frawd ffydd a'th gyd-dyddyn;—
Ple buost ti'r haf hirwyn?
Neidio a llamu rhedyn?
Rhodia eto, llama'n dda,
Heno ni ddoi di yma.'

"'Duw bellach a'm cynghoro!
I ble'r af finau heno?
Os myn'd i barc y glyn,
Lle bum gynt yn feistr rhedyn.
Mi daria' yma'n agos;
Ni bydd marw march er unnos!'

"Yna doedai rai doethion,
Pe bai gorphydd oedd galon;—
Yna doedai rai doethiaid,
Pe bai gorphydd oedd enaid.
Dyna gigle, ni cherddodd
Led yr erw oni rynodd!
Fel dyna'r modd y darfu
I'r ceiliog rhedyn cynta' fu.
A phoed felly y darffo
I'r ceiliog rhedyn cynta' fo."[1]

The benefits of education, as we have seen in the case of Michael Scotus, appear not to have been appreciated to the full in the Middle Ages. Indeed, high attainments were sometimes a positive disadvantage. But the populace possessed diversions of their own.[2] To beguile a leisure hour our ancestors had an abundance of material, for instance, *Historia Septem Sapientum Romae*, which was

[1] It is interesting to compare the Welsh version with La Fontaine's, two hundred years later:—*La cigale et la fourmi. Livre* i, *Fable* i.

[2] Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, p. 2. "So begannen zur Zeit Boccaccio's schon überall in Europa die bürgerlichen Erzählungen in Mode zu kommen, während die ritterlichen Gattungen auch noch eifrig gepflegt wurden. In Italien hatte das Ritterwesen nicht recht gedeihen können, frühzeitig hatte sich dort ein kräftiger wohlhabender Bürgerstand und mit ihm auch eine bürgerliche Literatur entwickelt; in Frankreich aber hatte sich die Chevalerie und die sie begleitende Literatur zur üppigsten Blüthe entfaltet."

accessible in vernacular translations. The argument turns upon the attempt made by a queen, a second Phaedra, on the virtue of her stepson. Unable to convince her consort of the son and heir's guilt, the stepmother poisons his mind and plays upon his weakness by warnings of worse woes to come, if he turns a deaf ear. To this end she speaks in parable and adduces instances of treachery, insisting upon the fatal consequences of cunning on the one hand and credulity on the other. But "the Seven Masters", who are the lad's tutors, reply in turn with a story of the very opposite tenour, to frustrate her designs. The pendulum swings from side to side; the feeble, irresolute king is distracted. For as soon as his trusty counsellors have left his presence, by a strange coincidence his wife enters, and the king's resolution vanishes. One day he vows: "To-morrow he shall die"; when to-morrow dawns he wavers, and pleads: "Indeed, I cannot doom him."

The method by which these strange stories were transmitted is merged in obscurity.[1] Many of them bear evidence of an Eastern origin, a fact which is probably traceable to the Crusades and the Arabs in Spain. But, whatever their precise origin, they filtered through Europe and were acclimatised on European soil. Thus the concluding story in this literary agglomerate, told by the victim of the plot, who has now recovered his speech, appears in the *Cento Novelle* of Sansovino.[2] Compositions

[1] Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, p 3. "Der lebhafte Verkehr mit dem Orient, theils durch die Kreuzzüge, theils durch die Araber in Spanien und die Mongolen im östlichen Europa gefördert, brachte orientalische Bildungselemente nach dem Abendlande, und das Christenthum durchdrang wieder mit seinem eigenthümlichen Geiste die Cultur und Literatur Europa's." Cf. p. 4, etc. For the Italian versions, see Landau, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[2] *Giorn.* viii, *Nov.* 4.

of the same class as "The Seven Wise Masters" were thrown into the form of dialogue or drama. India was the Eldorado of story-tellers, and the wondrous, monstrous legends of that country were in great request. But a remarkable change came about. A distant scene in an Asiatic country was considered to be an unsuitable theatre for the characters represented in such popular dialogues. It was felt that the stage must be laid somewhere nearer home, and what place summoned up such grand and glorious associations as Rome! And what place actually had illustrated the perils encompassing an heir to a throne as Rome!

But another consideration lent importance to Rome. This was the prejudice with which Greece and the Greeks were regarded. The Middle Ages viewed antiquity through a distorting medium. For the Christian nations of that time, engaged, as they were, in a bitter and protracted struggle with the Saracen, included the pagan Greeks, and Romans also, in the same category. The wars between Cross and Crescent found an echo in popular literature. Western races transferred to their writings their rooted animosity against Islam. They pronounced the gods and goddesses of the Greek Pantheon to be devils and demons, and the Greek Olympus, a mountain where the deities "dwelt at ease", to be a hob-goblin. For the Greeks themselves they felt a special aversion, and in the accounts and recitals of the Trojan war, the Christian of the West instinctively took sides with the Trojan against the Greek. On the other hand, the power, majesty, and order of the Roman Empire[1] were fresh in their recollection. Roman institutions had left behind them a deep mark; Roman buildings or their ruins were so familiar to the eye that they moderated their resentment, overcame their prejudice,

[1] Cf. p. 87.

and were proud to claim connection with a power so ancient, so august, nay, almost supernatural. They traced their descent from the ancestors of the Romans, namely, the Trojans. Priam III, a grandson of the Great Priam, becomes the progenitor of the Franks. Dante regards their Trojan descent as established.[1] Boccaccio does not doubt the Trojan origin of the Romans, but questions whether the Franks have the same ancestry, and utterly repudiates the pretensions of the Britons, who tried to embellish and dignify their barbarian origin by smuggling a Brutus into their genealogical tree.[2] Moreover, the heroes of romance and chivalry reminded them forcibly of Æneas, the reputed founder of the Roman line of kings, whose exploits Virgil chronicles. The poet's *Eclogues* were contrasted with Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad*, to the prejudice of the latter. He contained so much of the Christian element that he, rather than Homer, became the favourite Christian poet of the Middle Ages. Boccaccio rejects Homer as a partisan of Achilles.[3] Pride and prejudice therefore conspired to attract the Middle Ages to Rome. To Rome the oriental scenes of "The Seven Wise Masters", actors and paraphernalia, were transferred; the simple king of these stories takes the name Diocletianus or Pontianus.

The process of adaptation of these Eastern tales to European surroundings is illustrated in the well-known story of Prince Llewelyn and his trusty hound Gelert, whom he slays under the impression that the hound has killed his son, and is afterwards stung with remorse. It comes from "The Seven Wise Masters". There, however, the aggressor

[1] *Convito*, iv, 4.

[2] *Geneal. Deorum*, vi, 24, 57 (Cf. Spenser, *Faerie Queen*, x, 9). For Boccaccio's ideas of Wales, see *Decamerone, Giorn.* ii, *Nov.* viii.

[3] *Gen. Deorum*, vi, 13.

is not a wolf but a serpent.[1] The frequency with which animals are introduced in these mediæval tales, as endowed with human speech, would in itself indicate their oriental origin, and in matter of fact the original source of the story of Prince Llewelyn and Gelert is the Indian collection of the *Pantchatantra*. But in course of transmission the venue is altered; in the East and in Egypt the aggressor is a snake; in Italy it is a snake also; but by the time the story has reached Wales, the form is again adapted to its new environment. Since Wales is not a land infested with cobras or boa-constrictors, the aggressor is transformed into a wolf.

"Yr oedd marchog cadarn gwych yn Rhufain, a'i lys wrth ystlys y gaer. Ac un diwrnod yr oedd dwrdd mawr rhwng arglwyddi, a marchogion, a gwyr mawr; ac yna myned a wnaeth yr arglwyddes a'i mamaethod i ben y gaer i edrych ar y chwareu, a'r holl ddynion i gyd, heb adael neb yn y palas. Eithr mab bychan oedd i'r marchog llai na blwydd, yn y gadair yn cysgu yn y neuadd, a milgi yn gorwedd ar y brwyn yn ei ymyl. A chan weryriad y meirch ac angerdd y gwyr a thrwst y gwyr yn curo wrth y tarianau, y deffroes gwiber o wàl y dref, a chyrchu tua neuadd y marchog, ac arganfod y mab yn cysgu yn ei gawell, a dwyn hynt tuag ato. A chyn i'r sarph gael gafael yn y mab, bwrw naid o'r milgi, a gafael yn y wiber, a'r wiber ynddo yntau; a chan eu hymladd ill dau, troi o'r cawell a'i wyneb i waered, a'r mab ynddo; a'r milgi a laddodd y wiber, a'i gado yn ddrylliau yn ymyl y cawell. Yna, pan ddaeth y mamaethod i mewn, a gweled y cawell a'i wyneb i waered, a'r gwaed o bob parth iddo, myned a wnaethant dan lefain at eu harglwyddes, a dywedyd wrthi

[1] In the Sindibâdnâmeh the aggressor is a weasel or ichneumon; in some versions the rescuer is a bird, a goshawk, a falcon, or an ichneumon.

i'r milgi ladd ei hunig fab hi, yr hwn oedd yn cysgu yn y cawell. Myned a wnaeth hithau dan lefain at y marchog, gan ffusto ei dwylaw yn nghyd, a dywedyd i'r milgi ladd ei unig fab ef. A'r milgi oedd yn gorwedd yn lluddedig yn ymyl y cawell. A phan glywes y milgi ei feistr yn dyfod i fewn, codi a wnaeth i'w gyfarfod; a'r marchog a dynodd ei gledd, ac a dorodd ben y milgi oddiar ei gorph. O achos cyhuddiad y mamaethod, ac er dyddanu yr arglwyddes, y marchog a droes y cawell a'i wyned i fynu; ac yno yr oedd y mab yn holl iach, dan y cawell yn cysgu, â'r wiber yn ddrylliau mân yn ymyl. Ac yna yr ymofidiodd y marchog ladd o hono ar arch ei wraig filgi cystal â hwnw."

The next specimen that I shall give of legendary lore in the Middle Ages was known as Virgil's Tower, or *Salvatio Romae*, and held rather a prominent place. It is interesting, inasmuch as it gives an insight into the beliefs prevalent in the Middle Ages, the distortion of history, and the disregard of anachronisms in the mediæval mind. Virgil is a magician.[1]

"Yr amser yr oedd Fferyll[2] yn Rhufain, efe a blanodd

[1] Nor here alone. See Arturo Graff, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del Medio Evo*, p. 196. The versions vary; in some of them a statue is substituted for the pillar, images (representing the several provinces of the Roman dominion) for the magic mirror, and Merlin for Virgil. The end of the story seems to be an echo of the history of Crassus, whose head was cut off by the Parthians and treated with indignity. Other stories in this Welsh collection are echoes of the Classics. The *Boar and Shepherd* recalls the Greek legend of the Boar of Erymanthus; *The thieves who slay their father to avoid detection*, appears to be an imitation of the story of Rhampsinitus, King of Egypt. Cf. Pausanias, ix, 37. *The wife confined in a castle*, bears a close resemblance to the plot of the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus. *The faithless wife who is locked out and pretends to throw herself into a pond and locks out her husband in his turn*, appears in Boccaccio, *Decamerone, Giorn.* vii, 4.

[2] The Latin poets, from being read in schools, came to be looked upon as scholars rather than poets. Like Virgil, Horace and Ovid obtained a name for science.

golfen yn nghanol Rhufain; ac ar ben hono yr oedd drych o gelfyddyd Igmars;[1] ac yn y drych hwnw y gwelai Seneddwyr Rhufain pa deyrnas bynag a fyddai'n troi yn erbyn Rhufain. Yna, yn gyflym hwy aent am ben y wlad hono, ac a'i troent tan Rufain yr ail waith. A'r golfen hono oedd yn peri i bob teyrnas ofni Rhufain yn fwy na dim; ac am hyny y cynygiodd brenin y Pwyl[2] beth difesur o dda i'r neb a gymerai arno fwrw y golfen hono i lawr, a thori y drych. Yna y codes dau frawd i fynu yn y fan, a dywedyd fel hyn:—'Arglwydd frenin, pe caem ni ddau beth a geisiem genyt, ni a fwriem y golfen i'r llawr, a'r drych a dorem.' 'Beth yw hyny?' ebai'r brenin. 'Nid amgen na'n dyrchu ni mewn cyfoeth ac anrhydedd o hyn allan; a rhaid i ni gael cyfreidiau priodol yr awr hon, nid amgen na dau farilaid o aur; canys chwanocaf gwr o'r byd i aur yw'r ymherawdwr.' 'Hyny a gewch chwi yn llawen,' ebai'r brenin. A'r aur a gawsent, a phen y daith a gyrhaeddasant; ac ar hyd nos hwy a gladdasant y ddau farilaid aur mewn dau fan gerllaw pyrth y dref yn ymyl y ffordd; ac i'r dref yr aethant y nos hono, a lletya. Dranoeth, daethant i lys yr ymherawdwr, a chyfarch gwell iddo, a deisyf cael bod o wasanaeth iddo. 'Pa wasanaeth a fedrwch chwi ei wneuthur?' ebai'r ymherawdr. 'Ni a fedrwn fynegi i chwi a fo aur neu arian cuddiedig yn eich teyrnas chwi; ac o bydd, peri i chwi eu cael hwynt oll.' 'Ewch heno ac edrychwch erbyn yforu a oes aur neu arian i'm teyrnas i; ac o bydd, mynegwch i mi; ac o chaf hwy, mi a'ch gwnaf chwi yn anwyliaid im'.' Ac i'w llety yr aethant y nos hono. A thranoeth y mab ieuangaf a ddaeth ger bron yr ymherawdwr, ac a ddywedodd gael ohono mewn dewiniaeth wybod pa le yr oedd barilaid o aur yn ymyl porth y dref, yn nghudd. Yna y peris yr ymherawdwr fyned i geisio hwnw; ac wedi ei gael a'i

[1] A corruption of *nigromawns* ("necromancy"). [2] Poland.

ddwyn iddo, efe y cymerth y gwas yn anwyl wasanaethwr. A thranoeth y daeth y gwas arall ger bron yr ymherawdwr, a dywedyd gael ohono, ar freuddwyd, wybodaeth pa le yr oedd barilaid o aur yn nghudd, yn ymyl porth arall i'r dref. Ac wedi profi hyny, a'i gael yn wir, credu iddynt o hyny allan, a mawr fu gan yr ymherawdwr am danynt, a'u cymeryd yn anwyliaid iddo. A'r dydd nesaf hwy a ddywedasant fod aur o dan y golfen a gyfoethogai'r deyrnas. Yna y dywed Seneddwyr Rhufain, o ddiwreiddio'r golfen, na byddai cyn gadarned deyrnas Rhufain o hyny allan. Eithr nid adawodd chwant yr aur a'r arian i'r ymherawdwr fod wrth gynghor y Seneddwyr, nes diwreiddio'r golfen a'i bwrw i lawr, a thori y drych yn llaprau. A phan ddarfu hyn, dyfod am ben yr ymherawdwr a wnaethant, a'i ddal, a'i rwymo, a chymhell arno yfed aur berwedig, gan ddywedyd wrtho, 'Aur a chwenychaist, ac aur a yfi.' "

III.

There remains the third period, or, perhaps we should say the third aspect, of culture, an aspect which is in some senses the most interesting of all. This phase dates from the Reformation. Its dominant note is practical sense, and its field pre-eminently ecclesiastical politics. Here we are introduced to the company of Celts, and especially Welshmen, of a different character than have hitherto appeared on the stage, creatures of the age in which they lived. They move in an atmosphere of intrigue, secrecy, and mystery. The Society of Jesus was now called into being by the political and ecclesiastical exigencies of the time to restore the fallen fortunes of the Romish Church. To that monument of religious genius has been assigned, by common consent, the palm of what is technically called Religious Prudence, namely, discretion and wise government.

The Reformation changed for a time the aspect of Welsh education and culture. Recusants withdrew to the Continent. Then began that network of intrigue which Mr. Llewelyn Williams has skilfully unravelled for us.[1] He has brought before us vividly the main actors in the drama. He has reminded us how Roman Catholics were divided into two distinct and antagonistic parties, how the Jesuits realized that Queen Elizabeth, that "infamous Jezebel" as she was sometimes called, would never be dethroned except by the aid of a foreign force, and how the Company accordingly bent their energies to accomplish that object, how the opposite party on the Continent, notably the Welsh, were desirous of bringing England back to the Catholic fold by pacific methods and shrank from subjecting her to a foreign yoke. But into this we need not enter, since as for the Welsh participators in these stirring scenes and all that they did, are they not written by Mr. Llewelyn Williams in the chronicles of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion?

The following extract from a letter[2] of Thomas Morgan to his brother Rowland Morgan, dated 1589, and intercepted by emissaries of the Government, throws an interesting light on the movements of Catholic Welshmen abroad, and bespeaks their activity and influence. I give an extract only. Says the writer:—

> "Lewis Hughes is household chaplain to my Lord of Cassano. His nephew, Mr. Hugh Griffith, is Provost of Cambray. He thinks by this time that he and some others that travel here in England would have sent over some toward youths of that country from Wales for learning; whereof he wills him to confer yet with Mr. Gwinne whose

[1] See *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, Session 1901-1902, "Welsh Catholics on the Continent" (p. 46), by W. Llewelyn Williams.

[2] *Cecil MSS.*, iv, 6.

person and merit he honours. If any of their cousins and friends' children be apt for learning, he would have him bring some of them over, where they should edify themselves to their comfort and service of their country hereafter. He thinks there should be some toward youths in Tredegar, the Vanne, Lanternam and Beduelly, the lords of which place he honours and remembers them all to God. He desires Powel the priest try and send Mr. Lewis of St. Por, of that side the seas, well appointed. If he would come and be content to be advised, he might prove a good instrument for his friends; wherefore Mr. Powel being *in vinculis Evangelii* he would have the purpose continued by some other. If Mr. Lewis would come to him he would be glad, so he would conform himself to the Catholic Faith."

The reference in "my Lord of Cassano" is to Owen Lewis, a staunch Catholic, who suffered exile for his faith, devoted all his energies to its restoration in England, rose to considerable eminence, and, first as Archdeacon of Cambray, and afterwards as a trusted agent of the Pope, exerted considerable influence in the councils of the Church on the Continent. What especially concerns us is the share Lewis had in the establishment of the colleges, or at least one of the colleges, set up on the continent for training Roman Catholics, especially priests, who were destined for work in the "English Vineyard". Of these the first in point of time was the college at Douay in Belgium; there were several in Spain also, but the English college at Rome, owing to the prestige attaching to the capital city and the metropolis of Catholic Christendom, eclipsed the others in importance. The English college at Rome, then, was founded at the instance and through the instrumentality of a Welshman. Lewis was fully alive to the necessity of making special provision for the priesthood in England. Cambray was evidently a rallying point for Welshmen who had gone into exile for conscience sake. He proposed that the old *hospitium* or place of entertainment for pilgrims at Rome should be turned into a college,

or, at any rate, that its scope should be enlarged to admit young priests who might be prepared for work in England. The pensioners, he urged, were no students. Though his claim to the initiation of the idea was afterwards disputed, and abuse was heaped on his head, Owen Lewis and no other was responsible for the suggestion, which redounded, for a time, at least, to the benefit of his religious communion. The Pope applauded the Archdeacon's sagacity and foresight; appointed him *Referendarius Apostolicus*, and entrusted to him the management of nearly all business relating to England and Ireland. But he was not allowed to enjoy his preferment undisturbed. He had no sooner gained the confidence of the Chief Pontiff than the cabalting and wire-pulling began. The English college reflected all the bitter controversies and national rivalries that the conflict called into play. The Jesuits were divided against the reactionaries, and the Englishmen against the Welshmen. To illustrate the heat of party passion and racial rancour of the period, I will put together a few extracts from reports, petitions, and counter petitions, which place the situation in a tolerably clear light.

Owen Lewis bore the brunt of the attack. "He and his bosom friend, Dr. Maurice Clenocke, a Welshman of course, were pushing their own fortunes at the expense of the English. He was guilty of the grossest favouritism to Welshmen in domestic details. He shielded Clenocke and played into his hands." Such was the burden of the charge. Complaints poured in from various quarters, and, suspiciously enough, they were couched in similar language. Clenocke had procured the insertion in the college statutes of a clause permitting inmates to remain at college as long as they liked, instead of going to England to face toil and tortures. It is strange to relate, the beneficiaries were all Welshmen! A youth of the name of Price had recently

arrived. He was a person of no culture, yet Owen Lewis and Maurice Clenocke together secured his admission. This was too much for flesh and blood. The Englishmen indignantly protested against the admission of such a man to the company of "learned men" like themselves. Moreover letters from Owen Lewis and Maurice Clenocke were said to have been intercepted, in which Welshmen were urged to come over in shoals and take possession of the college. But that was always the way with Welshmen. It was their nature, when they were isolated and few in number, to be sweet-tempered and submissive towards the English, but let them have an opportunity of attaining to supremacy by hook or by crook, there was no end to their rancour. St. Augustine had made the same remark. The Venerable Bede had expressed a similar opinion in his day, and asseverated that they were always persecuting the innocent English, and even went the length of refusing them the means of salvation. The two doctors were probably thinking of the attitude assumed, and the answer given by the British, when asked to co-operate in the conversion of the Saxons. They replied in effect that they would not help, for if the Saxon got heaven, heaven would be unendurable.

Again, they proceeded, at the English Universities, the founders of some colleges had distinctly stipulated that no Welshmen were to darken the doors of the institutions, not because those holy men (to wit, the founders), who wished to benefit those who were unknown and yet unborn, were at all acceptors of persons, but because Welshmen were always caballing against the amiable and loving Englishman. Had not the same thing been illustrated in connection with the Court of Arches in London? It was notorious that in that august body, which is only open to doctors and canonists and professors of civil law, some

Welshmen had managed to creep in and actually gain the upper hand and exclude the unoffending English. This being the case, every kind of inconvenience was to be apprehended, unless offices were conferred on Welshmen in strict moderation, owing to their rooted malevolence towards the English!

You can well imagine that such taunts were not calculated to soothe the susceptibilities of the choleric Welsh, nor to promote peace. The upshot of the matter was that the English left in a body and said they would walk home across the Continent, and leave the college, as they did, to the unfeigned joy and delight of the Welshmen. The college chronicler relates, that, as they were taking their leave, Hugh Griffith, a fiery spirit and stormy petrel, "gave a leap in the college hall and shouted, 'Who now but a Welshman?'" But they did not quit Rome. Their unhappy condition evoked widespread sympathy, and subscriptions for their maintenance and journey home poured in. Matters had now reached a crisis. The Pope was alarmed. He sent for the English malcontents, and the picture of the interview is too good to be missed. The rebels were ushered into the presence-chamber; they laid their case before His Holiness with a flow of language and a flood of tears, the Sovereign Pontiff weeping with them. He promised to settle everything, and was good as his word. The arrangement, however, resulted in nothing but a truce; for dissension broke out again, in which Welshmen bore no hand.

The best vindication, if it be required, of Owen Lewis's policy and devotion, is the history of the English college itself at Rome. They were never a very happy family, and dissension broke out again. Just as before, petitions and counter-petitions were signed and presented, and the parties bandied mutual and lively recriminations, charges

and counter-charges. Just as before, reports were made by Cardinals and other high dignitaries, and remarks passed to this effect: "This college at Rome enjoys an unenviable notoriety for frequent disturbance." Just as rebellious spirits rose against Lewis and Clenocke, so the English, who had studied at English Universities, assumed airs of superiority over their comrades, lodged complaints against their teachers, and, as the price of their remaining, clamoured for the appointment of an Englishman to act with the Jesuit fathers or the establishment of another college in Italy, to be presided over by another religious Order. The recalcitrants were here hinting at the supersession of the Jesuits and substitution of the Dominicans, their rivals.

Meanwhile, Owen Lewis's career proves that he was not as black as he was painted by contemporary critics. He enjoyed the Pope's confidence, and executed several important commissions on his behalf; he was Cardinal Borromeo's right-hand man; as we have seen, he became Bishop of Cassano, near Naples, and bequeathed legacies to the college. In the chapel of the present English college an epitaph, couched in terms of high panegyric, records the versatile gifts, the Christian graces of the benefactor of the institution, and commemorates the name of Owen Lewis of blessed memory. As each year comes round, October 14th is set apart for a mass in honour of this patron.

So much for the circumstances that led to the foundation of the English College. The motives that prompted the originators, it must be confessed, did credit to their foresight and zeal. The cosmopolitan character of the college is a sufficient refutation of the charges levelled against the first founders. In matter of fact, the majority of the students were English, and, as the Jesuits gained

the upper-hand, the influence of the English became supreme. The Irish Celts were not represented there in large numbers, for the obvious reason that the Irish possessed a college of their own. But their names appear interspersed throughout the college calendar. Thus in 1761 a student, Thomas Plunkett, arrives from St. Omer's and is admitted. He is an Irishman all over; he excels in the knowledge of Latin and Greek, and is a first-rate comic actor. Such is his repute for piety and blamelessness of life, that he has more than once been elected Prefect of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary. But he does not appear to have stayed within its walls, and was probably sent to the Irish college.

The presence of the Irish lent colour and picturesqueness to Roman life, and the following incident may fitly find a place here, inasmuch as it throws light on the life of the period, and serves to illustrate the racial rivalries which were brought into play in the Eternal City. This time the collision is not between the English and the Welsh, but the Irish and the English. The incident illustrates the amenities of clerical life and the amiable qualities of our Celtic cousins across the Irish Channel. The Irish apparently nourished a grievance against the English, and were not slow to vent their spleen on any individual Englishman. The Dean of Lincoln, an Englishman, happened to be staying in Rome. Certain of the sons of Erin heard of his arrival and thought it an opportunity not to be lost for a manifestation against this representative of a race which had treated the Emerald Isle so ill. Biding their time, they delivered an assault on the Dean's lodgings. The dignitary was in danger and took measures for his defence, drew a knife in the mêlee and stabbed an aggressor. This episode affords us an interesting insight into the habits of the age. Everyone of consequence went

about armed and bore at least a knife, nominally to cut bread.

With the above instances I dismiss the Irishmen.

The traditional connection of Welshmen with the English college was maintained in spite of the practical monopoly of it by the Society of Jesus. This may be explained by the tenacity with which the Welsh people, as opposed to the aristocracy, clung to the Catholic cause, a tenacity which postponed the adoption of the principles and retarded the spread of the doctrines of the Reformation in Wales for many years after the adoption and diffusion of those principles in England. There are to this day traces of their devotion in customs whose origin have long been forgotten. But the association of Wales with the English college was, in a measure, attributable to the activity displayed by well-known Jesuit leaders, who laboured in the Principality or upon its borders. Their enthusiasm and address dazzled some young Welshmen, who had been brought up in the Reformed Faith, and especially those who came of families distinguished by a long line of Catholic ancestors, and were themselves inclined to a religious life by the family tradition. Several Welsh recruits were drafted into the society. Finally, the racial pride in the Tudor strain on the one hand, and the designs of the Jesuits on the other, provoked a reaction, and threw the Welsh into the arms of the progressive party, with the result that Wales became as distinctly Puritanical as she had been previously Catholic.

The number of Welshmen who held offices in the English college and became rectors of it affords evidence of the influence of Catholicism in Wales, and, at the same time, is a curious commentary on the controversies that raged within the college walls. Of Maurice Clenocke, the bone of contention, we have already spoken. He was, according

to the testimony of Dr. Allen, "an honest and friendly man, and a great advancer of the students and seminarie's cause",[1] but these qualities were outweighed by his inexperience. He resigned his post, as we saw, but misfortune dogged his steps; he was afterwards drowned at sea.

Thomas Owen succeeded Robert Parsons in the headship in 1609, but he disappears from view in 1618. His administration was marked by a fact which is interesting in this connection. Under his rule, as we learn incidentally, the last Welsh student entered the Society of Jesus. His original name was Evans, and his birthplace Carnarvonshire. His missionary life was spent in North and South-West Wales. He was twice Superior of that province.[2] A third rector of Welsh origin figures on the list in the person of William Morgan. He assumed the office in 1683, but his tenure was short, for his name does not appear after 1686 or 7. Yet another rector was Francis Powell, who does not seem to have held the post more than four years.

Let us turn to the *alumni* of the English college. The incidental allusions to their experiences bear eloquent, if unconscious, testimony to the disturbed condition of the country, the state of society, and the currents of religious opinion that prevailed from the time of the Reformation onward. The antecedents of the students who sought admission to the Roman college were various, as seen by the *scritture* or applications for admission.

One native of Wales tells us that he had embraced the Catholic Faith at Venice. He came to Rome and was admitted as an *alumnus*. But as he was said to have a wife in Prussia, and he could not deny the impeachment,

[1] In a letter to Dr. Owen Lewis from Paris, May 12th, 1579. Dodd, vol. ii, p. 366.

[2] Foley, v, p. 936.

he was dismissed the college. Roger Says describes himself as a native of Bowton, Llantwit Major, in Glamorganshire. His father was an esquire, justice, and attorney-general to King James. His family had migrated to Swansea, and he received his early education at Catsash in Monmouthshire, and at Swansea. Thence he proceeded to Rupella[1] in France, and continued his studies at Monasterium Enclastrense,[2] near Poitiers. He was an out and out Protestant *(omnino haereticus)*, but was converted at Rupella. His conversion was effected in this way. He lodged with a writer in order to learn to write. It so happened that a young Irish Catholic who also stayed there invited him to come and see the church of St. Margaret's. Climbing over the city walls they found two fathers of the Order of the Oratory walking below. These hailed the Irishman, whom they knew. He explained who he was. The conversation led to a further acquaintance, and they advised him to go to the monastery at Les Chateliers. He acted on their advice, but was robbed on the way and arrived at the monastery almost naked.

William Morgan had already experienced a chequered career. He was a native of the county of Flint, and had been educated at Westminster School, where he was elected King's Scholar, and thence he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, and studied philosophy, "as it is taught there". He had completed two years at Cambridge when the Civil War broke out, and he took up arms for the Royalists, leaving college on the orders of the Earl of Manchester. Under the King's banner he served for two years. Taken by the Parliamentarians at the battle of Naseby he was thrown into prison in London. But in six weeks' time he received permission to cross over to Belgium, where he served in Colonel Cobbe's English regiment and fought

[1] La Rochelle. [2] Les Chateliers.

for His Catholic Majesty. Afterwards he went to Ghent to complete his studies and proceeded to Louvain. He is now in Rome and wishes to embrace the religious life.

The destinies of the *alumni* varied no less than their antecedents. Some of them entered one or other of the religious Orders. David Lloyd, a native of Carnarvon, and an exemplary student, left for Piacenza, where he presided over a college for many years. Ultimately he set out for England to settle business, and was drowned in the "British Sea"; another, John Owen, a native of the diocese of Bangor, lapsed from the Faith and became a schoolmaster; a third, Robert Roberts, did not complete his studies. During his sojourn he had distinguished himself by his seditious behaviour, and, true to himself, was false to the Faith. But such instances were exceptional. Most of them identified themselves with the rising glory, aims, and ascendency of the company which succeeded in enlisting in its services the zealous youth. The monopoly of the English college which the Society secured, and the indomitable energy and statesmanlike sagacity of Parsons, who remained at its head for years, imparted an incalculable impulse to the movement, nor were Welshmen insensible to its attractions.

The best testimony perhaps to the high qualities of the Welsh (in spite of allegations to the contrary) is to be found in the fact that these very Jesuit leaders, no mean judges of merit and capacity, were glad to enlist Welsh adherents, and that their decision was justified eventually. Some of the Welsh Jesuits, like Robert Jones, Charles Baker, and Thomas Pennant, or Conway, occupy a prominent place in the annals of the Society of Jesus.[1]

[1] It is interesting to observe that some of the English authors of the Company hailed from Wales or were of Welsh descent, among them, Michael Alford 1587-1652, vero nomine Griffiths, the celebrated

But while many of the *alumni* espoused the Jesuit cause with all the fervour of which the Celtic character is capable, others shrank from schemes for overthrowing the dynasty. Parsons, for all his insight, had miscalculated his plans and mistaken his men. The scheme for placing a foreign prince on the throne had miscarried, and certainly did not find a ready response. The Welshmen, who had obtained an insight into Jesuit methods and had been repelled by the proposals, threw their weight into the opposite scale and played a prominent part in the developments that followed. Animated, as they were, by a desire to restore the Catholic Faith in their mother country, and reluctant to become tools of a political party, their first step was to break with the prime movers, the Jesuits. But here suffice it to mention one important result that ensued. The triumph of the Jesuits reacted prejudicially against the success of the Roman church in Wales, and issued in the revulsion in favour of Puritanism.

I have now completed my task. Were I given to moralizing I might be tempted to draw one or two lessons from what has been said.

There is much that appears trivial in the academic life of the Middle Ages. It would, however, be wrong to conclude that solid work was not done and valuable results achieved. The chronicles of representative Universities place on record what is palpable, striking, exceptional, but external to the real life of a seat of learning; what they have not recorded is the intangible, the unobtrusive, the inward and the normal employment of seekers after truth; what these chronicles could not record is the elusive

annalist. (See De Backer, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 1869, i, 70.) John Salisbury was another. He translated into Welsh Cardinal Bellarmine's Lar er Catechism, and various other works. See *Records of S. J.*, vol. iv, series x, part i.

atmosphere of a seat of learning, the taste, the stimulus, the incommunicable charm, that is inseparable from such a place and haunts it like a shadow. Granted that many went up to a mediæval university from mere love of adventure or from a desire to see the world, from a social instinct, or even thirst for booty! Granted that many students "went down" as ignorant as when they went up! Granted that discipline was lax and the times violent! Still, this very circumstance affords an indirect proof of intellectual enthusiasm. Could that be languid, half-hearted interest which brought thousands of men and boys over half Europe and nerved them to inconveniences and perils—perils by land, perils by sea, perils from their own fellow men?

The past never returns; times and conditions change; there is one thing that remains unchanged from age to age, namely, the intellectual enthusiasm of Wales. *Gwell dysg na golud.* I cannot forget that the Celt has imparted dash and fire to the character of the British race, fervour to its religious temperament, and a tender, delicate sentiment to its literature. I cannot forget the aspiration after culture that has always characterized Welshmen. I cannot forget the yearning which has possessed the Welsh people, the multitude, for opportunities of self-improvement and enlightenment. I cannot forget the disinterested devotion with which some of their leaders have procured for them the educational privileges on which they had set their heart. This yearning and this endeavour unite the centuries one to another. Such has been the history of Wales, time out of mind, in its steady ascent up the slope of progress. When the mountaineer is bent on climbing one of the Alps, he starts in the evening from the foggy flats below. Night falls; darkness envelops him, but he pursues his way. It is midnight; he has to grope step by

step. Anon he begins the ascent; crevasses offer a treacherous footing; precipices yawn. But lo! a bright light glimmers through the gloom; it is the welcome morning star, the harbinger of day. By and bye the dawn approaches, tinging the landscape with violet and purple, and ushering in the sun, which rises amid a mantling, molten mass of fire and touches the countless cloud-forms with gold. At length the mountaineer's efforts are rewarded. He stands upon the summit. So shall it be with Wales. Hitherto she has climbed through a hundred difficulties, through mists of prejudice, through the darkness of disappointment. So may she continue to rise superior to every obstacle, higher, higher, higher still, until she has surmounted the crest of the hill and planted her banner with the ringing shout: "Who art thou, O great mountain? before a Cymro thou shalt become a plain."

WALTER MAP.[1]

By Professor W. LEWIS JONES, M.A.

Few periods are of greater interest to the student of literature than the twelfth century. Overshadowed though it be in literary history by the age of the great Italian Renascence, the twelfth century it was that witnessed the first real and effectual break with the tyranny of an effete Latin culture, and the birth of the modern national literatures of Europe. It was the age of the Crusades, and they mark the beginning of an international intercourse which influenced the development of art and letters no less profoundly than the fortunes of kingdoms and dynasties. The crusading impulse, writes William of Malmesbury, fell upon "all who had heard the name of Christ, whether in the most distant lands or savage countries. The Welshman left his hunting; the Scot his fellowship with vermin; the Dane his drinking party; the Norwegian his raw fish; lands were deserted of their husbandmen; houses of their inhabitants; even whole cities migrated." Thus under the banner of the Cross there came to be ranged a motley crowd of men drawn from every part of Western Europe, and their contact with each other, and with the rich and strange civilisation of the East, stimulated their imagination and quickened their wit. Their social intercourse led to an

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, May 23, 1906. Chairman, Professor W. P. Ker, M.A., LL.D.

interchange of the folk-tales of every European tribe, and produced an international stock of lively popular *fabliaux* upon which even great literary artists, such as Boccaccio and Chaucer, delighted subsequently to draw. Oriental tales of magic and wizardry, and the mystic lore of Arabia, of Byzantium and of Alexandria, were diverted into European channels, to become in time the literary capital of a host of lay and clerical scribes.

The intellectual awakening thus caused synchronised with the hey-day of chivalry and courtly knighthood. Hence the most popular and characteristic literary compositions of the time were romances of adventure. The three staple "matters of France, of Britain, and of Rome the great" now came to be exploited by literary craftsmen who were thoroughly alive to the demands of the hour and quick to appropriate for their purposes all the new lore that had come into circulation. Of the various romantic "matters", that of Britain rapidly established for itself an unquestioned pre-eminence. Alexander and Charlemagne were altogether overshadowed by the mighty and mysterious figure of

> "Uther's son,
> Begirt with British and Armoric knights."

"Alexander", writes M. Jusserand, "had been an amusement; Arthur became a passion". Arthurian romance owed its astonishing vogue and supremacy largely to its mystic and symbolical suggestiveness, no less than to the novelty and the strangeness of its adventurous incidents. The ideals both of chivalry and of the church came, ultimately, to be wedded in the Arthurian legend; until—with all its romantic extensions, its varied conceptions of knighthood, its magic tales, its perilous quests, its tragic loves, its mystic Grail—Arthurian story emerges, in Malory, as the most composite aud *bizarre* literary product of the Middle Ages.

Were it possible to accept without question the authenticity of all the works attributed to him, Walter Map would stand unchallenged as by far the most representative writer of this eager and stirring age.[1] His *De Nugis Curialium* preserves for us its courtly gossip and several samples of its popular tales. The Latin poems associated with his name are caustic examples of the satire in which so many mediæval writers indulged at the expense of ungodly priests. The great French romances, which are ascribed to him with even more confidence by many literary historians, constitute a contribution of unique importance to the development of Arthurian story. Thus so far as tradition goes, no writer of the twelfth century is entitled to a more conspicuous place in the House of Fame than Walter Map. To Welshmen, in particular, his repute and actual career ought to be matters of peculiar interest; for he had, almost certainly, Welsh blood in his veins. He is known, at any rate, to have been the intimate friend of Giraldus Cambrensis, and exhibits, in the *De Nugis Curialium*, his close acquaintance both with the Welsh people and with much of their folk-lore. Again, in many literary histories he contests with another probable Welshman, Geoffrey of Monmouth, the pride of place as a contributor to Arthurian literature. At one time, indeed, he was thought to be the very "Walter, archdeacon of Oxford", who instigated Geoffrey to write his *History of the Kings of Britain*, and who, according to Geoffrey's own account, furnished him with that mysterious book in the British tongue which "did set forth the

[1] Miss Kate Norgate (*England under the Angevin Kings*, vol. ii, p. 449), who gives Map the credit of all the works ascribed to him, says that "every side of the intellectual movement which, throughout the latter half of the twelfth century, was working a revolution in English thought and life, is reflected in Walter Map".

doings of them all from Brutus, the first King of the Britons, down to Cadwaladr, the son of Cadwallo, all told in stories of exceeding beauty". It was the sixteenth-century antiquary, John Leland, who started the figment that Walter Map was Geoffrey's archdeacon, and it was accepted as a fact by many reputable literary historians down to very recent times, among them being Thomas Stephens, the author of *The Literature of the Kymry*. Map, as we shall see, was indeed archdeacon of Oxford in his time, but he was probably only some twelve years old when Geoffrey of Monmouth died. His name, however, has always loomed so large in the history of the Arthurian legend that one naturally associates it with that of Geoffrey, although there is no evidence to prove that he was acquainted with Geoffrey's book. It is scarcely credible that he was altogether ignorant of so famous a work; his friend, Giraldus, at any rate, knew it well, and has told us pretty plainly what he thought of it. Geoffrey, Gerald, and Walter Map, together, stand out as by far the most interesting and picturesque literary figures of the twelfth century; and it is significant to note that the three were, if not actually Welshmen, men who lived in close touch with Wales and Welsh traditions.

Geoffrey of Monmouth it was, unquestionably, who first perceived the possibilities of the Arthurian stories as matter of literary entertainment. For English literature, at least, his "History" stands at the fountain-head of Arthurian romance. Those, however, who seek to belittle Geoffrey's influence upon the development of the Arthurian legend point out how crude and elementary, after all, is his presentment of it. Professor Saintsbury, for example, in a chapter on "The Matter of Britain" in his book on *The Flourishing of Romance and Allegory*, bids us "notice how little, if Geoffrey really did take

his book from 'British' sources, those sources apparently contained of the Arthurian Legend proper as we now know it. An extension of the fighting with Saxons at home, and the addition of that with Romans abroad, the Igraine episode, or rather overture, the doubtless valuable introduction of Merlin, the treason of Mordred and Guinevere, and the retirement to Avalon,—that is practically all." Well, in view of the little that was really known about these things until Geoffrey made them common literary property, this would appear to be a good deal. Mr. Saintsbury does, indeed, admit that Geoffrey "set the heather on fire, and perhaps in no literary instance on record did the blaze spread and heighten itself with such extraordinary speed and intensity". Surely, Geoffrey is entitled to his full credit for this admittedly unparalleled conflagration. But Prof. Saintsbury is far more concerned with his deficiencies. Geoffrey gives us, he says, "no Round Table, no Knights", "an entire absence of personal characteristics about Guinevere", "and, most remarkable of all, no Lancelot, and no Holy Grail".

Mr. Saintsbury all but seems to imply that these omissions are due to the fact that Geoffrey was a Welshman; he certainly, and explicitly, attributes his failure to mention them to the poverty of the Welsh, or native British, sources at his command. Mr. Saintsbury is anxious, above everything, to prove that it was neither a Welshman, or one borrowing from Welsh sources, like Geoffrey, nor yet a Frenchman, like Wace or Chrétien de Troyes, who set the seal of consummate artistic achievement upon the Arthurian legend in its early stages, but an Englishman. Now, the Englishman who so succeeded is, according to Mr. Saintsbury, Walter Map. But as Map was almost certainly of Welsh descent, if not an

actual Welshman, Mr. Saintsbury's argument only serves to enhance the glory of "the Celtic fringe" in the exploitation of Arthurian romance. A few more quotations from Mr. Saintsbury are worth giving, as indicating how imposing a figure Map becomes in the imagination of those who are disposed to take all his alleged literary performances as his authentic works:—

> "A consensus of MS. authority ascribes the best and largest part of the *prose* romances, especially those dealing with Lancelot and the later fortunes of the Graal and the Round Table company, to no less a person than the famous Englishman, Walter Mapes, or Map, the author of *De Nugis Curialium*, the reputed author of divers ingenious Latin poems, friend of Becket, archdeacon of Oxford, churchman, statesman, and wit. No valid reason whatever has yet been shown for questioning this attribution, especially considering the number, antiquity, and strength of the documents by which it is attested. Map's date (1137-96) is the right one; his abilities were equal to any literary performance; his evident familiarity with things Welsh (he seems to have been a Herefordshire man) would have informed him of Welsh tradition, if there was any, and the *De Nugis Curialium* shows us in him, side by side with a satirical and humorous bent, the leaning to romance and to the marvellous which only extremely shallow people believe to be alien from humour. But it is necessary for scholarship of the kind just referred to to be always devising some new thing. Frenchmen, German, and Celticising partisans have grudged an Englishman the glory of exploit; and there has been of late a tendency to deny or slight Map's claims. His deposition, however, rests upon no solid argument, and though it would be exceedingly rash, considering the levity with which the copyists in mediæval MSS. attributed authorship, to assert positively that Map wrote *Lancelot* or the *Quest of the Saint Graal*, it may be asserted with the utmost confidence that it has not been proved that he did not." [1]

Again,—

> "If, as I think may fairly be done, the glory of the

[1] *Flourishing of Romance and the Rise of Allegory* (1897), pp. 99-101.

> Legend be chiefly claimed for none of these, but for English or Anglo-Norman, it can be done in no spirit of national pleonexia, but on a sober consideration of all the facts of the case, and allowing all other claimants their fair share in the matter as subsidiaries. From the merely *a priori* point of view the claims of England—that is to say, the Anglo-Norman realm—are strong. The matter is "the matter of Britain", and it was as natural that Arthur should be sung in Britain as that Charlemagne should be celebrated in France. But this could weigh nothing against positive balance of argument from the facts on the other side. The balance, however, does not lie against us. The personal claim of Walter Map, even if disproved, would not carry the English claim with it in its fall. But it has never been disproved. The positive, the repeated attribution of the MSS. may not be final, but requires a very serious body of counter-argument to upset it. And there is none such. The time suits; the man's general ability is not denied; his familiarity with Welshmen and Welsh tradition as a Herefordshire Marcher is pretty certain; and his one indisputable book of general literature, the *De Nugis Curialium*, exhibits many—perhaps all—of the qualifications required: a sharp judgment united with a distinct predilection for the marvellous, an unquestionable piety combined with man-of-the-worldliness, and a toleration of human infirmities."[1]

No one would quarrel with this estimate of Map's literary genius could it be proved to demonstration that the romances attributed to him are his own genuine productions; but the curious thing about it all is, of course, that Mr. Saintsbury takes every possible advantage of an assumption in order to exalt "the claims of England", as against those of Wales and France, in the artistic development of Arthurian story.

Of the chief incidents of Map's life we possess much more authentic testimony than in the case of Geoffrey of Monmouth; for his own well-known work, the *De Nugis Curialium*—"Of Courtiers' Trifflings,"—furnishes us with

[1] *Flourishing of Romance and Rise of Allegory*, p. 141.

several interesting details. Some uncertainty, however, prevails as to his precise origin, and as to the exact date and place of his birth. His name would certainly appear to be Welsh,—Map, as has been pointed out by more than one of his biographers,[1] being equivalent to the Scottish Mack, which is still retained as a surname in the Highlands. The name appears to have been fairly common in the twelfth century, for there are documents which show that in Herefordshire alone there were, in Mr. Ward's words, "a series of Walter Maps of some local importance between 1155 and 1240".[2] There seems to have been no ground at all for calling him "Mapes", as the late Thomas Wright, among others, did in editing his *De Nugis Curialium*, except that "Mapes" is supposed to be an appropriate English equivalent to the Latin *Mapus*; for Giraldus speaks, in his *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, of his friend as *nomine Walterus, cognomine Mapus*.[3] Walter himself, in the *De Nugis*, calls himself Map.[4] Furthermore, in the same work, he describes himself as "a marcher of Wales",[5] and calls the Welsh his "fellow-countrymen".[6] Again, he says in the same book, "Among *our* Welsh people the fear of God is seldom according to knowledge".[7] Dr. Henry Owen, as a loyal upholder of the genius of Pembrokeshire, would claim him for that county.[8] Mr. Kingsford, however, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, rejects the evidence for his Pembrokeshire origin as being altogether

[1] *Dictionary of Nat. Biog.*, xxxvi, p. 109; Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in British Museum*, vol. i, p. 736.

[2] *Cat. of Rom.*, i, p. 738.

[3] See H. Owen, *Gerald the Welshman* (new Ed.), p. 188.

[4] *De Nugis* (Camd. Soc.), p. 235.

[5] *De Nugis*, Dist. i, cap. 23.

[6] *De Nugis.*, Dist. ii, cap. 20.

[7] Dist. ii, 20.

[8] *Gerald the Welshman* (new Ed.), pp. 82, 83.

inadequate. It is far more probable that he was a native of Herefordshire, for he was throughout his life more or less connected with the city of Hereford. One further point may be noticed. Map was an intimate friend of that many-sided Welsh patriot, Giraldus Cambrensis; and Gerald nominated him in 1203 as a possible candidate for the vacant see of St. David's.

The date of his birth is uncertain, but we shall probably not be far wrong in fixing it a year or two before 1140. At any rate, we know from his own testimony[1] that he was a student at Paris between 1154 and 1160, and he relates in connection therewith an incident which throws a lurid sidelight upon the sanguinary riots with which the University youths of those days occasionally varied the monotony of their studies. His parents appear to have been of sufficient position to render substantial service to King Henry II, both before and after his succession. Through their merits, he tells us,[2] he had been fortunate enough to win the King's favour and affection, and we find him, at the threshold of manhood,—certainly before 1162, while Thomas à Becket was still chancellor[3]—attached to King Henry's Court. He was appointed one of the clerks of the King's household, was employed on several diplomatic missions,[4] and in 1173 was acting as a justice itinerant of Gloucester. Later on he frequently represented the King as one of his justices in eyre, or circuit judges of assize. Giraldus, in his *Mirror of the Church*, gives us in his anecdotal way, several scraps of information about Walter's judicial career and his ready shrewdness as a wit and as a manager of men.[5] One

[1] *De Nugis*, v, 5; ii, 7. [2] *Ibid.*, v, 6. [3] *Ibid.*, ii, 23.

[4] *Ibid.*; Giraldus, *Opera*, iv, 229; Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II*, pp. 176, 223, 265; *De Nugis*, ii, 3; v, 5; i, 31.

[5] See H. Owen's *Gerald* (New Ed.), pp. 188, 189.

example of his wit which Gerald quotes may be given here. When King Henry was once hunting in the Forest of Dean, certain abbots who were quarrelling about some lands laid their claims before him. One of the parties to the dispute, knowing that King Henry desired worldly glory above all things, gave God as their surety that, should the King decide in their favour, his name and fame would be greatly enhanced before the year was out. Map happened to be in attendance, and the King asked him what he thought of this pledge; he replied "My liege, as they offer you a surety, you ought first to hear what the surety has to say for himself!" It is Gerald, also, who tells us that when Map took the oath to administer justice to all men, he expressly excepted Jews and Cistercian monks. Map had a grudge against the Cistercians because of their encroachments upon the lands attached to his living of Westbury-on-Severn, a Gloucestershire vicarage to which he appears to have been presented at a fairly early period in his career. Not only did he visit his vengeance upon them in his capacity as a judge; he became, in his writings, their merciless satirist.

In 1176, Map was made a canon of St. Paul's; he was already, besides being vicar of Westbury, a canon and precentor of Lincoln, and he subsequently became chancellor of Lincoln; so that he seems to have had, during an active lifetime, a very fair share of the good things of the church. With the death of Henry II in 1189, his connection with the Court appears to have ceased. In 1197 he was appointed archdeacon of Oxford, and two years later, when a vacancy occurred in the see of Hereford, the chapter wished to have Map for their bishop. The appointment, however, lay with King John, who, soon after his accession, gave the bishopric to Giles de Braos, a son of William de Braos, of Brecon. In 1203 he was

among those nominated, not perhaps very seriously, by Giraldus as possible candidates for the see of St. David's. He died some time between 1208 and 1210. In the preface to his *Expugnatio Hibernica*, or Conquest of Ireland (1210), Giraldus refers to him as apparently but lately dead. In that preface Gerald quotes Map as having depreciated his own "talk", or *dicta*, as being of little value compared with Gerald's writings, or *scripta*. "I talk", Map is made to say, "in the vulgar tongue",—*i.e.*, in French,—"which everybody can understand, whereas you write in Latin, for learned and liberal princes, and there are not many of them about in these days." In quoting his old friend's words Gerald prays God "to have mercy on his soul". Map doubtless needed all the prayers he could get; for while he was far from being the "jovial", or, in other words, the bibulous "archdeacon" of some people's fancy, there had been much in his conversation—using the word both in its scriptural and in its narrower conventional meaning—that called for a liberal exercise of the divine mercy.

To the student of literature there can be few more perplexing tasks than that of solving the riddle of Map's literary reputation. For a riddle it is, and a riddle in all probability it will long, if not always, remain. If every literary work attributed to him be undoubtedly his, no one will question his claim to rank, in the words of Henry Morley, as "the man of highest genius" in the literature of these islands up to the time of Chaucer. We have already seen how important a place in the development of Arthurian romance Professor Saintsbury assigns to him. But it so happens that nothing is more difficult than to prove his authorship of all the works, and especially of those dealing with the Arthurian legend, which are attributed to him. The only absolutely authentic work of his that we have is

the curious medley from which we derive so much information about his personal history—the *De Nugis Curialium*. To add to the confusion, the *De Nugis*, which palpably embodies the accumulated lore of many years, neither contains a single fragment of Arthurian tradition, nor gives any indication that its author was even remotely interested in Arthurian romance. Again, while Map's close friend, Giraldus, knew Geoffrey of Monmouth's famous History, and took most of it for a bundle of lies, there is no trace of evidence that Map, the presumed paragon of all the earlier Arthurian romancers, knew anything of Geoffrey's exploitation of Arthurian traditions. Map's alleged romances were written in French; but his fame also rests upon the attribution to him of certain poems in Latin. Now, few things could have less in common than the Goliardic poems and the stately romances of Lancelot and of the Holy Grail. The late Professor Henry Morley would indeed bridge the chasm by claiming for the Latin poems a didactic motive which only found its highest expression in the lofty idealism of the romances. "Map's aim", he tells us, "was not more pure when he set the Holy Grail among King Arthur's knights, and placed in the seat perilous, at their table, Sir Galahad for their true pattern, than when he gave a seat on the bench of Bishops to Golias, of whose life it was the crowning hope that he might die drunk in a tavern." This is a somewhat large assumption, and one which it would be difficult, we fear, to establish, by a strictly critical examination of the Latin poems.

Readers of Chaucer's Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, will be familiar with a line in his description of the Miller, which tells us that that sturdy pilgrim was noted as "a jangler and a goliardeis". Even easy-going students of Chaucer will not need to be told that "jangler" is the

same word as the French *jongleur*, and means a teller of tales, while "goliardeis" is summarily interpreted as "a ribald jester". The term "goliardeis" had, long before Chaucer's time, come to have an almost technical meaning in the heterogeneous artistic world of the Middle Ages. During the thirteenth century frequent mention is found of a class of persons designated as Goliards, or *Goliardi*, and—according to Matthew Paris—*Goliardenses*. They appear to have been, originally, clerics, who among their order performed much the same function as the jongleurs and minstrels did among the laity. By the end of the thirteenth century the name was applied to any jongleur, or teller and singer of more or less unsavoury tales and songs.[1] Even Chaucer's use of the word implies that it was in his day a term of contempt, and the truth is that it was never anything else. In the year 1841 the distinguished antiquary, Thomas Wright, published, under the auspices of the Camden Society, *The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, and gave to readers of printed books their first opportunity of becoming acquainted with the poetry which furnished the Goliards both with their models and with their name. Map, assuming him to have been the author of these poems, appears in them in the disguised name and character of a bishop called Golias, for the purpose, as his interpreters tell us, of satirising the gluttonous clergy of his day. As an example, once more, of the best interpretation that can be put upon Map's motives and genius, let us hear Henry Morley:—

"As he (Map) had painted in his fiction the purity of a

[1] The name *Golias* was in use as an opprobrious appellation quite three centuries before Map's time; for we learn that during the lifetime of Gautier, archbishop of Sens, who died in 923, a sentence of condemnation was passed on certain *clerici ribaldi, maxime qui vulgo dicuntur de familia Goliæ*.

> Galahad, and spiritualised the King Arthur romance, leaving his wit to do its wholesome work without drawing attention, after the manner of the Pharisees, to the righteousness of his intent, so we find him at court spending his genius on the creation of a fat mock-bishop, who is the familiar pattern of all that is gross and worldly among men professing to be spiritual guides."

Two of the poems bearing the name of Golias have, according to Professor Morley, "by constant tradition been ascribed to him, never to any other writer",—viz., those named, respectively, the "Apocalypse" and the "Confession" of Golias. It is strange, however, that Giraldus, who refers to, and quotes from, the Golias poems in his *Mirror of the Church*, gives no indication that he knew Map to have been their author. Dr. Henry Owen would have us believe that that is only Gerald's "fun", and that he knew only too well who the author was.[1] There is, perhaps, something to be said for this assumption, and, accepting it as at least probable, charity bids us further follow Dr. Owen in the belief that Map is not to be "identified with his drunken bishop", but is "really a temperance lecturer in disguise". In his "Confession" Golias frankly admits himself to have been a notorious evil liver. Among other things, he remembers the tavern which was one of his favourite haunts, "the tavern which he has never scorned, nor ever will scorn, until he hears the holy angels coming to chant over his dead body the eternal requiem". Then, there immediately follow the lines which, taken out of their context, have been made to do duty as a celebrated drinking-song,—one that has been frequently translated into English, and on the strength of which Map has won his not very enviable reputation as "the jovial archdeacon": *Meum est propositum in taberna mori*, etc. Of

[1] *Gerald the Welshman* (new ed.), p. 190.

the English versions of this famous song, that of Leigh Hunt is, perhaps, at once the most spirited and best known. Hunt informs us that his translation aims at reproducing the "intermixture of a grave and churchman-like style" which flavours "this reverend piece of wit". He also quotes the learned Camden's description of the author as one "who filled England with merriments and confessed to his love of good liquor in this manner"—

"I desire to end my days—in a tavern drinking.
May some Christian hold for me—the glass when I am shrinking;
That the cherubim may cry—when they see me sinking,
God be merciful to a soul—of this gentleman's way of thinking.[1]

* * * * *

Every one by nature hath—a mould which he was cast in;
I happen to be one of those—who never could write fasting;
By a single little boy—I should be surpass'd in
Writing so: I'd just as lief—be buried, tomb'd, and grass'd in.

Every one by nature hath—a gift too, a dotation;
I, when I make verses—do get the inspiration
Of the very best of wine—that comes into the nation:
It maketh sermons to abound—for edification.

* * * * *

Neither is there given to me—prophetic animation,
Unless when I have eat and drunk—yea, ev'n to saturation;
Then in my upper storey—hath Bacchus domination,
And Phœbus rusheth into me, and beggareth all creation."

Assuming this poem to be the authentic work of Map, let us hope that it was really meant as a temperance lecture. Satire, we know, has many methods; and temperance reformers in their time have not disdained to gain their ends by burlesquing the utterance and the motions of the drunkard. The greater part of the rest of the Golias poetry associated with Map's name is neither of very great interest nor of a high degree of inspiration. One of

[1] The verse attempts at representing the exact rhythmic movement and the rhymes of the Latin original.

the songs, which appears to have been extremely popular in the Middle Ages, is a caution against marrying a wife,—a poem which connects itself with a well-known prose tract on the same subject included in the *De Nugis*. Another is a rhymed description, in some four hundred short Latin lines, of Wales. A fifteenth-century English version of this poem is extant,[1]—a sorry enough sort of doggrel, but one from which the curious reader may draw some mild amusement. The "mervailles and wonders" of Wales are recounted in the poem after the following manner—to choose an instance which should be of interest to Carnarvonshire folk,—

"At Nevyn in Northwalis
A litill ilonde there is
That is called Bardisey;
Monkes dwelleth there alway;
Men lyve so longe in that hurst
That the oldest deyeth first."

There, men say, lies the grave of Merlin, about whose strange personality the poet theorises thus :—

"Clergye maketh mynd
Deth sleeth no fendes kynde;
But deth slowe Merlin;
Merlin was *ergo* no goblin."

Well, neither this descriptive poem, as may be guessed, nor the Golias songs are of a high order of literature, and to assign them definitely to Map would not greatly enhance his reputation. As it happens, it is impossible to claim them as his authentic productions. In no case are the MSS. which ascribe them to him older than the fourteenth century, and by that time his reputation as a wit and a possible poet had grown to such an extent as to make it quite natural for facile scribes to borrow the authority of

[1] Printed by T. Wright in appendix to his Ed. of *Poems of Walter Mapes*. (Camd. Soc.)

his fame for all the flotsam and jetsam of the Goliardic poetry. We know from the testimony of Giraldus not only that Map was a noted wit, but that he was a writer of verse; for in a long letter addressed to him,[1] Gerald refers to Walter's poetic tastes, and has also preserved for us twelve lines in Latin elegiacs which Map wrote in reply to a poem of his own. The only absolutely authentic poem of Map is this brief effusion vouched for by Giraldus.

Very different in character from his alleged poems, and of far higher argument and literary quality, are the Arthurian romances in French prose commonly attributed to Map. But here, again, the evidence of authenticity is so precarious that no stable conclusion can be built upon it. The problem presented by the authorship of these romances is so complex, and so devious in its ramifications, that I cannot here do more than give a bare statement of its main factors. The romances which, from the thirteenth century downwards, the MSS. explicitly assign to Map are written in French prose, and deal with some of the more picturesque and symbolical developments of the Arthurian legend. A full account of them is given in Vol. I of the late Mr. Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, and the question of Map's authorship is there discussed by him at considerable length. A shorter account of them will be found in Vol. III of Henry Morley's *English Writers*. Prof. Morley states that Map "indisputably wrote" one of the Grail romances usually assigned to him, and that he "invented the ideally pure character of Sir Galahad". The great Lancelot romance, also, according to Morley, is his; for "where" he asks, "was there an author able to invent it and to write it with a talent so prodigious, except Walter Map?" The romances ascribed to Map centre round the figure of Sir

[1] *Opera*, i, 271-89.

Lancelot, and may be regarded as branches of a great Lancelot-saga. They fall into three clear divisions—the first usually called the *Lancelot* proper, the second the *Quest of the Holy Grail*, and the third the *Morte Arthur*. "The greatest artistic stroke in the whole (Arthurian) Legend," writes Professor Saintsbury, speaking of the Lancelot story—

> "And one of the greatest in all literature, is the concoction of a hero who should be not only
>
> 'Like Paris handsome, and like Hector brave',
>
> but more heroic than Paris and more interesting than Hector,—not only a 'greatest knight', but at once the sinful lover of his queen and the champion who should himself all but achieve, and in the person of his son actually achieve, the sacred adventure of the Holy Graal. If, as there seems no valid reason to disbelieve, the hitting upon this idea, and the invention or adoption of Lancelot to carry it out, be the work of Walter Mapes, then Walter Mapes is one of the great novelists of the world, and one of the greatest of them."

Now, let us see what are the main points of the evidence for and against his authorship. In the first place, in all, or nearly all, the oldest and best MSS. of these romances Map is expressly mentioned as the author. As some of the MSS. date back to the thirteenth century, that is much. Moreover, a poet who wrote at about the close of the twelfth century the romance of *Ipomedon*—one Hue de Rotelande, apparently a native of Herefordshire, and one whose somewhat obscure name has been interpreted as being equivalent to the Welsh "Hugh of Rhuddlan",—apologises for his romance-writing in the following words, "I am not the only one who knows the art of lying, Walter Map knows well his part of it".[1] This would seem to indicate that, by about 1185, Map enjoyed some reputation

[1] "Sul ne sai pas de mentir lart,
Walter Map reset ben sa part."
Ipomedon, fo. 82, ll. 29, 30.

as a writer of imaginative romances or poems, although some people might argue that all Hue meant was that Map was well known—a fact which, of course, Giraldus's testimony supports,—as a first-rate retailer of fancy, or "cock-and-bull", stories. Mr. Ward—and he is one of the most competent authorities—on the strength of a comparison of the passage in Hue de Rotelande's poem in which the reference to Map occurs "with the incidents and rubrics of the prose Lancelot", concludes that Map was "the author of part of that romance". Map's biographer in the *D. N. B.* thinks that "the foundation of the prose 'Lancelot' was an Anglo-French poem by Walter Map". On the other hand, the late Gaston Paris, another eminent authority in matters of this kind, denies Map any share in the composition of any one of the branches of the Lancelot story, on the ground, mainly, that his authenticated works show no trace of interest in the Arthurian legend at all. Mr. Nutt, again, in his *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail*, fails to reconcile Map's authorship with his busy public life, especially "when it is remembered how slow literary composition was in those days". An examination of the evidence leads Mr. Nutt to conclude that, "whether or no Map wrote the Lancelot, it may be safely assumed that he did not write the *Quest of the Holy Grail*". "The tradition as to his authorship of these romances", Mr. Nutt continues, may "have originated in Geoffrey's mention of the Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, to whom he owed his MS. of the History of the Kings of Britain."[1]

[1] Miss Jessie L. Weston, who is well known as a learned and suggestive contributor to the critical literature of the Arthurian legend, discusses in a small volume called *The Three Days' Tournament* (Nutt, 1902) the problems raised by the reference in the *Ipomedon*, and, in particular, Map's authorship of the prose *Lancelot*. Miss Weston is of opinion that "it seems impossible to doubt that, when Hue de

The chief difficulty, when all is told, about assigning these romances to Map lies in the utter absence of any indication in his one authentic work—the *De Nugis Curialium*—that Arthurian fable ever had an engrossing interest for him. For, if these great romances are held to be his work, Arthurian story must have been the obsession of a great part of his lifetime, and as the *De Nugis* is a sort of common-place book in which he jotted down at various periods odds and ends of curious lore, some fragments at least of Arthurian tradition must have found their way into it. But there are none; Arthur's name, even, does not once appear in its pages, nor is there the remotest allusion either to Lancelot or to any other knight of the Arthurian court. And yet the book contains a good deal of matter gathered from the "shores of old romance", matter that, sometimes, transports us to the borders of fairy-land or into the misty regions of primitive British legend. Among the "marvels" which he recounts, however, there is one which bears some analogy to a famous element in Arthurian fable, and which is cited as such by Professor Rhys in his *Celtic Folklore*.[1] It is a legend which tells us about the origin, and the end, of a certain

Rotelande referred to Walter Map, in connection with the tournament episode of *Ipomedon*, he had in his mind a version of the *Lancelot*, which also contained such a story, and which was attributed to the latter writer". She also inclines to the belief that, while it was not impossible for Map to have composed a Lancelot poem earlier than Chrétien de Troyes' *Erec*, he might very well have written one before Chrétien's *Cligès*, and thinks it "highly probable that Chrétien borrowed from Map in the latter poem". Towards the close of her book Miss Weston makes a suggestion which all workers upon the origins and growth of the Arthurian legend will do well to note, viz., that "a careful investigation into the literary patronage exercised by Henry the Second, and his interest in Arthurian traditions," is a line of research likely to lead to important results.

[1] Vol. ii, p. 496.

Trinio, who, among other things, fought a battle with the celebrated Brychan of Brycheiniog, presumably in the first half of the fifth century. In this battle Trinio was defeated, and was never afterwards seen, but, as Map tells us, people said that he had been rescued by his mother—a fairy,—and that he still lived with her in a lake which is supposed to be the lake of Safaddon or Syfaddon. Here we have a popular variant,—and folk-lore furnishes many of them—of the legend of the Arthurian lady of the lake. As the story of Trinio embodies traditions which are common to many primitive folk-tales, a portion of it is worth quoting as a sample of the kind of "marvellous" gossip which Map thought it worth while to include in his courtly medley:—

> "The Welsh relate to us another thing, not so much a miracle as a portent, as follows:—They say that Gwestin of Gwestiniog dwelt beside Brecknock Mere, which has a circumference of two miles, and that on three moonlight nights he saw in his field of oats women dancing, and that he followed them until they sank in the water of the mere; but the fourth time they say that he seized hold of one of them. Her captor further used to relate, that on each of these nights he had heard the women, after plunging into the mere, murmuring beneath the water and saying, 'If he had done so and so, he would have caught one of us', and that he had been instructed by their own words as to the manner in which he caught her. She both yielded and became his wife, and her first words to her husband were these, 'Willingly will I serve thee, and with whole-hearted obedience, until that day when, desirous of sallying forth in the direction of the cries beyond the Llyfni, thou shalt strike me with thy bridle'—the Llyfni is a burn near the mere. And this came to pass; after presenting him with a numerous offspring, she was struck by him with the bridle, and on his returning home, he found her running away with her offspring, and he pursued her, but it was with difficulty that he got hold even of one of his sons, and he was named Trinio (?) Faglog."[1]

[1] Rhys's translation.

It was not alone from Wales and the Welsh marches that Map drew his fairy-stories; some of those which follow the one I have just quoted appear to have been fairly common all over Western Europe. These tales, and others of a more or less romantic character, some of them even drawn from the East, were probably garnered from the recitals of pilgrims, minstrels, crusaders and other inquisitive travellers of the time. Map himself was evidently interested in all kinds of folk-lore, and is a remote forerunner of those who, in our time, have made it a subject of systematic and learned study.[1] Included as they are in what purports to be a miscellany of Court gossip, these folk-tales may well be regarded as specimens of the higher order of after-dinner stories with which the travelled courtiers and knights of those days regaled themselves in hall and castle.

The title of the *De Nugis Curialium* is not original to Map. It had been already used by his contemporary, John of Salisbury, a well-known courtier and diplomatic agent of Henry the Second's, as a sub-title to his *Polycraticus*[2]—a work which combined satire of the Court manners of the time with learned disquisitions upon politics and philosophy. Except in its satirical portions, Map's book bears little resemblance to John of Salisbury's, and is what its name implies, a collection of "trifles", grave and gay, including both shrewd comments upon public affairs and characters, and a variety of pleasant anecdotes. Only a brief description of the work can here

[1] Miss Weston not inaptly remarks: "Had he lived in the nineteenth-twentieth centuries, instead of the twelfth-thirteenth, Map would undoubtedly have been a prominent member of the Folk-Lore Society."—*The Three Days' Tournament*, p. 44.

[2] The full sub-title of John of Salisbury's book is *De Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum.*

be given. It was evidently composed by instalments, begun probably about 1180 and put into its final form about 1193. In the First of his five Books,—or "Distinctions", as he calls them,—Map, starting with a comparison between the English Court and the infernal regions, proceeds to tell a number of stories relating to the follies and crimes of Courts. Soon after, he turns to another subject, and gives us an account of the origin of some of the monastic orders, together with severe animadversions upon their growing corruption. This affords him an opportunity for making a violent attack upon his particular enemies, the Cistercians. Then follow accounts of the rise of certain heretical sects, of which the most interesting and important, historically, is that of the Waldenses (ch. xxxi). The First Distinction closes with a short chapter describing the remarkable penitential labours of three hermits. This short summary of the First Book will show that Map has little regard for the orderly arrangement and connexion of his matter. At the very end of his Second Book he expressly claims the liberty of a desultory writer. His readers must, he says, dress for themselves the dishes which he brings them; he himself is simply the huntsman who provides the game.[1] The Second Distinction indeed requires, even more than the First, some such apology; for it is altogether a very odd medley. The first seven chapters contain stories of some pious monks and hermits, and their supposed miracles. In the eighth chapter we are, without any premonition, transported into Wales, and Map's first reflection upon those whom he subsequently calls his "compatriots" is as follows: "Among every people, as it is elsewhere said, he that fears God is acceptable in His sight; seldom amongst

[1] *Venator vester sum, feras vobis affero, fercula faciatis.* Dist. II, ch. xxxii.

our Welsh is the fear of the Lord according to knowledge." This and other chapters in the Second Book, in which Map comments on the Welsh character in a vein that reminds us of Giraldus, require a fuller notice later on. In addition to reflections upon the manners and customs of the Welsh people, we have chapters embodying fragments of Welsh tradition and history. Two (ch. xxii, xxiii) deal with incidents in the life of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn;[1] while others tell us anecdotes of a certain Helias, a Welsh hermit (ch. ix), of Cadoc, king of the Welsh[2] (ch. x), of Conan, a knight of Wales (ch. xxiv), of Cheueslin, a thief of North Wales (ch. xxv). The Book also contains a number of fairy-legends, including the one we have already quoted. The Third Distinction is composed entirely of romantic tales. The Fourth opens with the well-known treatise, long supposed to have been by St. Jerome, called the Epistle of Valerius to Rufinus upon the folly of marrying a wife. This curious tract unfolds, in a long procession of instances from Adam's experience downwards, the dangers and the miseries of the married state. Chaucer was well acquainted with this Epistle, for the Wife of Bath gives us an account of it as one of the favourite books of her fifth husband, the clerk Jankyn. The rest of the Fourth Distinction comprises another series of stories, some of them being lively folk-tales, while others deal with historical incidents and personages. The Fifth, and the last, Book is almost entirely historical, and gives us much valuable information about the Anglo-

[1] By some mistake, Map refers to him as "Llywelyn ap Gruffudd", but there can be no doubt that the prince to whom he refers is Gruffudd ap Llewelyn ap Seisyll, who died in 1023. See Prof. J. E. Lloyd's article on "Wales and the Coming of the Normans", in *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, 1899-1900, p. 127.

[2] This brief chapter ends, curiously, with the words: "Haec de Cadoco *Brenin*."

Norman Kings. It also includes the chapter which furnishes us with all our available autobiographical detail about Map himself.

It remains to give a brief account of the chapters in which Map comments upon the character and habits of the Welshmen of his time, and which suggest many interesting points of comparison with the fuller and the much better known picture of the social and moral condition of Wales given by his friend Gerald in his celebrated *Itinerary*. Despite the manifest interest which Map felt in Wales and in its people and its legends, it must be said that he speaks of his "compatriots" generally with an air of detachment which tends to make us question whether he really considered himself one of them. He stands, at any rate, at such a distance from them in culture, courtliness and worldly wisdom as to indulge in some very frank criticism of their weaknesses. The statement,[1] already quoted, that "seldom among our Welsh is the fear of God according to knowledge", is illustrated by a brief character-sketch of "a certain Welshman of high birth", who belonged to the military entourage of William de Braos. This man's devotion, as certified by William himself, was such that "each night at the first crowing of the cock he would rise from his bed, and naked as he was would kneel on the bare ground and keep vigil and pray until dawn". So abstinent, also, was he in his habits, and so close a guard did he keep over himself, that one might imagine him to be little lower than the angels.[2] "But should you see how foolish this man could be in his conversation, how ready to shed blood, how careless of his own safety, how eager for the death of others, how joyful in committing some crime, even murder,—then indeed you would not

[1] Dist. II, ch. viii.

[2] "*Si cognosceres eum supra hominem angelis putares proximum.*"

doubt that he was wholly given over to iniquity." Such inconsistency of character is, to Map, typical of the man's race; for the chapter closes with the reflection: "So firmly, and as it were by nature, is there rooted in these Welshmen a blunted sense of what constitutes gentle conduct[1] that, if in some things they may appear to be moderate, yet in many do they show themselves ill-tempered and savage."

Here is a general estimate of "the morals of Welshmen", in which the same strange inconsistency is more fully dwelt upon:—

> "Our Welsh compatriots, though they are altogether unfaithful to everyone, as much to one another as to strangers, are yet honest. I do not say that they are good in virtue or distinguished in ability, but in bitterness of fighting and in keenness of resistance they are honest,—honest, that is to say, in their very dishonesty. They are prodigal of life, covetous of liberty, careless of peace, warlike and cunning in arms, quick to revenge; (yet are they) very generous of everything, each most sparing of food towards himself, but bountiful of meat to others, so that each one's food is anybody's. And none among them has any need to ask for bread, but may take without challenge what he finds and whatever victuals he may discover ready for eating. And to disprove the charge of avarice, they hold in such sacred regard the tradition of open-handedness and hospitality, that no one who has entertained a guest asks before the third day whence or who he is."[2]

In another chapter (Dist. II, xxvi) he animadverts severely upon the "fury of the Welsh", and tells a tragic story in illustration of it:—

> "To shew how full of rash and fatuous fury are the fits of the Welsh, a youth of a town called Hay, went out to cross the river Wye: he was carrying a bow with two arrows, and happening to meet two of his enemies he took to flight.

---

[1] *Hebetudo mansuetudinis.*

[2] Dist. II, ch. xx.

> As he fled, one of them followed so close that he seemed like to catch him. But the youth shot him with one of his arrows in the middle of his breast. The stricken man said to his comrade: 'Follow him, for I am dying, and bring me back my life from him.' The other then pursued the youth towards the next town as far as he could, and then returned to his comrade. But as he made his way back, he in his turn was followed at a distance by the youth, who wanted to know the end of his fellow. The youth then saw that when the man who was unhurt came to his wounded comrade, lying in a thicket, the latter asked him whether he had brought him back his life from the youth. When he replied that he had not, 'Come here,' said the wounded man, 'to take from me a kiss for my wife and children, for I am on the point of death.' While the unwounded man was in the act of kissing his sick comrade, the latter, as he lay beneath him, stabbed him to the heart with a knife, saying, 'Lose thy life, thou who through thy cowardice hast failed to bring back mine!' But the man who was on top cut him, in the same way, with a knife to the heart, saying, 'No boast shalt thou make of my death, and my only misfortune is that the wounds thou hast given me compel me to die before I have passed on such kisses to thy wife and children!' Behold how foolish and unjust is the anger of the Welsh, and how swift they are to shed blood!"

The extracts here given, together with a few other scattered references in the *De Nugis*,[1] would seem to shew that Map held no very high opinion of Welshmen as he knew them. Nor can we make very much, when all is told, of his connection with Wales and Welsh life, apart from his relations with Giraldus. But, like Giraldus and Geoffrey, he undoubtedly belongs to "the Celtic fringe", having, like them, both Norman and Welsh blood in his veins. The three stand together as the most notable

[1] Cf. Dist. II, ch. xxiii *ad finem*. "Ego vobis ex hoc facto notifico fidem Walensium, quod dum tenebitis ensem supplicabunt, cum ipsi tenuerint, imperabunt" . . . . . "In rapina et furto gloria Walensium, et adeo eis utrumque placet, ut improperium sit filio si pater sine vulnere decesserit. Unde fit ut pauci canescant."

figures in the literary history of Britain during the twelfth century, and are typical representatives of the intellectual interests quickened and fostered by the revival of learning under the Norman and Angevin kings, and by the newly awakened zest for romance. Whether Walter Map was the actual author of the Arthurian romances attributed to him or not, his name has been so persistently associated with them from so early a date that he must have had something to do with either their suggestion or their actual compilation. A fuller investigation and, if possible, the determination of this vexed question, is a task—difficult, indeed, but not without many attractive possibilities—which challenges the enterprise of our younger Arthurian scholars to-day. Equally desirable and necessary is an amended text of the *De Nugis* from the solitary known MS. in the Bodleian.[1] It is certainly a reproach to modern scholarship that the writings, actual or alleged, of an author whose celebrity in literary history is so great as Map's should still be awaiting the hand of a critical and competent editor.[2]

[1] Wright's printed text is, obviously, imperfect, and he complains in his preface that there were difficulties in the way of his "collating the text himself with the original".

[2] After this paper had been prepared for the press, a copy of a learned and suggestive Latin thesis on Walter Map and his works was very kindly sent to me by its author, Mons. J. Bardoux of Paris. (De Walterio Mappio: *Thesim Parisiensi Universitati proposuit J. Bardoux. Columbariis: ex typis P. Brodard, 1900.*) It contains by far the most exhaustive account of Map's life and literary labours yet published, and an English translation of it is much to be desired. M. Bardoux is inclined to give Map the full credit of the great literary reputation which is traditionally his, and adduces strong arguments in support of his view.

The Transactions

of the Honourable

Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1906-07.

LONDON:
ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,
NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.
1908.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

President:—The Right Hon. Viscount Tredegar.
Chairman of the Council:—Principal Sir John Rhys, M.A., D.Litt.
Vice-Chairman and Treasurer:—Dr. Henry Owen, F.S.A.
Secretary:—Mr. E. Vincent Evans.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION, originally founded under Royal patronage in 1751, was revived in 1873, with the object of bringing into closer contact Welshmen, particularly those resident out of Wales, who are anxious to advance the welfare of their country; and of enabling them to unite their efforts for that purpose. Its especial aims are the improvement of Education, and the promotion of intellectual culture by the encouragement of Literature, Science, and Art, as connected with Wales.

Subscription to the Society, entitling to copies of all its publications, and admission to all meetings:—One Guinea per annum.

Application for membership should be addressed to the Secretary, E. Vincent Evans, New Stone Buildings, 64, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

Y Cymmrodor, Vols. ii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii. New Series. Vols. xiii, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix, and xx. 10*s.* 6*d.* per volume. [Vols. i and iii, out of print.]

The History of the Cymmrodorion. Out of print.

A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe, by Wyllyam Salesbury (1547). Facsimile, black letter. 4 parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

The Gododin of Aneurin Gwawdrydd, by Thomas Stephens, Author of *The Literature of the Kymry.* 6 parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

An Essay on Pennillion Singing (Hanes ac Henafiaeth Canu gyda'r Tannau), by J. Jones (*Idris Vychan*). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Ystorya de Carolo Magno (from the "Red Book of Hergest"). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Athravaeth Gristnogavl (from the unique copy belonging to the late Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, originally printed at Milan, A.D. 1568). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Blessednes of Brytaine, by Maurice Kyffin (1587). 1 part, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Gerald the Welshman, by Henry Owen, D.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A. Demy 8vo., vellum and cloth, gilt, 10*s.* 6*d.* Crown 8vo., cloth gilt, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Gweithiau Iolo Goch: Gyda Nodiadau Hanesyddol a Beirniadol, gan Charles Ashton. **The Works of Iolo Goch.** Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion for 1892-93, 1893-94, 1894-95, 1895-96, 1896-97, 1897-98, 1898-99, 1899-1900, 1900-01, 1901-02, 1902-03, 1903-04, 1904-05, 1905-06, 1906-07. 10*s.* 6*d.* per number.

IN THE CYMMRODORION RECORD SERIES.

The Description of Penbrokshire, by George Owen of Henllys. Edited by Henry Owen, D.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A. Being No. 1 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* 2 parts, 21*s.*

The Court Rolls of the Lordship of Ruthin or Dyffryn-Clwyd, of the Reign of King Edward the First, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited, with Translations, Notes, etc., by R. Arthur Roberts, of H.M. Public Record Office. Being No. 2 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

Gildae de Excidio Britanniae, Liber de Paenitentia, accedit et Lorica Gildae. (Gildas: the Ruin of Britain, Fragments from Lost Letters, the Penitential, together with the Lorica of Gildas.) Parts I and II. Edited by Hugh Williams, M.A., Professor of Church History at the Theological College, Bala. Being No. 3 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

A Catalogue of the Manuscripts relating to Wales in the British Museum. Parts I, II & III. (Part IV is expected to finish the work.) Compiled and Edited by Edward Owen, of Gray's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. Being No. 4 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

The Black Book of St. David's. An Extent of all the Lands and Rents of the Lord Bishop of St. David's, made by Master David Fraunceys, Chancellor of St. David's in the time of the Venerable Father the Lord David Martyn, by the grace of God Bishop of the place, in the year of our Lord 1326. Edited by J. W. Willis-Bund. Being No. 5 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

To be obtained by Members on application to the Secretary, at the Cymmrodorion Library, 64, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

THE

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE HONOURABLE

SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

SESSION 1906-7.

LONDON:

ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,

NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.

1908.

DEVIZES:
PRINTED BY GEORGE SIMPSON.

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL for 1906-7 v

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS for 1906-7 ... xi

Some Incidents in the Life of Edward Lhuyd. By Mr. RICHARD ELLIS, B.A. 1

Illustrations—

Portrait of Edward Lhuyd 1
View of Jesus College, Oxford, by Luggan (*c.* 1675) 4
The Ashmolean Museum, 1837 8
Facsimile Letter of Edward Lhuyd 32

The National Emblem of Wales. By Mr. IVOR B. JOHN, M.A. 52

Welsh Church Dedications. By the Rev. JOHN FISHER, B.D. 76

Illustrations—

S. David, from the Panel in the Central Hall of the Houses of Parliament 76
S. Brychan; S. Teilo; S. Winefred; S. Dubricius; S. Asaph; S. Deiniol; S. Tyssilio *In the Text*

CYMMRODORION SECTION OF THE NATIONAL EISTEDDFOD, 1907. (SWANSEA.)

Welsh Towns as they are and as they might be. By Mr. ANEURIN WILLIAMS, M.A. 109

Welsh Bibliography and its Aims. By Mr. J. H. DAVIES, M.A. 181

SUPPLEMENT.

A Bibliography of Welsh Ballads printed in the Eighteenth Century. By Mr. J. H. DAVIES, M.A. 1–82

REPORT

OF

THE COUNCIL OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

For the Year ending November 9th, 1907.

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN THE SOCIETY'S ROOMS, ON THURSDAY, THE 21ST DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1907.

IN the first place, the Council have to refer to the many losses which have occurred in the ranks of the Society during the past year through death. Last week there were laid to rest, at Llangunnor Church, the remains of the late Sir Lewis Morris, a great-grandson of Llewelyn Ddu o Fon, one of the founders of the Cymmrodorion. For the last thirty years Sir Lewis Morris was closely associated with the work of the Society. He was one of its Vice-Presidents, he took part in many of its gatherings, and he contributed very largely to its Publications. One of his latest contributions, which appeared in a recent volume of *The Transactions*, was an Appreciation of his great friend and fellow-worker, the late Stephen Evans, who for so many years was the Chairman of your Council. Sir Lewis Morris' devotion to the interests of Welsh Learning and Welsh Education, and his services to English Literature, are too well known to need any eulogy.

Our list of Vice-Presidents is also shorter by the death of the late Sir David Evans, K.C.M.G., a willing sup-

porter of Welsh National movements, to whom the Cymmrodorion Society was greatly indebted for much generous hospitality.

As a Council we mourn the loss of a distinguished colleague in the person of the late John Romilly Allen, F.S.A., whose books, and whose contributions to the *Archæologia Cambrensis* as well as to the *Transactions* of our own Society and other Magazines, have considerably helped the study of Celtic Archæology. We also refer with sorrow to the loss of Mr. H. Powel Powel, of Castle Madoc, the Rev. Professor Rowlands, of Brecon Memorial College, and the Rev. J. Jenkyn Brown, of Edgbaston, three of our oldest members, and to the death of Mr. Alfred Davies, formerly Member of Parliament for the Carmarthen Boroughs, Mr. Joseph Broome, of Llandudno, and one of our lady-members, Mrs. John Hughes, of the Manor House, Hampton-on-Thames.

The Council have pleasure in announcing the addition of 45 new members to the ranks of the Society during the past year.

In the course of the last twelve months the following meetings have been held in London:—

1906.

Nov. 16.—Annual Meeting of the Members.

Dec. 5.—Annual Dinner. Chairman, The Right Hon. D. Lloyd-George, M.P., President of the Board of Trade. Guest of the Evening, Sir John H. Puleston.

1907.

Feb. 7.—Paper on "Edward Lhuyd", by Richard Ellis, Esq., B.A. (Jesus College, Oxford). Chairman, Principal Rhŷs.

Feb. 21.—Paper on "The National Flower of Wales", by Ivor B. John, Esq., M.A. (of the Goldsmith's College). Chairman, Ellis J. Griffith, Esq., M.P.

Mar. 27.—Paper on "Art, Religion, and Life (a Welshman's Ideal for

Wales)", by Prof. D. Ffrangcon-Davies, M.A. Chairman, Francis Edwards, Esq., M.P.

May 1.—Paper on "Welsh Church Dedications", by the Rev. John Fisher, B.D., Rector of Cefn. Chairman, The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.

June 27.—ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE. By invitation of the Right Hon. the President (Viscount Tredegar), at the New Gallery, Regent Street.

At Swansea :—

In the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod, meetings were held on Monday evening, August 19th, 1907, in the rooms of the Royal Institution of South Wales, Swansea, when an address (followed by a discussion) was delivered on "Welsh Towns as they are, and as they might be" *(Trefydd Cymru fel y maent, ac fel y gallent fod)*, by Aneurin Williams, Esq., M.A., J.P.; Chairman, The Right Hon. Lord Glantawe; and on Wednesday, August 21st, at St. Paul's Schoolroom, St. Helen's Road (in connection with the Welsh Bibliographical Society), when J. H. Davies, Esq., M.A. (Editor of the *Morrisian Letters*, etc.), read a paper (followed by a discussion) on "Welsh Bibliography and its Aims"; Chairman, Sir John Williams, Bart., K.C.V.O.

At the last-named meeting steps were taken to establish the Welsh Bibliographical Society, and it is hoped that by some mutual arrangement the labours of the new Society can be utilised and published for the benefit of the members of the Cymmrodorion and of book-lovers generally.

The Council are happy to report that two volumes of *Transactions* (those for 1904-5 and 1905-6) were issued this year, and they are pleased to congratulate the members on the fact that the delay in the issue of the first of these resulted in the securing of the very exhaustive and suggestive paper by the Rev. Thomas Shankland on the *Life and Work of Sir John Philipps of Picton*. In this

connection the Council desire to record their obligations to Sir Chas. E. G. Philipps, of Picton Castle, for enabling them to reproduce the unique portrait of Sir John Philipps, and to the Rev. Sir James Erasmus Philipps, Bart., Canon of Salisbury Cathedral, for the loan of a picture of Picton Castle at the end of the seventeenth century.

The twentieth volume of *Y Cymmrodor* is now far advanced, and it is expected that it will be ready for publication in December. It contains a translation of the *Ystorya de Carolo Magno* issued by this Society in 1883, with a historical and critical introduction by the Rev. Robert Williams, B.A., Llanbedr-y-Cenin, and its publication will be the realisation of a promise made to the members of this Society some twenty-four years ago.

The *Transactions* for the year 1907 are in the press, and will be issued early in the ensuing year. The volume contains Mr. Richard Ellis' paper on *Edward Lhuyd*, with *facsimile* reproductions, Mr. Ivor B. John's paper on *The Welsh National Emblem*, the Rev. John Fisher's paper on *Welsh Church Dedications*, with illustrations, and the papers read at the meetings of the Cymmrodorion Section of the Eisteddfod held at Swansea.

Mr. Edward Owen, the editor and compiler of the *Catalogue of MSS. Relating to Wales* at the British Museum, reports that Volume III of the *Catalogue* will be completed before the end of the year. The part (with the exception of some of the *Glamorganshire Charters*, published by the late Mr. G. T. Clark) is almost entirely made up of fresh and unknown material for the social and economic history of Wales. Mr. Owen reports that through its publication there is hardly a county in Wales that will not have its local and family history illustrated and extended.

The Council having received what is considered to be an encouraging response to the application for subscribers to

the special fund for the publication of *The Lives of the British Saints*, by the Revs. S. Baring Gould and John Fisher, have proceeded with the work. It will, it is hoped, be completed in four substantial volumes, well printed on good paper, with numerous illustrations, and it is offered to subscribers at the very moderate price of half-a-guinea each volume.

The arrangements for the coming Lecture Session includes promises of papers on subjects of special Welsh interest. Mr. J. Lloyd Williams, Musical Instructor at the University College of North Wales, will read a paper on *The Collection of Welsh Folk Songs*, which will be musically illustrated. Mr. Llewelyn Williams, M.P., will contribute an important historical paper on *The Act of Union between England and Wales*; and Professor W. Lewis Jones, M.A., a paper on *The Relation of Dafydd ab Gwilym to European Mediæval Literature.*

The Annual Dinner of the Society will be held on Thursday, the 12th of December, at the Whitehall Rooms, Hotel Métropole, under the Presidency of Principal Sir John Rhŷs, *Chairman of the Council*; and Dr. Douglas Hyde, author of *The History of Irish Literature*, and Mr. W. Goscombe John, A.R.A., have been invited to be the Society's guests on the occasion.

Under the Society's Rules the term of office of the following officers expires:—

THE PRESIDENT,
VICE-PRESIDENTS,
THE AUDITORS,

and ten members retire in accordance with Rule 4, viz.:—

DR. FREDK. ROBERTS,
MR. R. ARTHUR ROBERTS,
MR. RICHARD ROBERTS,
MR. ROMILLY ALLEN *(deceased)*,

Mr. Howel Thomas,
Mr. John Thomas,
Mr. Geo. G. T. Treherne,
Sir Marchant Williams,
Mr. Llewelyn Williams, M.P.,
Mr. J. W. Willis Bund.

A vacancy occurs through the death of Mr. Romilly Allen, the remaining nine members are eligible for re-election.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION

Statement of Receipts and Payments.

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER, 1906, TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1907.

Cr.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, November 9th, 1906 ..	115	17	2
„ Subscriptions received	446	3	0
„ Sale of publications	10	0	10
„ Special Donation from the President (the Right Hon. Viscount Tredegar) ..	78	7	0
	£650	8	0

Examined and found correct.

JOHN BURRELL, } *Joint*
E. W. DAVIES, } *Honorary Auditors.*

Dr.

				£	s.	d.
By Rent of Offices, Fire and Lighting ..				72	1	2
„ Publications—Cost of Printing *Transactions* for 1904-05 ..	98	14	0			
Ditto: *Transactions* for 1905-06	82	2	3			
Cost of Distribution ..	14	0	5			
Expenses *re British Saints* ..	15	18	0			
				205	14	8
„ General Printing				20	10	6
„ Lectures and Meetings				9	18	0
„ Eisteddfod Section Meetings				12	16	3
„ Conversazione Expenses (covered by special donation from the President) ..				78	6	6
„ Library Expenses				2	15	4
„ Stationery, Postage, and General Expenses				42	14	2
„ Commission on Publications Sold and Subscriptions received (1906)				16	11	6
„ Secretary's Remuneration				50	0	0
„ Balance in hand				138	19	11
				£650	8	0

HENRY OWEN, *Treasurer.*
E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*

DVARDUS
LHUYD e
Cambro-Britan:
oriundus: Co
JESU apud
Oxon: A. M. in eadem Aca
demiâ S: Theologiæ Bede
lus Superior; Politicq ut in
hoc Musco Successor, ita be
nevolentiâ et eruditione non
impar. Vir enim hic pereru
ditus, postquam per plures
annos Cambrodrenæ provinci
am Summâ curâ et fidelitate

PORTRAIT OF EDWARD LHUYD.

From the Donation Book of the Ashmolean Museum.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1906-1907.

SOME INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF EDWARD LHUYD.[1]

By MR. RICHARD ELLIS, B.A.

Edward Lhuyd was a scholar of brilliant and many-sided genius who attained a high place amongst the learned of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The fields of his research were numerous; in each of them he won distinction, in each he gleaned results of lasting value. He is eminent in botany, in geology, and in many branches of archæology. In philology, his position as one of the founders of the study is one of high distinction. In fact, Lhuyd was one of those scholars who in their manifold activities seem to epitomize the learning of their age.

Because I think it is for specialists to appraise Lhuyd's scholarship in its various departments, and because with the exception of one or two fragments no "Life" of him exists, I have refrained from criticism, and have written a paper which is purely biographical.

Edward Lhuyd was born in 1660, his father being

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, at 20, Hanover Square, on 7th February 1907. Chairman, Professor Rhys, M.A., LL.D., Principal of Jesus College, Oxford.

Edward Lloyd, of Llanvorda, near Oswestry, and his mother Bridget Pryse, of Glanfraed, one of the many seats then occupied by members of the ancient house of Gogerddan. His father was an ardent loyalist. For church and king he fought and suffered. Contributions to the royal cause and the sequestration of his estates impoverished him. What remained of his property slipped through his fingers, for, though an able and versatile man, he was eccentric and dissolute. During the Protectorate he was forced to go into hiding, on one occasion seeking shelter at Gogerddan. Once he found refuge in a remote part of Carnarvonshire. While at Gogerddan he met Bridget Pryse. A marriage was arranged but did not take place.

Cardiganshire has always claimed the honour of being the birth-place of Edward Lhuyd. A MS. in the Llanstephan collection robs the county of this distinction. In this MS., a book used by Lhuyd and his assistants during their travels, occurs the following note:—

> "Mr. Edward Lhwyd was born at Lappiton parish, his nurse is now living at Krew green (where he was nurs'd) 9 y^re^ of her at Mrs. Judith Cowfield at Lappiton his nurse says he is 41 years old 8 days before Michaelmas last according to Catherine Bowen, his nurse, to ye best of her memory."[1]

In his ninth year Lhuyd probably entered Oswestry Grammar School, and it is not unlikely that he taught in it, as he was in his twenty-second year when he went up to Oxford. Many of his vacations, I have no doubt, he spent in North Cardiganshire, for a close connexion always existed between him and his maternal relatives. In the Bodleian collection of letters written to Lhuyd are several from the Pryses, one interesting little batch being those from Elizabeth Pryse, a sister of his mother's; their homely contents are a pleasant change from the sober and learned

[1] Llanstephan MS. 185, p. 120.

matter of most of the correspondence. With a few written by Sage Lloyd, another relative, they provide the only feminine element in the very numerous Lhuyd MSS.

Lhuyd entered Jesus in 1682. At no period has the College been more interesting or more national. It was highly esteemed in the University, Oxford was intensely loyalist, and the sacrifices of "the gallant little . . . Welsh College" during the Civil War and the Commonwealth were not forgotten. Its undergraduates were drawn from all classes of Welsh society. Many of its members occupied prominent positions in church and state.[1]

"It is something remarkable", says Robert Wynne, Chancellor of St. Asaph, "that when Dr. Maurice began to flourish, upon his admission to his post at Lambeth, there were about the same time a considerable number of eminent men of the Principality of Wales preferred to fill the great offices in church and state, most of them bred up at Jesus College, insomuch, that I well remember it to be observed, it could be said then, that the last Archbishop, Dr. Dolben, of York; the last Bishop, Dr. Lloyd, of St. Asaph; the last Dean, Dr. Humphreys, of Bangor; the last Archbishop's Chaplain, Dr. Maurice; the last Lord Chancellor of England, Sir George Jeffreys; the last Secretary of State, Sir Leoline Jenkins; the last Lord Chief Justice, Sir Thomas Jones; the last Master of the Rolls, Sir John Trevor; and the last Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir Wm. Williams, that had been made, were Welshmen."[2]

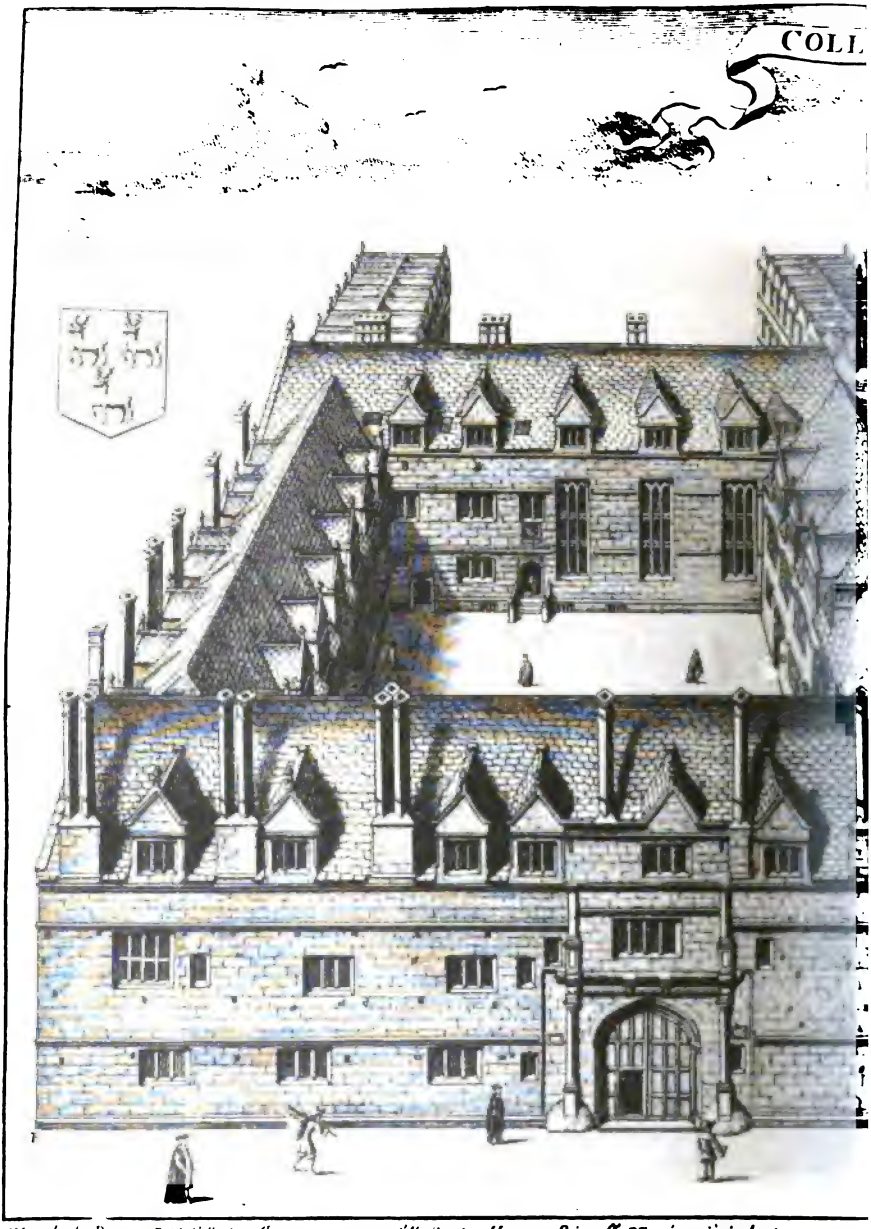
For five years Lhuyd resided in Jesus. That his means were slender there can be little doubt, for within a

[1] *Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford*, ed. by M. Burrows, Intro., p. cxvi.

[2] "Memoirs of the Life of Henry Maurice, D.D."; *Cambrian Register*, 1799, p. 268.

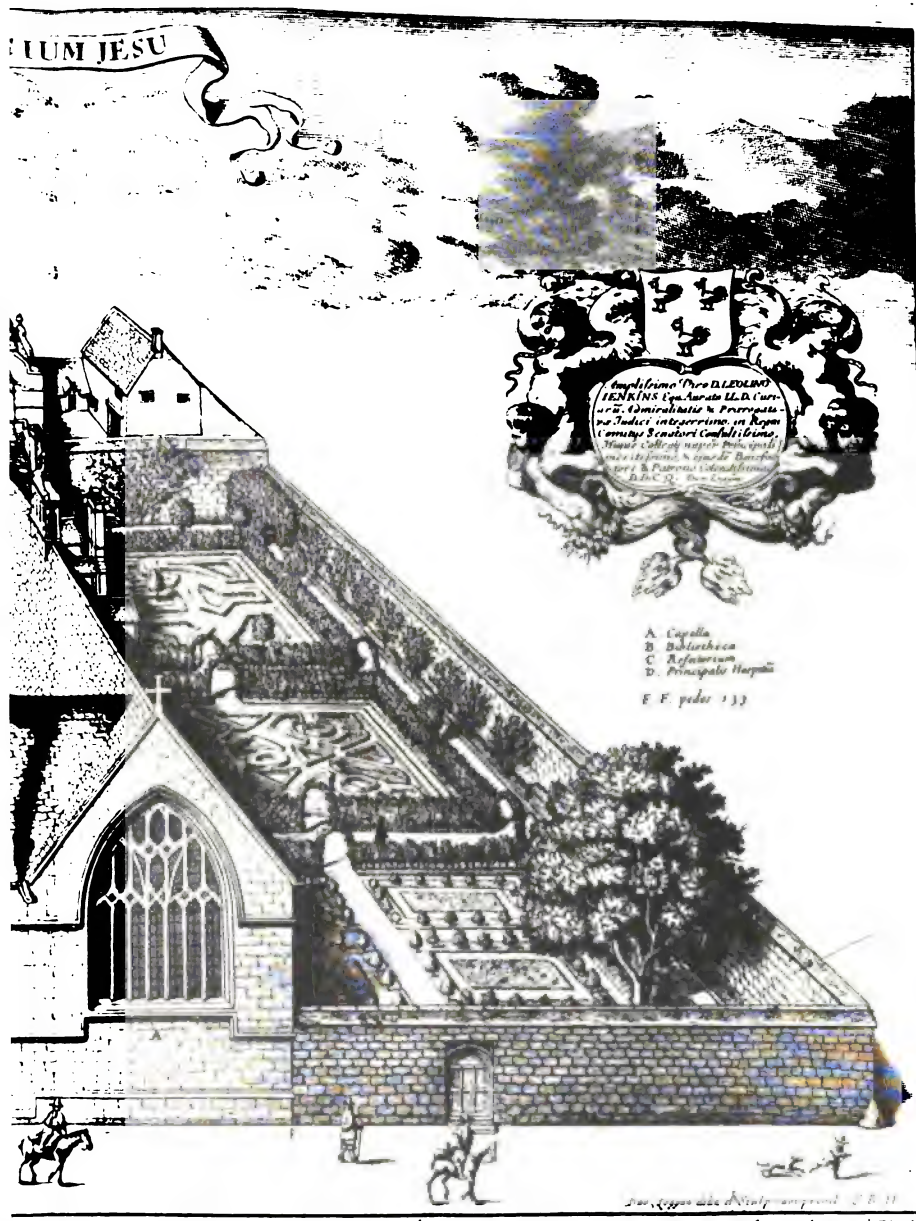
short time of his matriculation he became an assistant at the Ashmolean Museum, and "Register of the Chymicall courses of ye Laboratory", posts which an undergraduate would not occupy who enjoyed anything like a competent income. His tutor was Dr. Plot, the Professor of Chemistry and first Keeper of the Museum. Poverty, which so often benumbs and depresses the scholar, was an incentive to Lhuyd; he threw himself with eagerness into a bewildering number of studies—chemistry and botany, geology, anatomy and philology, to mention only a few. Endowed with unusual physical strength, and gifted with remarkable powers of application, before the close of the eighth year of his residence in Oxford, his industry and talents had brought him distinction in many of the subjects he studied, and had gained him the friendship of men whose names are still great in English learning.

But Lhuyd was no recluse, no mere book-worm. He had his set and enjoyed their company. Welshmen of Jesus they were mostly, but not exclusively—a healthy, happy lot, who often caught his enthusiasm for natural history and antiquities. Parsons, or schoolmasters, or doctors they became as a rule. Echoes of their jollity are heard in the old College nicknames which they gave each other, and which they loved to use in their letters years after they had left Oxford, "Cardo", "Pedro", "Veteran", "Chronic", "Welsh Shentleman", are some of them. "Honest Gabriel", they called Lhuyd. They proved faithful friends; they followed his career with admiration; they never failed him when he had need of their help in his researches. They were not brilliant. Some of them on leaving Oxford did good, unobtrusive work in local botany, geology, and archæology; others suffered for their non-juring principles. More interesting, from a literary point of view, are the undergraduates of later periods who



Elizabetha Regina B. M. Collegium Jesu nuncupatum, sollicitante Hugone Price LL. D. opusq. piè inchoatum propriis morum literis & Religioni piè consulentium Benefactionibus, D. Eubulus Thelwall Eqn. Aur. et ejusdem Collegij Sociorum & Scholarium duplo dedit auctiorem: adeo ut hoc Collegium hodie numeret Principalem, Socios 10, & Epum Herefordensem, sub Rowland Ep. Bangoriensem, D. Tho. Wynne militem, D. Joh. Walter Servientem ad Leg. & Princip. alem. Hunc Collegio, licèt nec amplo nec antiquo, non desunt Suae Imagines & Celebrata Nomina; utpote in Tho. Howel Epus Bangoriensis, unà cum fratre ejus Iacobo Howel paucis ignoto, ut reliquos taceamus, utpote

VIEW OF JESUS COLLEGE.



...uptibus promovente, fundavit A. D. 1571 in hoc Principalem, Socios 4. & totidem Scholares instituit: insequentibus verò Pluri-...ibus inter præcipuos ejusdem Lares & Patronos recensendus, novâ Chartâ à serenissimo D^no Iacobo Rege impetratâ, numerū ...dem Scholares. Benefactores verò inter alios præcipuè agnoscit & gratissimâ memoriâ recolit Herbertum Westphalius ...n Eiscig Regij Baronem primarium, Carolum I^um Regem & Martyrem, Guil. Backhouse Arm^rum Franc. Mansell S. T. Prof. ...uo Literis feliciter operam dedere Griffin^o Powel Principalis & Benefactor munificus, D. Tho. Salisbury Baronettus. ...modiori loco reponendos.

OXFORD, BY LOGGAN (c. 1675)

gathered round Lhuyd: Erasmus Saunders, Ellis Wynne, William Gambold, Edward Samuel, and Moses Williams being the best known.

Elias Ashmole inherited John Tradescant's Museum. This collection, much enriched with his own additions, he offered to the University of Oxford on condition that it would erect a suitable building. The University accepted the offer, and built "a large and stately Pile of squared stone", finding "such a Building necessary, in order to the promoting, and carrying on with greater ease and success, several parts of useful and curious Learning".[1] The Museum was opened on the 21st of May 1683. Lhuyd was one of its first assistants, and was connected with the institution until his death, which took place in one of its chambers in 1709. Chamberlayne thus describes the building:—

> "It consists of ten Rooms, whereof the three principal and largest are publick, being each in length about 56 Feet, and in Breadth 25. The uppermost is properly the *Musæum Ashmoleanum*, where an Inferior Officer always attends, to shew the Rarities to Strangers. The middle Room is the School of Natural History, where the Professor of Chymistry . . . Reads 3 times a Week. . . . The lower Room . . . is the Laboratory, perchance one of the most beautiful and useful in the World, furnished with all sorts of Furnaces, and all other necessary Materials, in order to use and practise. . . . Near adjoyning to the Laboratory are two fair Rooms, whereof one is designed for a Chymical Library. . . . the other is made use of as a Store-room for Chymical preparations, where such as stand in need of them, are furnished at easie rates: the design of this building being not only to advance the Studies of true and real Philosophy, but also to Conduce to the uses of Life, and the improvement of Medicine. Near the *Musæum* is a handsome Room fitted for a Library of Natural History and Philosophy.
>
> "The other remaining Rooms, are the lodging Chamber,

[1] Edward Chamberlayne: *Present State of England*, pt. ii (1684), p. 325.

> and Studies of the Keeper of the *Musæum*, whereof one, which is most convenient, is sometimes employed and made use of for private courses of Anatomy."[1]

The opening of the Ashmolean Museum, and the enthusiasm which it infused into the study of what was then called the New Philosophy, had as one of its results the foundation of the Oxford Philosophical Society.

Chamberlayne writes as follows:—

> "There is also in this famous University lately established a Society, by the name of the *Philosophical Society*, for the Improvement of real and experimental Philosophy. In order to the better carrying on this generous and useful design, they have settled a Correspondence with the Royal Society at *London*; of which several of them are Fellows, and with the Society at *Dublin* in *Ireland*, lately Established there for the same good purpose."[2]

Among the members were Dr. John Wallis, Dr. Ralph Bathhurst, Dr. Edward Bernard, and Dr. Plot, who was director of the experiments.

The Society's book of minutes has been preserved, and its pages supply the earliest information with regard to Lhuyd's academic career. Many of the entries describe discoveries made by him and curiosities which he brought for the examination of the members. I am tempted to give the following minute, for, apart from its Welsh interest, it is the earliest record of his research. The account of the experiment, too, is the first of the many papers he contributed to the *Philosophical Transactions*.

> "A sheet of paper was praesented ye Society, made of ye Asbestus-stone, by Mr. Lloyd, Register to the Chymicall courses of ye Laboratory of Oxford. The Paper was made thus:—
>
> "Mr. Lloyd received a Parcell of this stone from the Isle

---

[1] Edward Chamberlayne: *Present State of England*, part ii (1684), p. 327.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 328.

> of Anglessey, part of which he pounded (crude as it was) and carrying it to a Paper-mill, had it mixt with water in their troughs for y^t^ purpose, then taken up, like their other matter for paper, it ran together. But ye lint being heavy, and quickly subsiding, they were forc't to stirr it often, and be very Quick in their operation. It was thought it might be made much finer and whiter, if it could be made stronger and tough, so as to be fit for any use."[1]

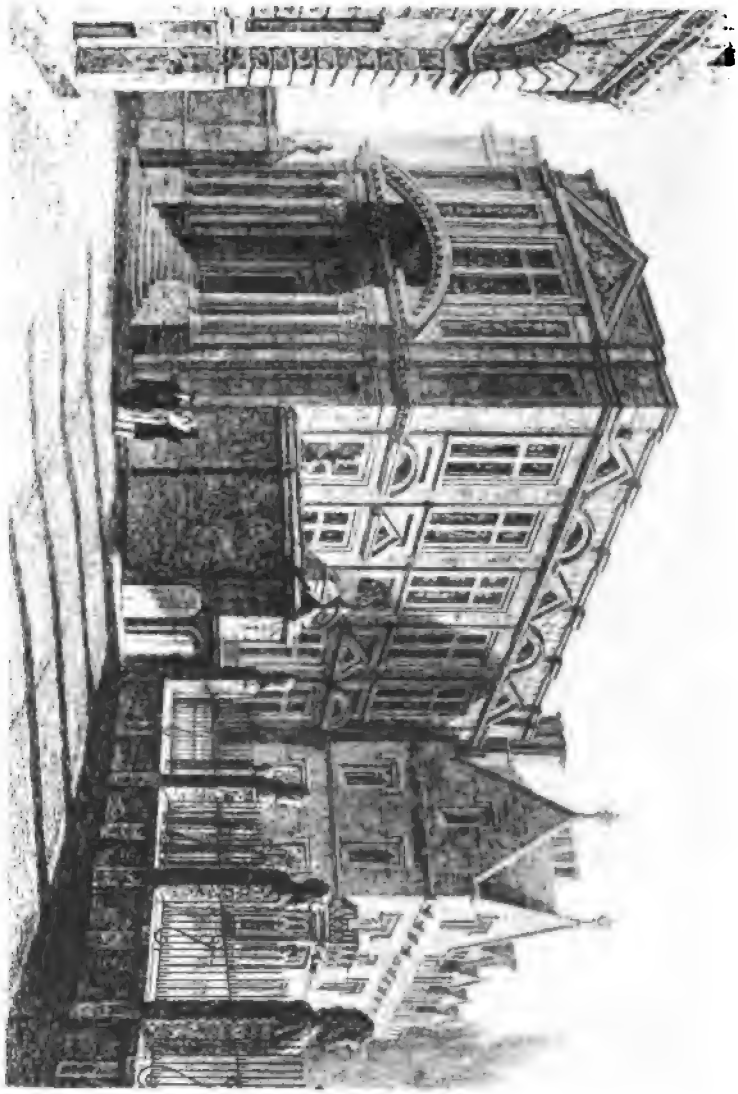
Until 1691, the year of his appointment to the keepership, Lhuyd's position at the Museum was not a happy one. It was undignified and unremunerative, it gave him little liberty; and confinement to a man of his eager and active mind was irksome, even exasperating, for it was a period of great discoveries in botany, geology, and, indeed, in many branches of archæology. Even the man of untrained mind and inexpert hand might go forth and glean many treasures. Tethered to the Museum, Lhuyd often became restive and yearned to be rambling and searching. Scientists and scientific societies were accustomed at this time to send naturalists into foreign countries to collect specimens. Several times Lhuyd was on the point of being so employed, once by the Botanic Club in London, "to make discoveries of plants in the Canaries", on another occasion in the West Indies by Lord Portland, "that Honourable Mæcenas of vegetable improvement" so Leonard Plukenet calls him. Each time he was disappointed, wars and rumours of wars being the impediments. Checked again and again, Lhuyd's impatience breaks out at last: "I wish", he writes to Martin Lister, "you could send me packing somewhere."

But it was Lhuyd's lot to be satisfied with rambles in England and Wales, with travels in Scotland and Ireland, and, instead of being engaged, to employ others. For the Museum and the purposes of his own research specimens

[1] MS. Ashm. 1810, fol. 74.

were necessary. To find them he explored the country about Oxford. In a few years he had so searchingly examined the district within a radius of twenty miles, that in one letter he mentions his having visited a local quarry more than forty times. Lhuyd was often accompanied in his excursions by undergraduates whom he tutored, sometimes by English or foreign scholars visiting Oxford. He had interesting assistants; a personal survey being often impossible, he taught little village children to look for specimens, giving them pennies for their finds. A very skilful helper was Ned Cousins, a Jesus College cook. He trained labourers and artisans; "I have made", he writes, "two or three country fellows excellent Lithoscopists." Some of these rustics became pensioners, Bishop Nicolson, Dr. Lister, and other naturalists contributing, with Lhuyd, to a fund which provided salaries enabling these men to leave their work and take long journeys in search of specimens.

Lhuyd succeeded Plot in 1690. The keepership gave him greater freedom. It was now possible for him to leave the Museum for a week's or a fortnight's ramble. He was not slow to take advantage of the liberty the appointment gave him. In April of 1691 he went a journey of nine days with two Danish travellers, not a very profitable ramble, as progress was very slow, one of the Danes not having been on horseback before. In August of the same year he "tables" himself at Cirencester. In November he is in Gloucestershire again. These journeys were taken more particularly in search of fossils. It was in Wales that Lhuyd made most of his discoveries in botany, a study which he probably began under his father, before he went up to Oxford, while his acquaintance with fossils dated only from the time the task of arranging the specimens in the Museum was intrusted to him.



XFORD, BY LOGGAN (c. 1675)

In 1693 two London booksellers, Swalle and Churchil, were induced to publish an edition of Camden's *Britannia*. Lhuyd's friend, Edmund Gibson, then of Queen's College, subsequently Bishop of London, accepted the editorship. To the counties as left by Camden it was decided to furnish notes. John Ray, John Evelyn, Samuel Pepys, Sir Jonathan Trelawney, and White Kennet, among others, promised additions. In May Swalle visited Oxford "to make choice of some persons as commentators".[1] On Gibson's suggestion, Lhuyd was asked to supply notes for the North Welsh Shires. He offered to "doe something for two or three counties", and selected Denbighshire, Merionethshire, and Montgomeryshire.[1] His choice is interesting, the counties being those with which he was best acquainted. Swalle found others to undertake the remaining counties. But these scholars "imagining some difficulty in it . . . altered their thoughts". In his disappointment Swalle turned to Lhuyd; Lhuyd distrusted the publishers, he had not too readily undertaken the three counties. However, after consideration, he sent Swalle a very modest proposal: "I have", he writes, "offer'd to doe all Wales; & to take a journey speedily quite through it, for ten pounds in hand; and twenty copies of ye Book, when it shall be publish'd."[2] Lhuyd, in letters to friends, gives reasons for his decision. To John Lloyd, head master of Ruthin Grammar School, he writes: "If what we doe now, will prove worth acceptance; something more material may be attempted hereafter, especially if some of our more judicious and learned Gentm. shall be disposed to favour it."[3] To Martin Lister: "Because upon this occasion I may pick up some materials from ye Gentry and Clergy which may prove usefull an other time;"[4] and

[1] MS. Lister 36, fol. 51.
[2] MS. Lister 36, fol. 59.
[3] *Arch. Camb.* for 1848, p. 244.
[4] MS. Lister 36, fol. 51.

again to Lister: "If I gain any credit by this: its not unlikely but our Gentry may be hereafter willing to encourage something more considerable."[1]

Swalle was not generous. He offered five pounds and ten copies. Could he have done so with any decency, he would have excluded the Welsh counties from the edition. Lhuyd says, "They care not how little is done for that country." To the publishers, therefore, his offer to journey through Wales seemed ridiculous; that he should require information other than what could be found in the Bodleian and other Oxford libraries absurd. Indeed, Lhuyd writes, "Mr. Swall . . . and Mr. Churchill did not require I should put myself to ye trouble & expences of a journey into Wales."[2] Lhuyd anticipated the methods of present-day research in many ways, but in none more than in his determination always to consult authorities at first-hand, whether they were written on vellum or cut in stone. Slipshod work such as the publishers required was to him impossible. Moreover, he was irritated by their meanness, and accordingly informed Swalle that if he could not accept his proposal "he would break off." The publishers must have agreed, for in the middle of August Lhuyd rode out of Oxford for Monmouthshire and South Wales. His tour being necessarily hurried, he was forced to narrow the scope of his enquiry; his observations were therefore mostly archæological. "I afforded", he tells Lister, "litle or no time to search after natural curiosities".[3] From districts he could not visit, he received information in reply to queries.

Of the notes that were sent to them the publishers wished to print only a selection. The contributors were

[1] MS. Lister 36, fol. 98.

[2] *Arch. Camb.* for 1848, p. 309.

[3] MS. Lister 36, fol. 68.

indignant. White Kennet recalled his, and Jonathan Edwards, the Principal of Jesus, advised Lhuyd to follow his example, and to make a book of his additions. He left the matter in the Editor's hands. Gibson pressed for their insertion, and they were printed in their entirety, to Nicolson's delight, who had written to Gibson urging him to include all Lhuyd's notes. But Lhuyd's troubles with the publishers were not over. In their proposals they had stated that each county of England would be preceded by a map. Lhuyd, with others, took England to include Wales. Swalle and Churchil thought the term was not so comprehensive, for two maps only, one for North and one for South Wales, were sent to Lhuyd for correction. His patriotism was wounded, and he refused to have anything to do with them, with the result that readers found the Welsh maps as faulty as those of the English counties. Lhuyd sent Gibson the last of his notes and translations on September 13th, 1694. The new edition was published in the following year. When Gibson received the additions to Monmouthshire and the six South Welsh counties, he wrote to Lhuyd: "Your Counties came safe to hand, and, without flattery, are done like a Gentleman & a scholar."[1] Hearne, referring to the additions, remarks: "But excepting what ye Learned Mr. Llhuyd of ye Ashmolean Museum did there is nothing of any great moment appearing throughout the whole Book."[2] And in 1722, the year of Gibson's second edition: "And indeed I have often heard Mr. Edward Lhuyd say that, tho' he was often importuned & sollicited to make Additions to, & Alterations in, w^t^ he had done abt Wales, yet he would not add or alter anything, but y^t^, if w^t^ he

[1] MS. Ashm. 1815, fol. 84.

[2] Hearne's *Collections* (O. H. S.), vol. i, p. 217.

had done were reprinted, it should be done just as before. Upon which account I value the 1st Ed., looking upon Mr. Lhuyd's Account of Wales to be the very best Part of all the Additions."[1]

Lhuyd hoped that his contributions to the *Britannia* would induce the Welsh gentry "to encourage something more considerable". He was not disappointed.[2] "I find", he writes in a letter to Lister, "I have got some credit by Camden in Wales"; and to John Lloyd, of Ruthin :—

> "Some gentlemen in Glamorganshire have invited me to undertake a *Natural History of Wales*; with an offer of an annual pension from their County of about ten pounds for the space of seaven years; to enable me to travail, &c., but I know not how the gentry of other countrey's [*sic*] stand affected. If the like encouragement would be allow'd from each county, I could very willingly spend the remainder of my days in that employment: and begin to travail next spring. Nor should I onely regard the Natural History of the countrey, but also the antiquities and anything else (as far as may be consistent with my capacity) which my Lord of Bangor and other competent judges shall think convenient to be undertaken."[3]

Stimulated by this invitation, Lhuyd, during the summer of 1695, drew up "a design", and laid it before John Ray, Martin Lister, the Bishop of Bangor, the Principal of Jesus, and other learned friends in England and Wales. All were encouraging, promised him support, and urged him to make it public. Accordingly, in September he writes: "I intend to print some short acct. of it on half a sheet; but must first advise with Dr. Edwards."[4] The Principal of Jesus was at his parsonage in Hampshire. On his return the proposal was printed, it is entitled:—[5]

[1] MS. Hearne 94, fol. 153.
[2] MS. Lister 3, fol. 144.
[3] *Arch. Camb.* for 1860, p. 179.
[4] *Camb. Quart. Mag.*, 1833, p. 279.
[5] MS. Ashm. 1820, fol. 228.

"A DESIGN
Of a British Dictionary, Historical & Geographical;
With an Essay entitl'd, 'Archæologia Britannica';
And a Natural History of Wales.
By Edward Lhwyd, Keeper of the Ashmolean Repository in Oxford."

Lhuyd thus unfolds his scheme:—

> "Being invited by some persons of Quality and Learning, to attempt something farther in the Antiquities and Natural History of Wales than hath been yet perform'd; and also finding my self more inclin'd and (as I presume) better qualified for an Employment of that kind than any other; I have here made bold to offer some proposals towards such a Design: to the end that if the Works above mention'd, may seem conducible to the advancment of Learning, and worthy of the Favour and Encouragement of those amongst the Nobility and Gentry whom it more immediatly concerns, I may forthwith resolve on the undertaking; or desist, in case they shall appear otherwise."

Having described his projected works, he continues:—

> "Thus I have given a Scheme of what seems to me at present most likely to find acceptance amongst the Learned and Ingenious; but this I offer with submission to those of greater judgement and experience; and shall be very ready in case I undertake the performance, to admit of any Alteration or Amendment (agreeable with my capacity) which the majority of persons so qualified shall think requisit. Now in order to the performance of what is here propos'd, 'twill be necessary to travail Wales at least four or five summers: and likewise to make one journey into Cornwall, and an other into Irland or the Highlands of Scotland, for parallel observations, as to their Language, their names of Towns, Rivers, Mountains, &c., it being certain that the want of such actual surveying, hath been in all Ages the occasion of much errour and ignorance, in writings of this Nature. Dureing these Travails I propose to myself the collecting materials for each work; but shall endeavour to prepare the Dictionary for the Presse within the Space of five years, and the Archæologia within two years after at farthest. As to the Natural History, I can set no time for its publication, as not being able to guesse how tedious it may prove; &

having some thought of writeing it in Latin and publishing it in several sections apart.

"But before we engage in a Work so very tedious & expensive, it seems necessary to understand, what encouragement we are to depend upon; since nothing of this kind hath been undertaken (nor indeed could well succeed) in any Countrey, without such an assurance. It's well known, no kind of writing requires more expences and Fatigue, than that of Natural History and Antiquities; it being impossible to perform any thing accuratly in those Studies, without much travailing, and diligent Searching, as well the most desert Rocks and Mountains, as the more frequented Valleys and Plains. The Caves, Mines, and Quarries must be pry'd into, as well as the outward Surface of the Earth; nor must we have less regard to the Creatures of the Sea, Lakes and Rivers, than those of the Air and Dry Land. But 'tis not the Expences of travailing we are only to regard; the charges of the Figures or Draughts of such new Discoveries as will occure, must needs be much more considerable; not to mention that a Correspondence as extensive as we can settle it, must be maintain'd with the Curious in these Studies, and such new Books purchas'd, as are pertinent to our Design; and that Labourers (especially in Mines and Quarries) are to be rewarded for preserving such things, as they shall be directed to take notice of.

"Upon these Considerations I hope it will not be thought profuse Liberality (provided those who are competent Judges approve of the Design) if an Annual Pension be allowd towards it, by such Gentlemen as are of their own free choice, inclin'd to promote it, for the space of five years the Money to be deliverd on the first of March or any time that month, into the hands of some Friends in each County, who are pleasd to take upon them the trouble of returning it. And if this [Proposal] finds Acceptance, my Request is that those Gentlemen who are pleasd to further the Undertaking, would subscribe their names to this Paper, adding how much they are dispos'd to contribute yearly. And if what is subscrib'd seems to answer these considerations; my design is (with God's permission) to begin travailing next March.

"I am very sensible that such an Encouragement is much above my merit, neither can I promise my Patrons, a Performance (if it please God I may live to go thorow with it) any thing adequat to their Generosity. But whatever shall

> be the successe, I intend not to spare either Labour or Charges: and being engaged in no Profession, nor oblig'd to constant attendance in my present Station, nor at all confin'd with the care of any Family, I shall have litle else to mind, but to endeavour the performance of this Task to my own credit, and the Satisfaction of the Gentlemen who shall think fit to employ me."

Lhuyd published his Proposals in November. Before the end of the year they had been widely dispersed in London, and parcels of them had reached all parts of Wales. Martin Lister took them to the Royal Society, to the Houses of Parliament, and to Court. Dean Hickes distributed them among the more learned of the clergy. Through Thomas Mansel, Francis Gwyn, and "Peter Evans of the Old Bayly", they reached "the Parliament men of Wales and the citizens of that country" resident in the metropolis. Lhuyd's friends in Wales were no less active. Refusals were many—not a few objections were raised, the most frequent being the length of time that Lhuyd stated would be necessary for the travels and the publication of his books. But on the whole the appeal was successful. Early in December he informs Lister that he is assured of £30 annually. But it appears that his friends were often satisfied with mere promises, and did not present the papers for subscription. Consequently many contributions were lost. In February Lhuyd decided to employ "a sollicitor (one Thomas of Bernard's Inn) as his agent". Thomas was very successful. In March Lhuyd writes: "I was surprised at ye Catalogue he sent me of two and forty Subscribers being double ye number I expected."[1]

Pleased with the results of his appeal, Lhuyd decided to spend the coming summer travelling in Wales. The object of his journey he explained in a letter written on his return. "I think", he says, "I have taken the best

[1] MS. Lister 36, fol. 150.

course the first year to ramble as far as conveniently I could, in order to inform myself what helpe I may expect from Manuscripts, &c., in general." Lhuyd left Oxford for North Wales at the end of April. On the 23rd he writes to Lister: "S^r. if you have any commands before I set out, be pleas'd to write within two or three days after this comes to hand: otherwise I know not how a letter will find me til ye first of June at which time I have engaged to meet a Gentleman at Mr. Morgan's House, Scholemaster, at Bangor in Caernarvonshire."[1] His appointment was with Richard Richardson, of North Bierley, who had arranged to botanize with him in the Snowdon district. At Bangor, too, was Bishop Humphreys. "My L^d of Bangor", he writes on his return to Oxford, "was extraordinary obliging; and is incomparably the best skill'd in our Antiquities of any person in Wales. He gave me leave to take a catalogue of his MSS. which thô considerable enough are yet much inferior to the Collection at Hengwrt, which I take to be the most valuable in its kind anywhere extant."[2] From Bangor he went to Hengwrt. At this time Howel Vaughan had not taken up the unreasonable attitude towards his "study" which he assumed subsequently. Unfortunately Lhuyd's time was short on this journey, and he was able to take but a hurried view of the MSS. On September 14th he was at Swansea, whence he sent Dr. Mill, Principal of St. Edmund Hall, a copy of the Eliseg inscription:[3] "I have here presum'd to trouble you with a copy of an inscription, which amongst several others I met with this summer in North Wales." From Swansea also he sent Dr. Tancred Robinson an account of his "successe," botanical and other specimens accompany-

[1] MS. Lister 36, fol. 154.

[2] *Arch. Camb.* for 1859, p. 166.

[3] *MSS. Relating to Wales in B. M.*, p. 410 (Cymm. Record Series).

ing the letter. In acknowledging the gift Dr. Robinson says: "I receiv'd your rich cargo from Swanzey, which is sufficient for a volume according to the measure and proportion of some late Writers."[1] It has not been easy to follow in Lhuyd's footsteps, there being few references to this journey, but its extent may be gathered from a passage taken out of the letter referred to above. The letter, which is dated "Oxf^{d}. Oct. 25, 96", begins, "It's high time to let you know I am as yet amongst ye living: thô I have leasure to say little more at present. I am return'd to Oxford about a fortnight since having rambld (very much to my satisfaction) through 8 or 9 counties."[2]

The appeal for subscriptions was distasteful to Lhuyd—it hurt his pride. But without assistance the travels on which his research depended were impossible. Unwillingly, therefore, he asked for the aid that was indispensable. Lest, however, any help should be given grudgingly, he begged his friends to be careful that the Proposals should reach hands "that are proper", in other words, that only the patriotic, the learned, and "such as have good estates and will readily assent" should receive them.

But the issue of another set of papers gave him pleasure. These were the Queries which were published in December 1690. They are entitled:—

PAROCHIAL QUERIES
In Order to a
Geographical Dictionary, A Natural History, &c., of *Wales*.
By the Undertaker E. L.[3]

Lhuyd thus explains their purpose:—

"Having Publish'd some Proposals towards a Survey of

[1] MS. Eng. Hist. xi, fol. 80.
[2] *Arch. Camb.* for 1859, p. 166.
[3] MS. Ashm. 1820, fol. 76.

Wales, and met with sufficient Encouragement from the Gentry of that Country, and several others, Lovers of such Studies; to enable me (with God's Permission) to Undertake it: I thought it necessary for the easier and more effectual Performance of so tedious a Task, to Print the following *Queries*; having good Grounds to hope the Gentry and Clergy (since they are pleas'd to afford me so Generous an Allowance towards it) will also readily contribute their Assistance, as to Information; and the Use of their Manuscripts, Coyns, and other Monuments of Antiquity: The Design being so extraordinary difficult without such Helps, and so easily improvable thereby. Nor would I have any imagine, that by Publishing these *Queries*, I design to spare my self the least Labour of Travelling the Country, but on the contrary be assured, I shall either come my self, or send one of my Assistants into each Parish throughout *Wales*, and all those in *Shropshire* and *Herefordshire*, where the Language and the Ancient Names of Places are still retain'd: And that with all the Speed, so particular a Survey will admit of. My Request therefore to such as are desirous of Promoting the Work, is, That after each *Query*, they would please to write on the blank Paper, (or elsewhere if room be wanting) their Reports; confining themselves, unless the Subject shall require otherwise, to that Parish only where they inhabit; and distinguishing always betwixt Matter of Fact, Conjecture, and Tradition. Nor will any, I hope, omit such Informations as shall occur to their Thoughts, upon Presumption, they can be of little use to the Undertaker, or the Publick, or because they have not leisure to write down their Observations so regularly as they desire: Seeing that what we sometimes judge insignificant, may afterwards upon some Application unthought of, appear very useful; and that a regular and compleat Account of Things is not here so much expected, as short Memorials, and some Directions in order to a further *Enquiry*."

Then follow the Queries; they are divided into two sections—in the first are "Queries in order to the Geography, and Antiquities of the Country," in the second, "Queries towards the Natural History." The first part contains sixteen, the second thirty-one questions. They are of a searching character, enquiry being pushed in all

directions. Following each query is a blank space to contain the reply. Lhuyd concludes:—

> "Having thus propounded what *Queries* occur to my Thoughts; nothing remains, but that I own to the Publick, that in case this Paper meets with a kind Reception (as from this last Summer's Travels, I have great Hopes it may) if the Undertaking be ill perform'd, 'twill be wholly my own Fault; the Gentry of the Country having in all Respects done more than their Part, and afforded such an Encouragement towards it, as might sufficiently requite the Labours of a Person far better Qualified for such a *Design*: But of this, a particular Account (as is necessary) shall be given hereafter. So I shall only add here; that as to these *Queries*, besides *Wales*, I entreat the favourable Assistance of the Gentry and Clergy in those other Countries mention'd in the former Proposals: And that in all Places, they who are dispos'd to further the Design, would please to communicate this Paper where they think fit, amongst their Neighbours; interpreting some *Queries* to those of the Vulgar, whom they judge Men of Veracity, and capable of giving any the least Information towards it, that may be pertinent and instructive."

Then follows this recommendation:—

> "*We judge* Mr. Lhwyd *Qualified for this Undertaking; and that he cannot want proper Materials towards it, if (as an Addition to his own Industry) he receives such Answers to these* Queries, *as can be conveniently return'd from each* Parish."
>
> "John Wallis. Martin Lister.
> "Edward Bernard. John Ray."

The name of Bishop Humphreys is absent. Lhuyd explains the omission, "My L[d] of Bangor's name ought to have been subscribed amongst the approvers: but I could not conveniently send him the paper as not knowing whither to direct to him: and I was unwilling to print his name without his leave."[1]

Four thousand "Queries" were printed for dispersion in

[1] *Arch. Camb.* for 1859, p. 167.

Wales and Cornwall. To John Lloyd of Ruthin, Lhuyd writes: "I can afford three to a parish; or more or less as occasion requires; besides a sufficient number for Cornwall, &c."

Lhuyd did not at this time contemplate journeys in both Scotland and Ireland. The decision to visit Brittany was not arrived at until he was in Cornwall in the autumn of 1700. When he found it possible to include Ireland and Scotland in his travels he sent Queries for dispersion in the two countries. Before the end of February parcels had been sent to every district of Wales. The means of transit are interesting. Carriers took most of them. Sometimes when so conveyed they missed their destination or were rifled. Many packets were franked by the Bishop of Bangor and the Welsh members of Parliament; travellers passing through Oxford, and undergraduates leaving for the country took bundles. From "Oxf^{d}. St. Steven's d. 96," he writes to John Lloyd: "I had y^{r} L^{r} just now; and had observ'd the very same method you advise me to, about a week since. For I sent by Mr. K. Eaton a parcel of Queries to Mr. Price of Wrexham, with a great many more to your worship directed to be left wth y^{r} B^{r}, half a dozen to Chancellor Wyn (from his brother William) a dozen to Dick Jones, the like number betw. Ken. Eytyn and his Father; two to Mr. Humphreys of Maerdy, four to your brother David; and about 50 to the parson of Dolgelheu. His fellow travailler Mr. John Davies took with him a good parcel for Anglesey, and about a douzen to the Schoolmaster of Bangor."[1] Like the Proposals, the Queries were generally addressed to the clergy and schoolmasters. To the latter dispersion was easy, for their boys took them to their homes when leaving for their holidays. John Lloyd writes: "My scholars

[1] *Arch. Camb.* for 1859, p. 166.

were scatter'd all but 3 before ye receipt of yr Last, those have taken each a Copie wth y^m^."[1] At the end of the next term every pupil must have carried a sheet, for their master in another letter writes: "I have dispersed yr Paper of Directions far and wide."

By 1691 Lhuyd's collection of fossils was so considerable that he decided to publish a catalogue of such as had been found in the neighbourhood of Oxford. He informed John Ray of his intention, in which the latter warmly encouraged him. "Your design", he replied, "of publishing a Catalogue of formed stones I doe very much like and approve of. . . I know no man so fit for such an undertaking as your self."[2] At the same time he suggested that Lhuyd should not confine himself to an area so narrow, but should make the Catalogue wide enough to include fossils found throughout England, a suggestion which Lhuyd acted upon. To enlarge the list it was necessary to make excursions into districts hitherto unexplored, and "to establish a correspondence" with fossilists in different parts of the country. The publication of the Catalogue was accordingly long postponed.

In February 1695 Dr. Tancred Robinson, who was distributing Proposals through Ray, urged Lhuyd to print his Catalogue. "Another piece of Advice", he writes, "I wish you would be pleased to recommend to Mr. Lhuyd . . . is the immediate publishing of that usefull Synopsis of figured stones & Fossill[s] whole wch he hath by him for the Presse. This would be a reall specimen of his Abilities in natural History, and his intentions to gratifie the world with his Discoveries of Products of that kind."[3] This "piece of Advice" was given because the malicious Dr. Woodward was going about London suggesting that

[1] MS. Ashm. 1829, fol. 174.
[2] MS. Eng. Hist. c. xi, fol. 47.
[3] MS. Eng. Hist. c. xi, fol. 54.

the delay was due to incompetence. Lhuyd had not intended so long a postponement, but the Notes for Camden and the Cataloguing of important Collections bequeathed to the Museum and other duties had caused the delay. While the Queries were being distributed Lhuyd left Oxford for Marcham, a neighbouring village. On January 30th, 1697, he writes to Lister: "I have been retired hither ever since I writ last, in order to transcribe my Catalogue of Stones, which I now promise to send you by the beginning of March."[1] And again to Lister from Oxford on March 16th: "Next Monday I shall send you my *Lithophylacii Britannici Ichnographia*, for so I think to entitle the collection of my figured stones. I desire you would please to correct what you find amisse in the Phrase, and also communicat it to Dr. Robinson and Mr. Ray; from both of whom I would beg the same kindnesse."[2]

In a letter from Caldy Island in February 1698, Lhuyd petitioned the University to publish the Catalogue; he had been led to hope that they were disposed to print it. In the letter which contains his request he trusts that his application will be successful, "in Regard it contains the Grounds of a new Science in Natural History; and is the Result of many years' Searches & Observations."[3] His appeal was not successful. The MS. was then offered to some of the London publishers—it was refused. "They will not medle with it," he writes. He thought of "venturing it at his own charges," but that proved impossible, Lhuyd being until his death a poor man. To invite subscriptions would be indiscreet. Even those promised towards his travels were but slowly coming in, while many had been withdrawn. It looked as if the publication of

[1] MS. Lister 36, fol. 170.
[2] MS. Lister 36, fol. 176.
[3] MS. Ashm. 1816, fol. 62.

his fifteen years' research would be indefinitely postponed. How two distinguished Englishmen, Sir Hans Sloane and Samuel Pepys, delivered Lhuyd from the indifference of his University and the hostility of the publishers, one of them shall relate. Writing on July 4th, 1698, to Dr. Charlett, Master of University College, Sloane says:—

> " . . . Mr. Pepys and I drank yr health this day after & before a great deale of serious discourse on the project about getting the mastery of those who would (and will if not speedily prevented) ruine most good books that are proposed to be printed. There is no question to be made that the thing is easy to be done. Wee have in ¼ of an hour order'd Mr. Floid's book of form'd stones to be printed here w^t^ many cuts. That is to say on the first proposall ten of us subscribed to take of each ten copies at the first cost, provided only 120 were printed 20 of which are designed for the author. So we shall make our books worth double the value & be obliged to or putt on by no body. Wee shall also have a thing we like & not lett a thing of that kind be lost . . ."[1]

Authors were receiving harsh treatment from the publishers at this time. Not satisfied with refusing learned works "they made it their business to damn them when privately put forth." Readers of the *Glossography* will remember Lhuyd's references to the booksellers. Scholars were very sore at their treatment. Even vindictive feelings were harboured, and a desire to get the better of the publishers was not confined to Pepys, Sloane, and their friends.

Among the ten subscribers were the Lord Chancellor Somers, Lister, Robinson, Sloane and Sir Isaac Newton, then "Mr. Newton of Cambridge". Lhuyd completed the preface at Montgomery in October 1698. The MS. was sent to Tancred Robinson, who saw it through the press. The *Lithology* appeared with many imperfections. Lhuyd

[1] MS. Ballard 24, fol. 66.

has been accused of carelessness, but the fault was neither his nor Dr. Robinson's; the blame lay with the printers, at whose hands Lhuyd suffered much. The publication of his works throws a strong light on the methods of the contemporary printing-house. The following is one of several complaints from Robinson: "Notwithstanding all possible care the Compositors will commit many gross Mistakes, and will not correct half the Errata made on the Sides. They are an ungovernable race of men; however it is as correct as most Books of the kind."[1]

The distribution of the copies is worthy of remark; ten were sent to Paris, Sloane presented his to scholars in Italy and Germany; five of Lister's went to the Continent; Newton distributed his in Cambridge; Lhuyd gave his to subscribers—generally "to such as are scholars". The book brought him the reputation that Robinson anticipated. On May 14th, 1706, Hearne wrote in his diary:—

> "Mr. Edw. Llhwyd being a person who was naturally addicted to ye Study of Plants, Stones, &c., as also Antiquities, he was made by Dr. Plot underkeeper of ye Ashmolean Museum, & upon his Death he became Headkeeper: sometime after wch his Name became famous, particularly upon Publication of a small Book in 8°. ab^t^ Fossiles: wch is writ in Latin, & has (together with other Things in the Philosophical Transactions) given occasion to Dr. Sloan to say that he thinks Mr. Llhwyd ye best Naturalist now in Europe."[2]

While engaged on the *Lithology*, Lhuyd was getting ready for his travels. Preparation was not an easy task, and no little foresight was required. The tours were to be taken into remote districts, and to extend over more than three years. Solitary research was impossible—it was necessary that he should have companions. Nothing

[1] MS. Eng. Hist. c. xi, fol. 89.

[2] Hearne's *Collections* (O. H. S.), vol. i, p. 244.

in Lhuyd's life is more interesting than his employment of youths to assist him in his many studies. The Museum always provided him with two workers—the librarian, and the under-keeper or deputy. For the library skill in palæography was essential, while a considerable knowledge of botany, geology, and antiquities was indispensable to the under-keeper. To qualify themselves for these posts the assistants received tuition from Lhuyd, and under his training often became so proficient as to be able to render him and other scholars valuable assistance in their research. As a rule they were Welsh undergraduates, youths of slender means, to whom the salaries, though small, were welcome.

Besides the assistants, Lhuyd employed "amanuenses" exclusively for his own research. These "scribes" were boys from the Grammar Schools of Wales. Many of the head-masters were friends of Lhuyd's, several of them old Oxford acquaintances who knew his requirements. When a boy of bright parts, but too poor to enter the University, was about to leave school, Lhuyd was informed. The letter describing the boy's character, abilities, and attainments, contained a passage from a Latin author as a specimen of his handwriting, a good hand being essential for the transcription of MSS., which formed an important portion of the boy's work. If Lhuyd had a vacancy, he entered into treaty with the parents or guardians. On their acceptance, the lad was sent up to Oxford, and, if he proved satisfactory, was taken into Lhuyd's employment, receiving for his services tuition and a salary. When of sufficient age he entered a college, being granted aid often on Lhuyd's recommendation. Of these boys and assistants who worked for and studied under Lhuyd several became able naturalists, linguists and antiquaries. The work of Moses Williams is well known;

Hugh Jones died while making important discoveries in Maryland; to David Parry's knowledge of Celtic philology Lhuyd pays a tribute in his *Glossography*; while of William Jones, when introducing him to Dr. Thomas Smith, of the Cotton Library, Lhuyd writes:—

"Oxf^{d}, June 26,
"Rev^{d} S^{r} 1701.

"Finding there are some Welsh Manuscripts & Collections in other Languages relateing to Wales, in the Cotton Library; some of which may be pertinent to an Undertaking I am engag'd in: I humbly request your Favour (if it be not unseasonable) of granting Mr. Jones ye Bearer Accesse thereunto. He is very well skill'd in the British be the Manuscripts never so ancient; and if there be any old ones in that Language that you have not a full Account of, he may possibly inform you of their contents. Be pleas'd to excuse this Boldnesse & Trouble: & what Favour you shew us herein, shall be always gratefully acknowledge[d] by

"R^{d} S^{r}
"Y^{r} most obliged humble
"serv^{t} Edw. Lhwyd."[1]

Lhuyd foresaw that his possible death before the publication of his books would be frequently raised as an objection by persons asked to subscribe to his Proposal. With the view of removing this difficulty, he informed more than one correspondent that he intended to take into his employment a colleague, who would be so trained that in the event of his death he could complete the works he had undertaken. To Richard Mostyn, of Penbedw, he wrote on November 26th, 1695:—

"There is one very obvious objection, which I have not taken notice of in the paper, because indeed I could not well answer it; and this is, that if it should please God I should dye before either of these books be fitted for the presse, all the encouragement given me would be so much thrown away. In order to provide for such an accident as

[1] MS. Smith 51, fol. 13.

> well as I can, I shall endeavour to make choice of a young man of some extraordinary parts and industry for an amanuensis, and shall instruct him (as far as I am capable) in the studies of Natural History and Antiquities, that so he may be qualified not onely to assist me in this undertaking, if it please God I should live to goe throw with it, but perhaps to finish it as well or better than myself. If it should happen otherwise. I have already an eye on one whom I think fit for the purpose, and also very desirous for such an employment. But I could wish the college would be so favourable as to choose him into the Foundation, that so he may have some being to depend upon in regard to these singular studies will never come in his way to preferment, but rather hazard him the reputation of being ignorant in everything else, as we find it too often happens to men that signalize themselves in any one study. I intend to mention it to Dr. Edwards, who is pleas'd to be very active in promoting this design . . . "[1]

The young man "of some extraordinary parts and industry" whom Lhuyd had in view was William Rowland, who had migrated from Jesus to Oriel, the college of his cousin and contemporary, Edward Samuel.

In the Autumn of 1695 Rowland left Oxford to take a temporary post in Cambridgeshire while awaiting ordination. When at this place Lhuyd invited him to become an amanuensis and to accompany him on his projected journeys, an invitation which Rowland gladly accepted. He was already a skilful "lithoscopist", and his letters, written in Welsh, English, and Latin, testify to his interest in philology and antiquities. Lhuyd submitted to him a scheme of study, that he might further qualify himself for the travels. Map-drawing and mathematics are amongst the subjects mentioned. Rowland readily consented, and entered upon his work with enthusiasm. "Duw a wnêl ir gwaith ffynnu, ac yno y bydd Gwilym fyw wrth fodd ei galon", he writes in one letter. But keen disappointment

[1] *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* for 1833, p. 280.

was in store for master and pupil. It was not to be Rowland's lot to participate in Lhuyd's work. Probably his parents were not favourable, and he withdrew in deference to their wishes. There is no record that the college responded to Lhuyd's request that they should "choose him into the Foundation", and his people may have thought that without a scholarship "these singular studies" would "never come in his way to preferment". Whatever the cause, Rowland had to abandon the much cherished project, and he drops out of notice until 1701, when he writes to Lhuyd from Conway, of which parish he had become vicar in that year.

William Rowland's retirement embarrassed Lhuyd, but only temporarily. From Cardigan, on William Gambold's recommendation, came David Parry. In the Museum Lhuyd found two other "followers"—Robert Wynne and William Jones. Wynne was a native of Carnarvonshire, Jones of Merioneth.

Towards the end of April the carrier took into Monmouthshire what Thomas Tanner called Lhuyd's "moving library". Among its contents were magnifying glasses and other instruments, books of reference, and MSS. for collation. In a few days Lhuyd and his scholars left Oxford. He would certainly have preferred to visit Cornwall, and then proceed to Wales, as we may read in a letter to Lister dated Nov. 12th, 1696: "It would be most to my interest to goe to Cornwall next Summer; but having promis'd ye Gentry of Glamorganshire and Carmarthenshire (where I have the greatest number of subscribers) to survey those countreys with all convenient speed, I find myself obliged to make that my first businesse."[1]

Except in the letters written to and by Lhuyd, there are few records of his journeys, and, as there are many gaps in

[1] MS. Lister 36, fol. 162.

the correspondence, it is not always easy to follow him. Lhuyd left Oxford in the beginning of May. In August he was at Cowbridge. In the meantime he had visited the Forest of Dean, Newport, Cardiff, Abergavenny, Pontypool, and Llanelly (Breconshire). At Cowbridge he was detained two months. Writing on September 22nd he states that he had intended to be in Carmarthen in the middle of August, but that he had been delayed. The cause of his detention will be explained below. At the end of October he was in Swansea. From "Lhan Deilo vawr Carmarthensh.", on Dec. 20, 1697, he wrote: ". . . We have survey'd this summer (as particularly as we could) the counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Caermardhin, and Cardigan, and are in hopes of finishing Pembrokeshire before next spring . . . "[1] A letter written on February 12th refers to his having passed through Carmarthen — Tenby he reached probably in January. There he remained until May. On May 21st he was at Haverfordwest, on June 19th at Narberth, on July 6th at Cardigan, on July 25th at Lampeter. From Cardigan he had written to Lister: "I shall be out of all Road of Correspondence 'til the 1st of August when I shall be at Dr. Brewsters of Hereford."[2] From Hay he wrote on September 19th to Dr. Robinson, from Newtown to Dr. Lister on October 18th. His preface to the Lithology was finished at Montgomery on November 1st. Christmas he probably spent at Dolgelley, as he was there in January and February. On June 25th he was in Flint. A letter written on July 1st is addressed to him at Mr. Samuel, Schoolmaster, Carnarvonshire.

Lhuyd crossed over to Ireland at the end of August or the beginning of September. At Dublin he was welcomed by members of the Philosophical Society. There he remained but three days. Having received recommendations

[1] *Arch. Camb.* for 1858, p. 345. [2] MS. Lister 36, fol. 203.

and directions, he left for the Giants' Causeway; Drogheda, Larne, and Coleraine being among the halting-places on the route. After his visit to the Causeway, Lhuyd and David Parry "stepped over" into Scotland, William Jones being sent into Connaught.[1] "In this kingdom", Lhuyd, writing from Linlithgow, says, "our Travels in the Highlands were through Cantire, Argyle, and Lorn, beside the Isles of Mac y Chormic, Mul, and y Columb Kil, and in the Low-lands through Glasgow, Sterling, and Edenbrough." On December 15th he was at Bathgate, where he wrote as follows to Lister: "We came yesterday from Edenbrough; where I was so kindly entertained by Sr Robt Sibbald & Mr. Sutherland; with ye perusal of their Museums, Coyns & MSS. yt I would affoard no time to write to my best Friends."[2] Lhuyd was back in Ireland at the end of February. His return was delayed, contrary winds having detained him at the Mull of Kintyre for five weeks. He now went westward; his route can be but imperfectly traced, but from the addresses of his letters and references in them I find he was in Leitrim, Sligo, Galway, in the Islands of Aran, in Killarney, and "on the mountains of Keri".

Lhuyd returned to Wales in April. It was his intention to be in Cornwall at the beginning of June, but his stay in Wales was prolonged, for it was the end of August before he reached Penzance. In Cornwall he remained almost four months, and during that time he, or his companions, visited almost all its parishes. In the middle of November William Jones and Robert Wynne left for Oxford. On November 29th Lhuyd was at Falmouth waiting for a passage to Brittany, "having failed getting one at Looe and Foy". The difficulty must have been great, or else there

[1] *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xxviii, p. 97.

[2] MS. Lister 36, fol. 243.

was some other obstacle, as he and Parry did not land at St. Malo until the second week in January.

While engaged in his survey Lhuyd settled in certain centres; in Wales these were generally towns which had grammar schools. From these centres he and his companions explored the surrounding districts, appointments being made with the clergy and others interested in their work. While investigating the party divided into two groups, Lhuyd, generally accompanied by David Parry, going in one direction, Robert Wynne and William Jones in another. This passage from a letter in which Lhuyd apologizes for neglecting a correspondent, gives an idea of the vigour with which he carried on his enquiries. Writing from "Llanbedr, Pont Ysteven", on July 25, 1698, he says: "I hartily beg your pardon for such long silence, and have no excuse to offer but my being daily hurried from Karn to Kaer, from Kaer to Klogwyn."[1] A description of their methods when in Cornwall, given by Thomas Tonkin, will serve equally well for their procedure when in Wales. In a note in William Pryce's *Archæologia Cornu-Britannica*, he refers to "Mr. Lhuyd . . . travelling with his three companions (with knapsacks on their shoulders), on foot, for the better searching for simples, viewing, and taking draughts of everything remarkable, and for that reason prying into every hole and corner . . . ." The extent of their investigation may be gathered from this list of "observables", taken out of a pocket book which Lhuyd used when in Wales.[2] The things to be noted are:—

Name.	Limits.	Rect. or vic.
How far from ye next market towns.	Extent.	Villages.
— Corp, or vill.	Houses in number.	Townships.
Hundred.	Chappels of Ease.	Castles.
	Saint.	Abbies.

[1] *Arch. Camb.* for 1858, p. 343. [2] Llanstephan MS. 185, p. 123.

Free schooles.	Urns.	Age.
Hospitals.	Coins.	Land gained by ye sea.
Bridges & founders.	Amulets.	
Sanctuaries.	MSS.	Diving Rivers.
Seats of ye Gentry.	Rocks.	Medic. Springs.
Names of houses.	Parks.	Cave.
Krig. Kaer.	Woods.	Mines, &c.
Karn.	Commons.	Minerals.
Roman ways.	Warrens.	Quarries.
Cheqd. pavements.	Rivers.	Brit. Names.
Crosses.	Brooks.	What fuel.
Beacons.	Cataracts.	Any odd thing, as toads, &c., in stone.
Meini Gwyr.	Lakes.	
Kromlech.	Springs.	Any old thing in Turf pits.
Inscriptions.	Mount, or champ. ground.	
Arms.		

Lhuyd's tours were not without their adventures. Each country he visited, with the exception of Scotland, furnished some exciting episode. In South Wales he was frequently molested. From Tenby, on February 28, 1698, he writes to John Lloyd:—

> "I writ to you several times since I left Oxford which is now almost a twelvemonth: but I suppose my Letters either miscarried or that I forgot to give directions where yours might meet me. I find many of my Letters this last year have miscarried, intercepted I suppose by the Country people who were very jealous of us & suspected us to be employed by the Parliament in order to some further Taxes, & in some places for Jacobit spies."[1]

And to Thomas Tanner, from Pembroke, on May 20 in the same year, he says:—

> "Yours of ye 2^{d} came to hand wch is more than many of my Letters doe; for ye Country people are very curious to know whom the Spies and Conjurors correspond with, & what their Intregues, which has been ye only Discouragement I met with, since I left Oxford: but y^{t} will now soon be over; for in ye Counties that remain I & my companions are pretty well known. . . . ."[2]

---

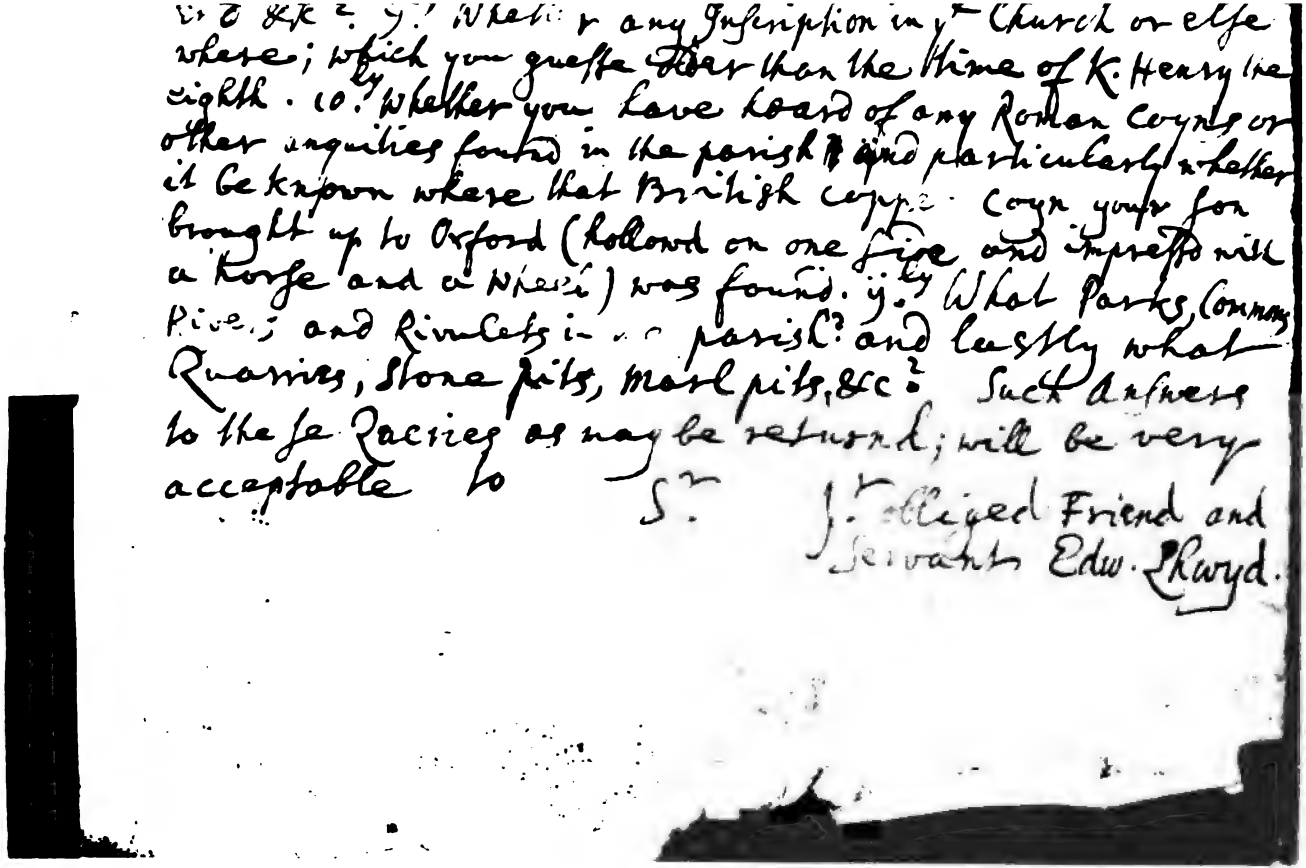
[1] *Arch. Camb.* for 1851, p. 52.

[2] MS. Tanner xxii, fol. 38.

Worthy S^r.

S^t. Nicolas
July 22. 1697.

The occasion of this trouble is to desire you would please to send by the Bearer what Acc^t. may be given of the parish of Gwen Vô; in answer to a Paper of Queries which I hope you have rec^vd some time since from my Friend M^r. Deer. The main Particulars I desire to be informd in, are 1. How you find the name written in ye oldest Records you have perus'd; and whence you suppose it denominated? 2. How many Houses in the Village by ye Church; and how many you suppose in ye whole parish; with ye number of Acres in the parish, if known? 3. What Parishes border on't? 4. On what day is the S^t. S[illegible] obs^vvd? 5. Whether a Rectory, or Vicarage? 6. What Villages, Hamlets, Castles, Monastery, Chappel [illegible] &c. it contains? 7. What S[illegible] of the Gentry, in the parish. 8. Whether there be any old Entrenchments or remarkable stones pitchd on



FACSIMILE LETTER FROM EDWARD LHUYD.

Endorsed—"For the Revd. Mr. Hawking, Minister of Gwen Vô."

But in spite of their acquaintance with the remaining counties, an experience more unpleasant than any they had hitherto met with, was not impossible in North Wales—nothing less than capture by banditti. Humphrey Foulkes, then a tutor at Eton, subsequently rector of St. George, Denbighshire, in a letter incompletely dated, but which must have been written in the later nineties, says: "The latest news I received from ou[r] parts is that the Rapperies, about 24 in number, who came out of the woods & mountains to infest those parts all this last summ . . . and stole abundance of oatbread, salt butter, & some money, are now (Nov. 5th) happily retired to their winter quarters."[1]

The capture which the rapperees of North Wales possibly might have made the Tories in Ireland almost effected. To Richard Richardson, from Oxford, June 8, 1701, Lhuyd writes: "I hope you have received ere this, dried samples of the Irish Plants I formerly mentioned. The carrier told me, you had the few Seeds, though not in due time; I wish they had been more, and better; but we came out of Ireland too soon, and the Tories of Kil-Arni in Kerry obliged us to quit those mountains much sooner than we intended."[2]

In Scotland alone Lhuyd escaped molestation, the only country in which he had anticipated serious trouble. Reports of the troubled state of the Highlands, and warnings that personal violence was probable, almost induced him more than once to leave Scotland out of his tours. On January 30, 1697, he wrote to Lister: "I must beg your further trouble of enquiring of Dr. Grey or Dr. Wallace whether they have heard of any Gentleman or Clergyman amongst ye Highlands anything studious

[1] MS. Ashm. 1815, fol. 58.

[2] Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. i, p. 317.

of their own Language and the Antiquities of their countrey; as also whether we may travail there with safety, provided we can be well recommended. As for course fare and hard lodging we are proof, being but an other sort of Highlanders our selves: but if it be the manner of the Countrey (as some tel me) to knock men in ye head even for a threadbare suit of cloaths, I shall easily bridle my Curiosity."[1] But in no part of the country was he interfered with, his investigations were nowhere disturbed. From Linlithgow, on December 17, 1699, he wrote: ". . . In the Highlands we found the People everywhere civil enough; and had doubtless sped better as to our Enquiries, had we had the Language more perfect."[2]

In Cornwall Lhuyd experienced the annoyance which had disturbed his work in South Wales, but in a more acute form. In a letter dated St. Ives, October 15, 1700, which William Jones carried to Thomas Tonkin, Lhuyd writes: "You will receive by the bearer, (Mr. Jones), Mr. Carew's *Survey of Cornwall*, together with what else I borrow'd, with my most humble thanks. I once designed to have waited on you myself long ere this; but now it so happens, that I take the South coast, and leave the North to the bearer, to copy such old inscriptions as shall occur, and to take what account he can of the geography of the parishes. I know you will be pleased to favour and assist him in your neighbourhood; but where we have no acquaintance, we find the people more suspicious and jealous (notwithstanding we have my Lord Bishop's[3] approbation of the undertaking) than in any country we have travelled. And upon that account I beg the trouble of you, when he leaves your neighbourhood, to give him two or three letters to any of your acquaintance more eastward. Mr. Pennick

[1] MS. Lister 36, fol. 170.

[2] *Phil. Trans.*, vol. xxviii, p. 97.

[3] Sir Jonathan Trelawny.

not being at home, we have been strictly examined in several places; and I am told the people, notwithstanding our long continuance here, have not yet removed their jealousy. I was forced, for their satisfaction, to open your letter to Mr. Pennick, and that proving to be just an account of me, as I had given, we were immediately dismissed."[1] Tonkin, in the note from which I have already quoted, writes in defence of his countrymen: "Mr. Lhuyd came into the country at a time, when all the people were under a sort of panick, and in terrible apprehension of thieves and house-breakers, and . . . raised a strange jealousy in people already so much alarmed: though this alarm (as it appeared afterwards) was without the least foundation, and at last discovered to be the contrivance of some designing neighbours, to get money for their assistance in this pretended danger. He was with me at Lambrigan, August the 27th, 1700. And Sir Richard Vyvyan being then out of the country . . . I gave him a Letter to the late Mr. Chancellor Pennick, then residing at St. Hillary, whereof he was Vicar, and a very worthy, learned Gentleman. At Helston, as Mr. Lhuyd was poring up and down, and making many enquiries about Gentlemen's seats, &c., he (with his companions) was taken up for a thief, and carried before a Justice of the Peace; who, on opening my Letter, was very much ashamed at it, and treated him very handsomely. This the bearer, Mr. Jones, gave me a full account of, though I had heard it before from others."

Hearing on his arrival in Brittany that several English merchants had been seized as spies near Brest, Lhuyd decided to avoid that town, and to keep near Morlaix. But here, as in Cornwall and Wales, his methods excited suspicion, and reports were sent to the "Entendent des

[1] *Archæologia Cornu-Britannica*, Letter I.

marines" at Brest that there were spies in the district. This official sent "a Provô" and two officers to arrest Lhuyd and Parry, then at St. Pol de León. "The Messenger", writes Lhuyd, "found me busy in adding the Armoric words to Mr. Ray's *Dictionariolum Trilingue*, with a great many Letters and small Manuscripts about the Table, which he immediately secured, and then proceeded to search our Pockets for more."[1] Lhuyd produced letters of recommendation to merchants and clergy of the district. One of the clergy undertook to bail them. Seeing the "Provô" unwilling to accept his offer, Lhuyd says: "I return'd my Thanks to ye Gentleman and told him I w^d^ not have his name call'd in the least Question on my account, but was very ready to make my appearance and glad of the opportunity of seeing Brest."[2] The officers considerately allowed Lhuyd and Parry to travel alone. On arrival at Brest they appeared before the Intendant, who without examination ordered them to the Castle, where they were informed that they would not receive the allowance of one and eight pence a day usually given the King's prisoners, but that they must support themselves. They refused to purchase food, "which we did", says Lhuyd, "because we found we did not lie much under Mercy, having a ground Room and the Conveniency of receiving through a Window anything that was necessary, which some Irish Soldiers in the Castle would bring us for our Money."[3] The Intendant relaxed, and they were granted fifteen pence daily. After eighteen days' imprisonment they were released, their papers, which had been examined and found to contain "nothing of treason", returned, but they were refused a pass to Paris, and were ordered to leave the kingdom, being informed

[1] *Mona Antiqua*, p. 340.
[2] *Arch. Camb.* for 1857, p. 388.
[3] *Mona Antiqua*, p. 340.

"that war was already declar'd against the Emperor, the Dutch and the English".

In spite of many interruptions Lhuyd's investigations were so successful that it is impossible to enumerate their results in the present paper. The account of his survey of Wales must be especially partial, and devoted almost exclusively to the fruits of his searches for ancient MSS. in Glamorganshire.

In a letter written to Thomas Tanner, from Cowbridge, on September 25, 1697, occurs this passage: "This Summers Progresse has prov'd (in ye maign) well enough to my satisfaction; especially as to Welsh MSS. and materials towards ye Natural History."[1] In a letter to John Lloyd, in December of the same year, he says: "I met with several Welsh MSS. but not above 2 or 3 of any considerable Antiquity: and they not written above 300 years since. One of them was a fair large folio on velom, containing copies of such old MSS. as ye writer could meet with. This, least we should not meet with ye like elsewhere, we transcrib'd, tho it cost us 2 months."[2] The "fair large folio in velom" was *Llyfr Coch Hergest*, then the property of Thomas Wilkins of Llanblethian. Prebendary Wilkins was very jealous of his MSS. It was with great reluctance that he had allowed them to go out of his keeping, and his anxiety was great until they were returned. "Mr. Wilkins", writes one of Lhuyd's correspondents, "desires you to be carefull of his Antiquities especially the old British Vellum Manuscript wch. he values at a great Rate."[3] Thomas Wilkins's solicitude with regard to the *Red Book* was not a little galling. The MS. was not his property, and had he been willing to restore it to its rightful owner Lhuyd could have bought it

[1] MS. Tanner xxiii, fol. 152.

[2] *Arch. Camb.* for 1858, p. 346.

[3] MS. Ashm. 1817b, fol. 203.

for twenty shillings, and thus the two months consumed in its transcription at Cowbridge might have been employed otherwise. In one of his letters to Tanner, Lhuyd gives the reason why he had not met with more Welsh MSS. "of any considerable Antiquity." "Great part", he says, "of our writings have without doubt been long since burnd and destroyd; and many of them of later years, for one Mr. Roberts, a clergyman in this countrey, tels me he saw heaps of parchment Books & Rolls, burnt at St. David's during ye late Civil Warrs; and did himself being then a school boy, carry several out of ye library for the sake of ye Guilt Letters, &c."[1]

Two passages taken out of letters written by Edmund Gibson and Archdeacon Nicolson, give some idea of the success which attended Lhuyd's researches as a Naturalist. Writing in January 1698 to Dr. Charlett, Gibson says: "Mr. Llwyd sent me out of Wales, about a week agoe, 5 Inscriptions that he had met with on his Travels. It is a prodigious treasure of antique & Natural Rarities, that he will pick up, to furnish materials for his new undertaking."[2] The date of Nicolson's letter is October 24, 1698: "Tis now high time", he tells Lhuyd, "to be looking towards Montgomery. I wish I had met with anything in my last Summer's Simpling Voyage that might be answerable to the agreeable Entertainment which your Welsh Mercuries alwaies bring with them."[3]

Scientists had been paying great attention to Ireland during recent years: Botanists had been particularly active there. It was anticipated that Lhuyd would make few discoveries in Natural History, but that his archæological finds would be considerable. The results, however, were entirely the reverse. "Mr. Lhuyd", wrote Tancred Robin-

[1] MS. Tanner xxii, fol. 64.
[2] MS. Ballard 5, fol. 119.
[3] MS. Ashm. 1816, fol. 506.

sòn to Lister on August 30, 1700, "has found more of Nature than Antiquities in Ireland"; and to Lister again on September 3,[1] ". . . He has met with very few Antiquities in Ireland, but nature hath made amends by her wonderfull Luxuriancy."[2] Writing soon after his arrival in Cornwall, Lhuyd says: "For Antiquities, Ireland affords no great variety; at least it was not our fortune to be much diverted that way. I have in divers Parts of the Kingdom picked up about 20 or 30 Irish MSS. on Parchment."[3]

References to his travels in Scotland are not numerous. He tells us, however, in a letter to Henry Rowlands:[4] "We collected a considerable Number of Inscriptions in Scotland"; and in a letter to Lister: "We sped well enough in ye High Lands as to some Materials for ye *Archæologia Britannica*."[5]

Writing to Thomas Tonkin, Lhuyd thus describes his gleanings in Cornwall: "Those few things that occurred to me in Cornwall, which are chiefly Inscriptions, and a Vocabulary as copious as I can make it, I design to insert (God willing) in my *Archæologia Britannica* . . . ."[6] He informed Richard Mostyn of Penbedw, that "the onely four Cornish Books remaining were communicated to me, besides many other Favours by ye Bishop of Excester, and I have copies of each of them. That countrey affoarded some ancient Inscriptions like those added to Camden in Wales. . . ."[7]

The unfortunate imprisonment in Brittany entirely frustrated Lhuyd's plans, and his research in that country

[1] MS. Lister 37, fol. 27. [2] MS. Lister 37, fol. 29.
[3] *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xxvii, p. 524.
[4] *Mona Antiqua*, p. 337. [5] MS. Lister 36, fol. 243.
[6] *Archæologia Cornu-Britannica*, Letter iv.
[7] *Arch. Camb.* for 1857, p. 389.

yielded but a meagre harvest. Referring to his sudden departure—the passage is from a letter to Henry Rowlands —he says: "So much for our coarse Welcome in France, which prevented almost all the Enquiries I design'd, into the Language, Customs and Monuments of that Province. For all we could do was but to pick up about twenty small printed Books in their Language, which are all, as well as ours, Books of Devotion, with two Folios publish'd in French; the one containing the History of Bretagne, the other the Lives of the Armoric Saints . . . I had taken directions about ancient British Manuscripts in some of their Convents, and some Persons noted for their Skill in the Language and Antiquities of their Country, but was not allowed Time to consult either Men or Books, or to view any of their old Monuments, so that I shall be able to say little of that Country, besides what relates to their Language."[1]

Lhuyd and Parry sailed for Poole, and within a week of their release they were in Oxford. To Richard Mostyn, Lhuyd wrote on April 21, 1701: "Being after a tedious ramble of four years at length return'd to the place from whence I set out; and for what I can foresee setl'd (if it please God) for the remainder of my time; 'tis my Duty to return most humble Thanks to my best Friends and greatest Patrons, who have enabled me to perform such expensive Travails; and necessary I should entreat their farther assistance as to correspondence and Information, in case anything may occur remarkable, during the time I shall be culling out the pertinent part of my collection and digesting it for the Presse, w^ch^ (make what Hast I can) must needs be the work of some years."[2]

Very soon after his return Lhuyd despatched William Jones and an assistant to transcribe documents in the

[1] *Mona Antiqua*, p. 342. [2] *Arch. Camb.* for 1857, p. 387.

Tower and in other London Collections. To private libraries in Wales and elsewhere he sent requests for the loan of MSS. and records.

The first part of the *Archæologia Britannica*, entitled *Glossography*, and published in 1707, embodies but a small portion of Lhuyd's research. The remaining results of his survey were to appear in other volumes; they are thus described in the Proposals:—

> "In the Historical & Geographical Dictionary, a brief Account is designed: First, of all Persons memorable in the British History; whether mention'd by the Romans or Writers of our own Nation: and of all such Authors as have written in British, whether Welsh, Cornish, or Armorican.
>
> "Secondly, of all Places in Britain mention'd by the Greeks and Romans; and of all Hundreds, Comots, Towns, Castles, Villages, and Seats of the Nobility and Gentry of chiefest note, now in Wales: as also of the most notable Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Camps, Forts, Barrows; and all such as either retain any monuments of Antiquity at present, or seem from their name to have had such here tofore. Throughout this whole work, an interpretation of all such proper names as are now intelligible is intended; with conjectures concerning some of those which are more obscure . . . .
>
> "The essay entitl'd *Archæologia Britannica* is design'd to be divided into four Parts.
>
> "The First to contain a comparison of the modern Welsh with other European Languages: more especially with the Greek, Latin, Irish, Cornish, & Armorican.
>
> "The Second, A Comparison of the Customes and Traditions of the Britans with those of other nations.
>
> "The Third, an Account of all such monuments now remaining in Wales as are presum'd to be British; and either older or not much later than the Roman Conquest, viz., their camps and Buryal places, the monuments call'd Cromlecheu and Meineu gŵyr; their Coyns, Arms, Amulets, &c.
>
> "The Fourth, An Account of the Roman Antiquities there, and some others of later date, dureing the Government of the British Princes; together wth copies of all the

Inscriptions of any considerable Antiquity, as yet remaining in that countrey.

"The Natural History may be divided into five sections. The first whereof may contain a General Description of the Countrey in respect of its Situation and Quality of the Soil: An Account of Meteors with comparative Tables of the weather in general places. Also of the Sea, Rivers, Lakes, Springs, and Mineral Waters.

"Sect. 2. An Enumeration & Description of all the various Sorts of Earths, Stones, and all Mineral Bodies.

"Sect. 3. Of Form'd Stones, or such as have a constant & regular Figure, whereby they are distinguishable from each others [*sic*] no lesse than Plants or Animals.

"Sect. 4. Of Plants, wherein we shall onely take notice of such as grow spontaneously in Wales, and have been rarely or not at all observed elsewhere in this Island, adding a Catalogue of such as are found in England or Scotland, and have not been observ'd in Wales.

"Sect. 5. Of Animals; in the same Method."[1]

Lhuyd resolved to publish the *Archæologia Britannica* before the Dictionary and Natural History, because he thought "it would meet with more buyers", and because he had "a tolerable apparatus for it". In November 1703, the *Glossography* was finished, and placed in the printer's hands; it was not published until 1707. Lhuyd was not responsible for the delay—"the Press", he wrote, "has never stayed an hour"—it was caused by lack of type; founts, especially such as were required for Lhuyd's Orthography, being so scarce that it was impossible for more than one compositor to proceed with the work.

The *Glossography* had a mixed reception. The Welsh gentry were disappointed, not unreasonably. To most of them it was a sealed book—even the Welsh preface was printed in letters that greatly puzzled; they would have found the Dictionary, the Natural History, or one of the other parts of the *Archæologia* more interesting. "Yr

[1] MS. Ashm. 1820, fol. 228.

Learned & curious booke", wrote one of Lhuyd's Welsh Correspondents, "had not ye reception in these parts as it deserved, not one in twenty that I conversed with giving it any tolerable character." The learned of Paris were dissatisfied because it was not written in Latin. By English and Celtic scholars it was received with admiration. From London, on August 8, Lhuyd wrote: "The Linguists and Antiquaries in these parts are so well satisfied with this volume that it sels much beyond what could be expected of a book so forreign."[1] Dean Hickes had his copy on June 2. His letter is typical of the numerous appreciations that Lhuyd received. "Sir", he writes,

> "This day I received the copy of your *Archæologia Brittannica*. The moment I received it, I sat down to peruse it for 4 houres together, and had sit longer at it, if other affaires had not called me of [*sic*]. Your performance throughout, as it is worth all your labour, and paines: so I doubt not but it will be very satisfactory to all men, who have a genius for antiquity, and the more learned and judicious they are, the more they will approve it, and be pleased with it. For my own part, I professe unfeignedly to you, that I am an admirer of it, and wish for my own sake, and the sake of my late undertaking[2] it had been printed 20 years ago, so usefull would it have been unto me. It hath cost you a great deal of thought, and by consequence required a great deal of time, and now I consider the Harmony, and accuracy of the severall parts of it, I wonder we had it so soon. When it is bound, I will carefully peruse the whole, and then you shall hear more from me of it. In the mean time, sir, I give you my share of the public thanks, wch are due to you, and had I the honour to be known to Sir Th. Mansell[3] your patron, I would give him thanks for encouraging such a

---

[1] *Arch. Camb.* for 1860, p. 15.

[2] *Ling. Vett. Septentr. Thes.*, Oxon., 1705-03.

[3] The *Glossography* is dedicated to Sir Thomas Mansell, created Baron Mansell of Margam January 1712.

noble, and truly usefull a work. Would all other Gentlemen, who are able, follow his Mecaenas-like example. The commonwealth of Learning would soon enlarge its territories, and in particular the darknesse of Antiquities would in few yeares be brought to light. I pray God continue your health unto you, and that you may live to finish your other designes; and that you may also find patrons to encourage you, is the hearty wish of

"Your faithfull freind,
and serv[t] Geo. Hickes."[1]

Subsequently to his travels Lhuyd's life was uneventful. Except to reside for long periods in some neighbouring village, where he might find the quietness that was impossible at the Museum, he rarely left Oxford. Still, he made one important excursion which should be recorded. In the summer of 1702 he visited Cambridge to consult a MS., which, according to the recently published catalogue of the University Library, " . . . promised . . . a map of Britain and Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis . . ." The map was disappointing, being but a crude draught. This journey, however, was not in vain, for while searching in the various libraries Lhuyd discovered the glosses and Englynion of the Juvencus MS.

On his return from Brittany, his University, in appreciation of his prolonged and laborious researches, conferred on Lhuyd the honorary degree of M.A. In 1708, the year following the publication of the *Glossography*, he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society. In the spring of 1709 he was elected Superior Beadel of Divinity, but unfortunately he was to hold the office for a few months only. His election took place on March 11, and he died on June 30.

Lhuyd had been endowed with a fine physique, and his powers of endurance were great; had it been otherwise he

[1] MS. Ashm. 1815, fol. 188.

could not have carried on his numerous studies so enthusiastically and so successfully. There are references to his strength and sturdiness when a youth, and he himself, in a letter that is without date, but which must have been written after his thirtieth year, tells a correspondent that he could not remember to have taken physic more than three times in his life. This excellent health he enjoyed until 1698. When at Haverfordwest, in 1697, being then thirty-seven, he writes: "For my part I have not been one day very sick these ten years; nor have I ever enjoy'd my health (God be thanked) better than in my Travails."[1] This good fortune soon deserted him. When in North Wales in the following year, he began to suffer from a severe headache, which became periodic, and from a cough, which developed into chronic asthma. Towards the end of June 1709, Lhuyd, through sleeping in a damp room at the Museum, caught a chill. On Sunday, June 26, pleurisy set in, which became complicated with asthma. He died late on Wednesday night or early on Thursday morning, and was buried on Friday night, at nine o'clock, in the Welsh Aisle of St. Michael's Church, his body being accompanied from the Museum by the Beadels and members of Jesus College Common Room.

Lhuyd died in debt. His income as keeper of the Ashmolean Museum had never exceeded £50. His travels proved more expensive than he anticipated; he was often "pocket bound" on his journeys, for his supporters failed him miserably. In 1696, the year of the first tour, the subscriptions amounted to £110 0*s.* 0*d.* In 1700, they had dwindled to £11 15*s.* 0*d.* Financially, the *Glossography* was not a success. Moreover, Lhuyd was of a very generous nature. His gifts to friends and others who helped him in his work were many. Undergraduates always found in him a friend,

[1] *Arch. Camb.* for 1857, p. 385.

he frequently lent them money, and the indebtedness was not seldom forgotten. The beadelship would have freed him from difficulties—it was "something better than £100 per annum"—but it came too late.

Lhuyd's MSS. and books were seized by the University. There is a tradition that the authorities of Jesus College wished to purchase them, but were dissuaded by William Wynne, one of the Fellows who had quarrelled with Lhuyd. It was hoped that, if they might not go to Lhuyd's College, the Bodleian would acquire them. Indeed, John Anstis, who had given Lhuyd several MSS., and who desired to buy the collection, did not press his offer lest he might make their purchase more difficult to the University library. But Bodley's librarian does not appear to have made any effort to procure them. Besides Anstis, other intending purchasers were Bishop Nicolson, Lord Mansell, Sir Thomas Sebright, and Humphrey Wanley, the last on behalf of Lord Harley. Anstis, the bishop, and Lord Mansell, withdrew, and left Sir Thomas, who was an old Jesus man, and Wanley keenly to compete. To Wanley the chief attraction was *Llyfr Coch yr Hergest*. Lhuyd had borrowed the MS., and it was in his possession when he died. Thomas Wilkins's letter, stating that he had given the *Red Book* to the College and not to Lhuyd, is affixed to its cover. At Wanley's request, Moses Williams examined the collection. He reported that the *Llyfr Coch* had been removed to Jesus College library, and that the other MSS. might be purchased for £80, the amount of Lhuyd's debts. In spite of the loss of the great MS., Wanley was as eager as ever, but his attempts were in vain. The collection was ultimately sold to Sir Thomas Sebright, on which Wanley remarks: "After we have been beating the bush another is about to run away with the Hare." It will always be regretted that

the MSS. did not pass into Jesus College library, or into the Bodleian, as then they would have escaped the calamity that has dogged them from the time they left Oxford.

How far Lhuyd had proceeded with his other works it is impossible to say. A few months after the publication of the *Glossography*, he wrote to John Lloyd of Ruthin: "Pray learn, as much as you can, in whose hands the Grants or Charters of the Religious houses in Denbighshire and Flintshire may be. Sr Thomas Mansel has sent me lately all these *(sic)* of his Abbey of Margan *(sic)*, which are 205; & they give me much more instruction than I was aware of. I suppose no Gentlman that's anything a scholar would scruple to lend them; but for those that are in other hands we are not to expect them."[1] Tancred Robinson, writing within a week of Lhuyd's death: "I remember Mr. Lhwyd told me he had perfected for the press an *Onomasticon Populorum, Vrbium et oppidorum Antiq. Britan.*, and had prepared a second edition of his *Litholog. Britan.*, very much augmented."[2] In January 1714, Richard Richardson of North Bierley, wrote: "I am sory that I could have no beter account of Mr. Lhwyd's Collections from him then I had, not many months before he dyed he sent me an account that he designd to print his Nat. Hist. of Wales in latine for the advantage of foraigners, in two octavos, in a fine Elziver character which induces me to believe that he had that worke in a great measure ready for the press."[3]

To Richardson Lhuyd had written on Nov. 8, 1708: "The first thing I design to publish will be only an 8vo in Latin, containing an account of the method observed by

[1] *Arch. Camb.* for 1860, p. 17.
[2] MS. Lister 37, fol. 157.
[3] MS. Ballard 17, fol. 138.

the ancient Gauls and Britans in the naming of persons and places. Perhaps you may supply me with some names of Mountains and Rivers of Yorkshire, not to be found in the maps; some of which might illustrate or confirm other observations. Are there no Irish or British Manuscripts to be heard of in all your country, or any barbarous Iss."[1]

Hearne and others who examined Lhuyd's collection found his materials "undigested". But after his death they were confused, and it is to be feared tampered with. The much loved David Parry alone could have brought the work to completion, but, unfortunately, he in no way concerned himself with the MSS. Already in Lhuyd's life time he had entered upon the path which led to his ruin. Once his master's care and restraining influence were removed his fall was rapid. He survived Lhuyd but five years, dying on December 8, 1714, "a perfect sot".

I conclude with three tributes to Lhuyd:—On May 14, 1706, Hearne wrote in his diary: ". . . I tell you, y^{t} he is a person of singular Modesty, good Nature, & uncommon Industry. He lives a retir'd life, generally three or four miles from Oxford, is not at all ambitious of Preferment or Honour, & w^{t} he does is purely out of Love to ye Good of Learning and his Country . . ."[2]

"Rhag bod ymma", says John Morgan, at the end of his *Myfyrdodau Bucheddol*.[3] "Ddalenneu segur, mi argrephais yr Englynion isod, ar Farwolaeth Mr. Edward Llwyd, Ceidwad y Musaeum yn Rhydychen."[4]

[1] Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. i, p. 321.

[2] *Hearne's Collections* (O.H.S.), vol. i, p. 244.

[3] *Myfyrdodau Bucheddol ar y Pedwar Beth* [*sic*] *Diweddaf* . . . Lundain . . . 1745.

[4] The Englynion are printed *verbatim et literatim*.

Carmen Englynicum in Obitum Celeberrimi & Linguis Peritissimi Antiquarii Dom. Edvardi Luidii, M.A.R.S.S. Ashmoleani Musaei apud Oxonienses Custodis; qui hâc vitâ decessit 29 die Junii, Ann. Dom. 1709, Ætatis suae 49.

Mae aml gawodydd ymma, a Gorlif
  Garw llafar fel Gaua';
Mae iâs oer yn y Mis Ha',
Oes oerach nag iâ Eira.

Gan in hôff Haul gynneu ffo, a'i Gannaid
  Oedd gynnes fachludo;
Gan i Brif atteg ein Bro,
Ai gwiw Geidwad ei gado.

Ymmaith fyth Weniaith i anwyl Feinir,
  Oedd fynych yngorchwyl;
Ymmaith bêr Lais om hemyl;
Syn yw'r Glust gan Swn oer Glul.

Clul Gwr cu' *Gymru* i gyd, an Browdwr
  Mewn Brwydreu Celfyddyd:
Arweddwr Cyfarwyddyd,
A doeth Ben Dysceidiaeth Byd.

Hwyliaist or Llwybreu halaeth, gan hoffi
  Anhyffordd Wybodaeth
Allan on Dysc, lle nid aeth
Un Dyn i Derfyn d' Arfaeth.

Meini nâdd a Mynyddoedd, a Gwalieu
  Ac olion Dinasoedd,
A Dail dy Fyfyrdod oedd,
A Hanesion Hên Oesoedd.

Ni fu gwn, soniwn am sydd, un Heniaith
  Anhynod na newydd;
Na ddo, ith dyn Go' dan gudd,
Cywreinwaith, nai Carennydd.

Chwiliaist, ti gefaist yn gyfan Addysc
  Y Derwyddon allan;
A Bri y Cowri, a'i Can,
Ai Hiroes gynt, ai Harian.

Cyhoeddodd, rhanodd oth Rhinwedd Llyfreu
  Llafurus beth rhyfedd:
Eithr or Byd mwy aeth ir Bêdd,
Anial Dîr, yn ol d'orwedd:

Nid oes un Einioes yn unig mewn Bedd,
  Mae'n Byd yn gladdedig.
Mîl draw yn d'ymmyl a drig,
O Wladwyr canmoledig.

Garw yw huno Gwr hynod heb orphen
  Ei berffaith Fyfyrdod,
Rhoddem a feddem dy fod
O law Angeu, Lew yngod.

Od a'r un i Dir[1] *Annwn, Nidn Callef*
  Nid Cenllifoedd fyrddiwn,
O oer Alar a wylwn,
A feddalhâ Feddwl hwn.

Ond er ir Cnawd, Brawd llwch brau, ymollwng
  I'wyllys yr Angau;
Mae'r Enw pêr mawr yn parhâu
Mewn Parch, er mwyn ai piau.

Ym mhob Tre' a Lle bydd *Llwyd,*
  Er ei Glul yn Aur ei Glôd,
Yn Dwr, yn Glydwr ein Gwlâd,
Unig Crair Awduron Crêd.

Pob Craig wen oi phen iw phant, ddiwidswydd
  A ddadsain dy Haeddiant.
Pibau bronnydd, pôb ryw Nant,
Filoedd a gân dy Foliant.

A Duddyfnion Afonydd a gludant
  Dy Glôd yn gyfarwydd,
Diball Drêth i bell Dreithydd,
Yn oes eu Dwr, Nos a Dydd.

A thra bo Athro bywiawl, na cherrig,
  Na Chaerau Dieithrawl,
Nag un Llyseuyn llesawl,
Na hen Iaith, bydd faith dy Fawl.

---

[1] Nid eir i *Annwn* ond unwaith.

Lest the phrase "a brilliant and many-sided genius" applied to Lhuyd at the beginning of this paper should be considered extravagant, especially when it has been followed by so incomplete a record of his life and work, I will close with a recent appreciation of one side only of Lhuyd's learning—his philology. At the conclusion of an address delivered at Oswestry in June 1896, Professor Rhŷs said:—

> "I was yesterday shown a most picturesque old house . . . ., and as I heard it called the Llwyd Mansion, my curiosity was at once roused, and I found that it belonged in ages gone by to the Lloyds of Llanvorda. Of that family came a great man, a very great man, to wit, Edward Llwyd,—who was born in the year 1660, and died in 1709, when he was buried in the Welsh aisle of St. Michael's at Oxford; that is to say in the burial place then reserved for Jesus College. For Llwyd was undoubtedly one of the greatest men educated at the Welsh College. I feel an interest in the memory of Edward Llwyd, not only on account of his connection with the Welsh College, but because he was in many respects the greatest Celtic philologist the world has ever seen. It is not too much to say that had Celtic philology walked in the ways of Edward Llwyd, and not of such men as Dr. Pughe and Col. Vallancy, it would by this time have reached a far higher ground than it has, and native scholars would have left no room for the meteoric appearance of Zeuss or of the other Germans who have succeeded him in the same field of study."[1]

[1] *Bye-Gones*, vol. xiii, p. 363.

THE NATIONAL EMBLEM OF WALES.[1]

By IVOR B. JOHN, M.A.,
Goldsmiths' College, University of London.

A word of introduction is, perhaps, necessary. I know I am by no means the first to make the suggestion that the daffodil ought really to be the national emblem of Wales. It can be seen in print in more than one place[2] that many people believe that the daffodil has been wrongly ousted by the leek; and I know that there have been other workers in the field before me. But what has been already done in this direction I have not allowed to bias me in the slightest. I took up the question with a perfectly open mind; I have examined all the evidence adduced (and, I would fain believe, have discovered a deal more), and therefore I do not want it thought that I am merely raking up old theories and quoting second-hand opinions.

Again, it may be well to say a word or two on the nature of the evidence which will be submitted to you. When corresponding with your secretary (Mr. Vincent Evans) he suggested the desirability of bringing forward, if possible, new historical evidence. Now, historical evidence, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, it is impossible in this case to obtain. A moment's reflection will show why. The

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, at 20, Hanover Square, on Thursday, the 21st of February 1907. Chairman, Ellis J. Griffith, Esq., M.P.

[2] See, for instance, "Wales", in the *Story of the Nations*, O. M. Edwards; note in index under "Leek".

very nature of the case prevents it. The adoption of a national emblem is not, as a rule, a historical event taking place, like the battle of Hastings, on a definite day, at a definite place, and we are absolutely sure, in the case of Wales, that no such event could have taken place. It may be admitted at once that there is no *direct historical* evidence available in connection with the Welsh national emblem, whatever that emblem may be—leek, daffodil, or anything else. Therefore my task will be to bring forward presumptive proof—"circumstantial evidence" if you like—in favour of the daffodil, and to show that, although we cannot *directly* disprove the traditions connected with the leek, we can show that they are absurdly improbable and quite untenable.

A crude analogy may serve to make the position more clear:—Suppose we came across a tradition, accompanied by a deal of detail, that three horned men with wooden legs lived in a cellar under the Bank of England a hundred years ago. If a man chose to believe that, it would be exceedingly difficult to disprove it *directly*. To a scoffer the believer would say: "How do you *know* there were not?" The reply to that would only be a number of arguments pointing out how exceedingly unlikely such a thing was, and, to the average mind, a sufficient number of arguments of this kind would be quite as convincing as direct evidence. It is plain that direct historical evidence to prove that a thing did *not* happen is exceedingly difficult to obtain, and in such cases we must be satisfied with dealing only with questions of possibility and impossibility, probability and improbability. Suppose, again, that in addition to being able to heap up arguments showing the extreme improbability of such a condition of things as those of our crude example, we could point to the exact way in which such a statement had arisen as the result of

a misunderstanding—then, I believe, we should be absolutely and easily convinced of the error of the statement.

In attempting to disprove the claim of the leek to be the national emblem of Wales, we naturally cannot go back to some definite day upon which the national emblem was adopted, and say that it was not the leek but something else that was intended. But we *can* point out that for several reasons it is exceedingly improbable that the leek was ever intended to be the national emblem; that the incident upon which its adoption rests can never have taken place; and that it was the most unlikely selection that any individual or nation could make. We can also show how a simple confusion explains the original error, and point out what strange influences helped to perpetuate this error; and, finally, we can show, on æsthetic grounds, on the grounds of common-sense, and by analogy with other cases of a similar kind, that the very rival candidate over whose name the confusion arose has the real claim to the position.

As a fixed point of departure we have to take the famous passage from *Henry V*, act iv, sc. 7, beginning at line 90 (*Arden* Edition).

King Henry asks Montjoy—

"What is this castle call'd that stands hard by?
Montjoy: They call it Agincourt.
King Henry: Then call we this the field of Agincourt,
Fought on the day of Crispin Crispianus."

Fluellen then breaks in—

"Your grandfather, of famous memory, an't please your majesty, and your great-uncle, Edward the Plack Prince of Wales, as I have read in the chronicles, fought a most prave pattle here in France.
King Henry: They did, Fluellen.
Fluellen: Your majesty says very true: if your majesties is remembered of it, the Welshmen did good service in a garden where leeks did grow, wearing leeks in their Monmouth caps; which, your majesty

know, to this hour is an honourable badge of the service; and I do believe your majesty takes no scorn to wear the leek upon St. Tavy's day.

King Henry: I wear it for a memorable honour;
For I am Welsh, you know, good countryman."

This is, in all probability, the best known reference in all literature to the Welshman and his leek, and was written by Shakespeare in 1598 or 1599. It merits the most careful examination—if we use the phrase "repays examination", the "repayment" we get is peculiar and surprising.

The "grandfather, of famous memory", is John of Gaunt, 1340-1399. Edward the Black Prince's dates are 1330-1376.

The mention of the Black Prince fighting in France immediately suggests Creçy, 1346, but John of Gaunt was only six years of age then, so Creçy is impossible.

Now John of Gaunt and the Black Prince fought shoulder to shoulder more than once. In 1376, for instance—this, however, was not in France, but in Spain—when John of Gaunt was the leader of the first division of the Black Prince's army. In 1370, however, we have the nearest approach to a "prave pattle" in the sack of Limoges by these two redoubtable warriors. On turning to Froissart's account of this action we find it to have been no "prave pattle" at all, but little more than a massacre of almost defenceless townspeople. We may qualify this, however, by saying that Froissart was French in his sympathies, and therefore not quite trustworthy. Fluellen says that he read of this battle in the "Chronicles". In no Chronicles that have come down to us is there any trace of any such battle. In all probability the story has no historical foundation whatsoever. Fluellen himself is a character of Shakespeare's own invention—he is to be found neither in Holinshed's *Chronicles* nor in the "*Famous Victorie*", upon

which the play of *Henry V* was based. The only source upon which Shakespeare could have been drawing was the current tradition of his day.

Putting aside any preconceptions for a moment, let us ask *(a)* what Shakespeare actually says, and *(b)* what can be reasonably gathered from the passage we have quoted—

> "The Welshmen did good service in a garden where leeks did grow, wearing leeks in their Monmouth caps; which, your majesty know, to this hour is an honourable badge of the service."

Now, it seems to me that it is impossible for that phrase to mean anything more or less than that Shakespeare was here giving a reason—what he thought was *the* reason—why Welshmen should wear leeks. The words "to this hour is an honourable badge of the service" would be meaningless otherwise; "and", Fluellen goes on to say, "I do believe your majesty takes no scorn to wear the leek upon St. Tavy's Day"—the day of the Patron Welsh Saint. Henry replies—"I wear it for a memorable honour; For I am Welsh, you know, good countryman." A memorable honour, evidently, of the service performed by the Welsh in the "prave pattle", a meaning confirmed in the next scene.

But why should there be any question of scorn? And why should it be so deliberately lugged in by the ears? Because Shakespeare is deliberately endeavouring to place the wearing of the leek in a favourable light. As I shall show later on, the leek in England was a symbol of worthlessness, and was often used in expressions of scorn.

In this very play, when Pistol jeers at Fluellen and is made to eat the leek, we have both the general scorn and its well-deserved retribution made very prominent. This scene confirms the first, if any confirmation were needed, in again showing us Shakespeare using every means in his

power to place the Welsh custom in the most favourable light. Gower's reproof of Pistol is most dignified and just:—

> "Will you mock at an ancient tradition, begun upon an honourable respect, and worn as a memorable trophy of predeceased valour, and dare not avouch in your deeds any of your words? I have seen you gleeking and galling at this gentleman twice or thrice. You thought, because he could not speak English in the native garb, he could not therefore handle an English cudgel; you find it otherwise; and henceforth let a Welsh correction teach you a good English condition. Fare ye well."

Now in 1598 Elizabeth *Tudor* was on the throne. Need I go on to point out why Shakespeare should endeavour to remove any unpleasant stigma from anything connected with Welsh nationality? We see Shakespeare go out of his way more than once to pay compliments to "the fair vestal throned by the west"; this is only a very similar and a very natural procedure.

Let us now compare this Shakespearian version of the leek legend with the form which has most general acceptance. I shall take the latter from a work typical of those by which such stories are propagated—an interesting, gossipy collection of all kinds of information and curious notes about flowers, put together, in a rambling and unscientific fashion, by the Rev. Hilderic Friend into a work entitled *Flowers and Flower Lore*. He begins:—

> "The following paragraph from a scarce work bears so directly on the question that I quote it entire—'The Welsh, who are the pure descendants of the ancient Britons, regard St. David as their *Tutelar Saint*, and annually hold festive meetings on the 1st of March, which was formerly solemnly dedicated to his remembrance, with every mark of conviviality. In the year 640, the Britons under King Cadwallader gained a complete victory over the Saxons; and St. David is considered not only to have contributed to this victory by the prayers he offered to Heaven for their success, but by the judicious regulation he adopted for ren-

> dering the Britons known to each other by wearing *Leeks* in their caps drawn from a garden near the field of action; while the Saxons, from the want of some such distinguishing mark, frequently mistook each other, and dealt their fury among themselves, almost indiscriminately slaying friends and foes. From this circumstance arose the custom of the Welsh wearing leeks in their hats on St. David's Day, a badge of honour considered indispensable upon the occasion, and to have been established from the very period designed to have been commemorated.'"

Taking this story as it stands, let us point out its inherent improbabilities.

(a) The Leek is a cultivated plant, it would have taken a fairly large garden to supply an army with badges.

(b) Did the Saxons and Welsh so resemble one another that distinguishing badges of this type were necessary? Were they so unused to warring against each other that some distinguishing mark was necessary?

(*c*) If a distinguishing mark were necessary, would a leek worn in the cap be satisfactory?

(*d*) Supposing the leek were a satisfactory mark of this kind, it would serve both sides equally well, for the Saxons would only attack leek wearers.

(*e*) This battle took place in 640 A.D. Unfortunately for the story St. David died thirty-nine years previously, 601 A.D.

On the face of it the story is ridiculous, and no scholar who has ever examined it has given it a moment's credence. Other evidence against it, based upon what we know of St. David, I shall return to later; but I think you will agree with me that in itself the story is an absurdly improbable one. On comparing it with the *Henry V* story we notice a very striking resemblance. In both the central idea is the same—the leek is worn on St. David's Day as a "memorable honour" of the prowess of the Welsh on the field of battle. Of the two stories the Shakespearian is

the more sensible (for instance, a garden of leeks would easily furnish a sufficient number of leeks for the caps of the small body of Welshmen who were with the English army in France at any of the times to which Shakespeare may be referring), and it seems to me certain, beyond any manner of doubt, that the two stories are but variants of one and the same original. More than that, it seems to me possible (I only suggest this as a possibility, I cannot prove it absolutely at present) that the Shakespeare story is the earlier of the two, and, perhaps therefore, the parent of the St. David version. The evidence which seems to point in that direction is as follows:—

1. If Shakespeare had known the St. David version he surely would have definitely referred to it in the passages we are handling.

2. About the same time as Shakespeare was writing *Henry V*, or at any rate between that time and 1615, Drayton was composing his *Polyolbion*, a series of songs descriptive of the various parts of England and Wales. The *Polyolbion* is a very mine of legends of the kind with which we are dealing, and Drayton spared himself no pains in collecting them. He evidently travelled through the districts he describes, and his fidelity to Welsh topography and orthography is, for his period, remarkable. This is his version of the leek legend—

"There is an aged cell[1] with moss and ivy grown,
In which, not to this day, the sun has ever shone,
That reverend British saint, in zealous ages past,
To contemplation lived, and did so truly fast
As he did only drink what crystal Hodney yields,
And fed upon the leeks he gathered in the fields,

[1] According to the margin of the Folio Edition, this cell was in "the valley Ewias" in Monmouthshire. The name still remains in Ewyas Harold, just inside the border of Hereford.

In memory of whom, in each revolving year,
The Welshmen on his day that sacred herb do wear.
Where of that holy man, as humbly do they crave
That in their just defence they might his furtherance have."

If the generally-accepted legend had been in existence in Drayton's time it is impossible to believe that he would not have come across it.

3. In a work dating from about fifty years later, the *Botanologia*, or the *British Physician*, of Robert Turner, of Holshott, 1664, we have another mention of leeks in connection with Wales without any reference to the St. David story:—

> *Leeks:* "They grow plentifully in our gardens. . . . Leeks are hot and dry in the third degree, of subtle parts, one of Mars his plants, which infuseth much valour into the Welshmen. . . . ."

According to this good man, therefore, the Welsh ate leeks in order to give themselves something analogous to Dutch courage. Coming to more modern times, scholars have, as I have said, at once rejected the popular legend, and have endeavoured to account for the leek custom in various ways. Owen Pughe's suggestion is that the custom arose from the practice of every farmer contributing his leek to the common repast when they met at *Cymmortha*, an association by which they reciprocated assistance in ploughing the land. This is purely a guess; it is based upon no evidence or likelihood of any kind; besides, let us hope that Welsh farmers had something more substantial as sustenance than a leek or two per head.

In 1805, Theophilus Jones, the compiler of a *History of Brecknock*, wrote:—"As to the leek, which is now given as the badge of the Principality, curiosity seeks in vain for its allusion, or the circumstances from whence the custom of wearing it on St. David's Day originated." And in the 1898 edition of the same work we have the still fuller

statement, quoted by Mr. Herbert Arthur Evans in the Arden edition of *Henry V*:—"All we know at present of the custom is that it is derived from the English, who probably at first meant it as a mark of contempt, though it has since been adopted by the Britons as an honorary badge of distinction."

Here I think we have arrived at one definite stage in our treatment of this subject. A certain custom exists among the Welsh; certain differing legends endeavour to account for this custom—none of them do so satisfactorily. We are perfectly familiar with many similar cases in other connections—the early history of Rome, for example—and there is absolutely no doubt whatsoever that we are dealing with "aitiological myths", *i.e.*, myths invented to account for existing customs and institutions. In this case we can say with certainty that at least as early as Shakespeare's time, and probably long before, the custom existed among the Welsh of wearing leeks on St. David's Day. Attempts were made to explain the custom, and these attempts are the legends we have mentioned. This aitiological tendency is characteristic of all nations, but it seems to be particularly characteristic of the Welsh. Had I time I could show you how the whole collection known as the "Mabinogion" is honeycombed with legends of this type, and from the time of the invention of those tales up to the present day this tendency has been strongly developed among the Welsh.

As an example take the following. There are, I believe, a number of places in Wales bearing the name of Morlais, and I know for certain that the inhabitants of one of them believe that the name is due to the fact that at some spot near, a listener may hear the sound of the sea—*llais y môr*. A visitor was

recently taken by an inhabitant of a certain Morlais to the proper spot, and there, indeed, he heard the sound of the sea, although the sea was many miles away. Needless to say, what he really heard was the noise of the wind in the trees, which is capable of providing *llais y môr* anywhere. Now I quite believe, so great is my faith in this aitiological tendency, that in every "Morlais" you will find some one or other who derives the name in this way, and who can lead you to the proper spot, although there is nothing more certain than, whatever Morlais may mean (and there are doubts about its exact meaning) that it cannot by any possibility whatever mean *llais y môr*.

We are therefore thrown back upon the fact that a certain custom exists for which the traditional explanation or explanations are totally unsatisfactory; we must now turn elsewhere.

The Welsh name for "leeks" is the plural substantive *cennin*; sing. *cenhinen*.

Cornish forms *cenin*, *cennin*, *cinin*.

Breton form *kinen*.

A cognate Irish form seems also to mean "leek". But any Welsh Dictionary gives:—

Cennin cyffredin, common leeks.
Cennin y brain, wild hyacinths.
Cennin y Gwinwydd, daffodils.
Cennin Pedr, daffodils.
Cennin Ffrainc, shallots.
Cennin Ewinog, garlic.

It is evident that the term *cennin* was a kind of generic term; and of the plants so named the common leeks would naturally be the one most familiar to the majority of people. From this it follows, too—a most important point for us—that anyone meaning to speak of, say, the

hyacinth or daffodil would be very likely to be misunderstood; he would be thought to be speaking of "leeks".

There is a curious parallel in the case of English. The Old English or Anglo-Saxon form is *leac*, which we also find used as a kind of generic term applied to a number of plants, some closely related to the leek, such as the Garlick (spearleek), others belonging to quite different families, as the Hollow Leek *(Corydalis Cava)*, and the House Leek *(Sempervivum Tectorum)*, whose names survive to the present day. It is interesting to look up old botanical glosses, and note how the application of the name gradually narrows down. By the fifteenth or sixteenth century it is quite plain that the word "leek" alone in English would suggest the common vegetable in just the same way as the word *cennin* suggests the ordinary leeks to the average Welshman.

Going further afield than our own islands we find that the leek *(allium porrum)* is one of the best known and commonest of cultivated plants. It was known to the Egyptians, and by them almost considered sacred. The Israelites, hungering in the wilderness, we are told in *Numbers* xi, when lusting for the flesh-pots of Egypt remembered "the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick." It was known to the Greeks and Romans, and evidently much used by them. It is grown in nearly all temperate climates. Its hardiness and its value as a food would account for its being so widely spread and so popular. As illustrating its hardiness, we may notice in the account given of the Great Frost of 1608, that the great proof of the severity of the weather lay in the fact that "the leek, whose courage hath ever been so undaunted that he hath borne up his lusty head in all storms, and could never be compelled to

shrink from hail, snow, frost, or showers, is now by the violence and cruelty of the weather beaten into the earth, being rotted, dead, disgraced, and trod upon."

It is most important to remember in the next place that except in one very doubtful instance (a supposed case in China), the leek has never been found growing wild.

I have already mentioned that in England the leek was regarded with contempt. The herbalist Gerard, in his *Herbal*, published a year before the writing of *Henry V*, declares that it "hateth the body, ingendereth naughty blood, causeth troublesome and terrible dreames, offendeth the eyes, dulleth the sight," etc. John Parkinson, the apothecary of James I, about fifty years later, is equally severe from a slightly different point of view, but more to our purpose. "Our dainty age now refuseth them wholly, in all sorts except the poorest; they are used with us sometimes in Lent to make pottage, and is [*sic*] a great and general feeding in Wales with the vulgar gentlemen."

But two hundred and fifty years before this we find the leek used as a proverbial expression for something utterly valueless. In the *Romaunt of the Rose*, whether it be Chaucer's or not, we find the author speaking of physicians and advocates:—

> "For by her wille, without leese
> Every man sholde be seke,
> And though they die, they settle *not a leke*—"

i.e., not the least bit. And again:—

> "And other suche, *deare ynough a Leeke*—"

i.e., dear enough at the cost of a leek, the most worthless thing that it could be compared to.

Again, in the *Child of Bristowe*, we hear that:—

> "The beste song that ever was made
> *Ys not worth a Leky's blade*,
> But men will tend ther tille."

The best song ever made is not worth a leek blade (*i.e.*, is worthless) unless men will listen to it.

Even at this stage it seems to me fair to ask: Is it likely that any nation would choose a cultivated vegetable of this kind as its national emblem? There is absolutely nothing of distinction or note in the leek, and there ought decidedly to be something of the kind in order to justify the extraordinary selection of a cultivated vegetable as a national emblem. For we find that such emblems are usually wild flowers—the English rose—the Irish shamrock (about which, by the way, there exists a deal of controversy; several plants claim to be the true shamrock, all of them, of course, wild)—the Scotch thistle—the fleur-de-lys of France (be it iris or lily)—the broom *(planta genista)* of the Plantagenets.[1] Before, therefore, beginning to think of accepting a vegetable as a national emblem we ought to require the strongest of direct evidence in its favour. Of that kind of evidence we have absolutely none; more than that, the one piece of evidence which is nearest to being what we many term direct is, in itself, I think, quite fatal to the claim of the leek. I owe it to Professor Rhys and a North Welsh friend of mine that in some parts of North Wales (Anglesey for instance) leeks are far from common, and they are *not known* as *cennin*, but as *lécs*. It hardly needs pointing out that the word *lécs* is only a Cymricised form of the English name "leeks". It is impossible to exaggerate the value of this apparently tiny fact. It means that the so-called national emblem of Wales is unknown even by name in large districts of Wales, which is an unthinkable state of affairs.

[1] As heraldic badges—exactly similar cases—we have the columbine as the badge of the Greys of Witten, the oak badge of the Stewarts, and the fir, holly, juniper, pine, heather, and mistletoe as the badges of Scotch clans.

We are therefore driven to the conclusion that the leek is not the national emblem. Almost equal in value to this piece of evidence is the fact, attested by one of the keenest of Welsh antiquaries, a man whose wide knowledge of everything Welsh was not to be surpassed in his own day, William Owen Pughe. He tells us in his *Cambrian Biography*, under the head of "*Dewi*", that he had never heard of the custom of wearing leeks on St. David's Day until he went to London. Is it, therefore, possible to think of the leek as the "national" emblem in any sense of the word?

But still "*y genhinen*" may quite well be that emblem all the while, and if we translate it as "daffodil", and not "leek", we not only remove every difficulty, but also explain how the difficulty arose.

But, it may be fairly asked, are we justified in supposing that people could fall into such an error as we suggest? Is it not accusing them of rather too much silliness? Not in the least! Far more foolish errors than this are constantly being unearthed by students of history, folklore, and kindred subjects. One of the most colossal still persists up to the present day, and forms a subject of wonderment both to those who believe in it and to those who do not. In addition, the instance I am about to give, turning as it does upon the misunderstanding of a word, forms an excellent analogue to the case we are discussing. About half-a-mile from the Cathedral in Cologne stands the Church of St. Ursula. Built into the walls of this Church, preserved in chests, shrines, cases and stone tombs, are thousands of bones and skulls, which we are gravely told are the remains of St. Ursula and eleven thousand virgins who were massacred by the Huns on the spot where the Church was built. St. Ursula was the daughter of a British prince named Deonotus, and she,

with ten virgin companions and eleven thousand attendant virgins, sailed for Rome, and on her return met her death at Cologne along with her companions. This was supposed to have taken place 238, 283, or 451 A.D. The story first appeared in the eighth century, was developed in the twelfth, and was popularised by Geoffrey of Monmouth. It was a tale after this "saucy and shameless liar's" own heart (I borrow William of Newbury's compliment to Geoffrey).

The ridiculousness of the story needs no pointing out. Its artificial character is shown by the "elevens". Ursula and her more intimate companions made up eleven, and with them went eleven thousand more. The idea of eleven thousand and eleven virgins getting together and setting out for Rome in (at the latest) the fifth century is absurd on the face of it. But merely calling it absurd is insufficient. We must account for the tale, and although I do not vouch for the absolute accuracy of the explanation (as I said at the beginning, in cases of this kind direct historical evidence is seldom obtainable), the following is probably what occurred. The lady Ursula *did* meet her death at Cologne along with her companion Onesimilla, and it is quite possible that they were martyred by the Huns (a fashionable name for the wilder inhabitants of Europe). In a Latin monkish chronicle an entry recording the martyrdom would read as "Ursula et Onesimilla, virgines" —"Ursula and Onesimilla, virgins", were put to death, etc. In copying this later, perhaps in the eighth century, if the copying were done from dictation, it would be the easiest thing in the world for the scribes to understand "Ursula et undecim mille virgines"—"Ursula and eleven thousand virgins." The Catholic Church would make no difficulty in discovering the necessary bones and skulls; it has accomplished more difficult feats than that.

So, in comparison with a colossal error of this type, there is nothing out of the ordinary in supposing that *cennin* should be taken to mean leeks and not daffodils.

So much for the bulk of the case against the leek. It is not yet quite finished with, there are still some arguments to bring forward, but we shall leave them for the present and turn to the claims of the daffodil.

I have already pointed out that it is known (in the plural) as *cennin pedr*, or *cennin y gwinwydd*.

It is by far the most striking of the flowers that bloom in the early spring,

> ". . . . . Daffodils
> That come before the swallow dares, and takes
> The winds of March with beauty."

For this reason it is the most likely, one may say the obvious, flower to be chosen for a Saint's Day falling on March the First. It is sometimes called *Lili Fawrth* (March Lily), and is known in Carmarthenshire as *Blodyn Mish Mawrth* (The Flower of the Month of March).

The daffodil rejoices in the botanical name of *Narcissus Pseudo-Narcissus*, and the recognised name has also the form *daffadil*, *daffadilly*, *daffadowndilly*. The word originally was the same as *asphodel*, and at first meant that flower; but it was soon applied to the narcissus, and is now properly confined to a section of that species. Its earlier form was *affodil*, or *affadil*, the modern initial "d" is as yet quite unaccounted for. The root is, of course, the Latin *asphodelus*, from the Greek *asphodelos*, in spite of a derivation very often quoted in books of the popular type, a derivation which was the work of some titled lady whose name I have forgotten. "It comes", says this lady, "from the Anglo-Saxon words 'affo dyle', meaning, 'that which cometh early'." There is only one difficulty in accepting this derivation; there are no such words in Anglo-Saxon

or any other language, and therefore they may mean anything her ladyship pleases.

The flower has an enormous number of popular names. Lide Lily=March *(Hlyd-monath)* Lily, in West of England. In Devonshire—Lent Rose, Lent Lily, Lentalily, Lents, Lentils. In other places Butter-and-Egg Narcissus.[1] In Germany one variety is called *Joseph's Stab*. In China a small variety is called *Shui Sin Fa*, Water Fairy Flower. In Wales, among other things, daffodils are called *Blodau Mis Mawrth*, and again in the singular, *Y Lili Bengam* (the crooked lily), *Lili Fawrth* and *Lili Grawys*; and, most striking of all for our purpose, in places as far asunder as Landebie in South Wales, and Talycafn in North Wales, daffodils are called *Blodau Dewi*, The Flowers of St. David!

Leeks, we find, are extremely rare in North Wales, and are not known there by their Welsh name. Daffodils, on the other hand, are to be found everywhere in Wales. In the lower part of the Conway Valley there is a church noted for the profusion of daffodils around; they turn the whole immediate neighbourhood into a sheet of gold in springtime. That church is known as *Llanbedr-y-cennin*, which can mean nothing more nor less than St. Peter's of the Daffodils. Leeks are out of the question.

A deal of lore attaches to the daffodil; indeed, when we remember what an enormous amount of lore of all kinds is connected with flowers as a whole, we naturally expect to find such a striking flower as this possessed of at least its fair share. In Greek legend it seems to have been the symbol of perishableness and death. It was sacred to the divinity of the nether world, Hades. Persephone had just gathered a narcissus when she was carried off by Hades.

[1] And quoted in Halliwell's *Dictionary* we find Cencleffe=Daffodil, a form I should like to know more about.

The earth, at the instigation of Jupiter, had brought forth the flower as a lure for the unsuspecting maiden.

In country places there exist at the present day many queer beliefs concerning this flower. In Devonshire, for instance, one blossom alone must not be carried into a house because it brings some form of ill-luck. In a farm-house the supposed consequence is the failure of the brood of ducks for that year. Strangely enough, a handful of blossoms is supposed to do no harm.

But, as I have already hinted, such a vast number of similar beliefs exists about such a number of flowers, plants, trees, leaves, etc., that we cannot base any arguments whatsoever upon their existence. It may possibly be said that such beliefs may indicate the early existence of some special deference paid to the flower; but upon this I do not wish to insist.

But there *does* exist a widespread custom in connection with the daffodil which I cannot help thinking of great importance in connection with our subject.

Anne Pratt, in her *Flowering Plants of Great Britain*, published sixteen years ago, tells us that "In Hertfordshire and other counties, an old custom still exists of gathering these flowers and placing them on sticks; and these bouquets are carried by children into town, who sing the old Norfolk ditty :—

'Daffy down dilly is coming to town', etc.,

and term this custom, 'Going a daffying'." In this we are referred to Hertfordshire and Norfolk. During the eighteenth century a gala was kept up by the boys of Lanark Grammar School in Scotland in which daffodils were used. The Rev. Hilderic Friend remarks that "going a daffying" is a village custom evidently quite common, because he does not specify any particular part of the

country in which it takes place. He gives the rhyme used in full:—

"Daff a down dill
Has now come to town
In a yellow petticoat
And a green gown."

In Lancashire, too, the custom seems to exist; and there the children sell the daffodils for pins, as it is considered unlucky to take money. This, again, seems to me to point most distinctly to some kind of sacred association.

In Devonshire the custom has become amalgamated with another, that of Cockthrowing in Lent. Daffodils are there called (in addition to other Devonian names already mentioned) Lent Cocks, and they are decapitated, instead of chanticleers, in deference to modern good feelings which condemn the older, more brutal, and "bluggy" performances.

Traces of a similar custom exist in Wales, but they seem to have died out rapidly during the past fifty or sixty years.[1]

I think that instances drawn from Hertfordshire, Norfolk, Lanark, Lancashire, Devonshire, and Wales furnish absolute proof of a widespread custom in this island of connecting the daffodil with some festival in early March. A sanguine partisan of the daffodil would perhaps see a great deal more than that.

That this fact may be important evidence cannot be denied, and it may be important in this way. Folklore and country customs of this kind persist for long ages with a tenacity truly astonishing. I am afraid I have not the time left to illustrate the point, but I am sure you will let

[1] People now living, however, still remember the actual custom of wearing daffodils on St. David's Day! This striking corroboration comes just as this is going to press, and I have no opportunity of enlarging upon it.

me take that for granted, as one of the common-places of this kind of research. We are doing nothing very extraordinary, therefore, in supposing this daffodil-custom to be exceedingly old. Now we know again that the Anglo-Saxon conquest was not, as it has too often been supposed, a crushing out of the Celts and a substitution for them of Teutonic invaders. Authorities are now practically agreed that the present population of Great Britain is at least half Celtic in origin. Again, the existing superstitions and customs of the conquered race are often adopted and preserved by their conquerors. Therefore I see no difficulty in supposing that this custom is a relic of an old Celtic custom, perhaps ultimately connected with some early form of nature-worship. If this is so, if the daffodil was the subject of some rite in the very earliest times, it does not prevent its adoption as the national emblem; and even if the custom did not take its origin in this way, our case is unaffected. In other words, Blodau Dewi might well have been connected with nature-worship in spring before the sixth century (the age of Dewi Sant), and the custom would be adopted and sanctioned by him, in accordance with the policy of the early Church, which took over all "pagan" feasts and gave them some Christian significance, as was done in the case of Christmas and Easter.

Even were that not so, there is no difficulty in believing that St. David might have had a warm place in his heart for the daffodil. This is far more likely than the tradition concerning his decoration of the Welsh warriors with leeks, for he seems to have been a peace-loving person, to whom a love of the flowers of the field seems far more natural than the lust of battle. He is first mentioned in the *Annales Cambriae*, in the tenth century, where we learn that he died in 601. The legendary history concerning him is somewhat extensive, and was first collected by

Rhygyfarch, Bishop of St. David's, 1090. It is plain that Rhygyfarch's *Biography*, written nearly five hundred years after the death of David, can hardly be a reliable document. It is almost needless to add that none of his early biographers mention the leek story, and although it would be dangerous in the extreme to attach much value to the events recorded in these biographies, it is, perhaps, not so dangerous to take from them the general impression that they give, namely, that they record the life of a mild and saintly priest.

Let us now examine the question on entirely different grounds. Knowing what we do of Welsh literature and of the Welsh temperament, it is quite fair to ask whether the Welsh people, or any Welshman concerned with the choice, would have chosen the leek as an emblem rather than the daffodil. One of the chief characteristics of early Welsh literature is the love of glowing colour and beauty. Take for instance the following passage from the *Mabinogion*, from the tale of *Kilhwch and Olwen*:—

> "And the youth pricked forth upon a steed with head dappled grey, of four winters' old, firm of limb, with shell-formed hoofs, having a bridle of linked gold on his head, and upon him a saddle of costly gold. And in the youth's hand were two spears of silver, sharp, well-tempered, headed with steel, three ells in length, of an edge to wound the wind, and cause blood to flow, and swifter than the fall of the dewdrop from the blade of reed-grass upon the earth when the dew of June is at the heaviest. A gold-hilted sword was at his thigh, the blade of which was of gold, bearing a cross of inlaid gold of the hue of the lightning of heaven; his war-horn was of ivory. Before him were two brindled white-breasted greyhounds, having strong collars of rubies about their necks, reaching from the shoulder to the ear. And the one on the left side bounded across to the right side, and the one on the right to the left, and like two sea-swallows sported around him. And his courser cast up four sods with his four hoofs, like four swallows in the air, about his head, now above, now below. About him was a four-cornered

> cloth of purple, and an apple of gold was at each corner, and every one of the apples was of the value of an hundred kine. And there was precious gold of the value of three hundred kine upon his shoes, and upon his stirrups, from his knee to the tip of his toe. And the blade of grass bent not beneath him, so light was his courser's tread as he journeyed towards the gate of Arthur's palace."[1]

Is that the spirit which would choose the leek in preference to the daffodil?

In a poem ascribed to the mysterious and problematic Taliessin (which may date from the ninth century), known as *Adfwynau Taliessin*, "The things pleasant to Taliessin," we come across the phrase, "Adfwyn lluarth pan llwydd y genin," translated by Skene as "Pleasant [is] the camp when the leek flourishes." Here I should suggest reading "llyarth" for "lluarth", and translating it as "Pleasant is the bank (or slope) when daffodils flourish," especially as the next line reads, "Arall adfwyn katawarth yn egin," "Pleasant also the charlock[2] in the springing corn," for the charlock too is yellow, and the connection therefore seems quite natural. If that is so, that phrase is probably the earliest reference to the daffodil in modern literature, and, fittingly, it is to be found in the literature of the nation, to whom the daffodil ought to mean more than to any other.

Summing up the case in a few words, it seems that we can reconstruct with great probability the actual happenings in connection with the national emblem of Wales. This emblem was, in the first place, the daffodil, *y genhinen*; the exact method of its adoption we can only guess at, although we can supply many reasons for the choice.

[1] *The Mabinogion*, Lady Guest's translation, Ed. Nutt, pp. 103, 104.

[2] Queerly enough, although it has, of course, no direct bearing on the point, the *-lock* in charlock, hamlock=A.S. leac=leek.

Owing to similarity of name it became confused with the leek, and the enormous influence of Shakespeare (along with, probably, a mischievous delight on the part of the English in bantering the Welsh on the subject), served to perpetuate the error, although abundant proofs that the belief was an error lay ready to hand, as we have seen, in all parts of Wales.

But what of the future? Judging from the letters I have received from those Welshmen to whom I have written, the restoration of the daffodil to its own kingdom ought to be a very simple process. All that is necessary is the giving of an authoritative lead; and perhaps you will forgive me for saying that I can conceive of no body better fitted for that task than this Society, nor can I conceive of any task which this Society might more fittingly undertake.

WELSH CHURCH DEDICATIONS.[1]

By the REV. J. FISHER, B.D.,
Rector of Cefn, St. Asaph.

Hooker, in the sixteenth century, expressed the orthodox Anglican view of Church Dedication in the following words:—

> "That churches were consecrated unto none but the Lord only, the very general name itself doth sufficiently shew. . . . And because the multitude, as of persons, so of things particular, causeth variety of proper names to be devised for distinction sake, founders of churches did herein that which best liked their own conceit at the present time; yet each intending, that as oft as those buildings came to be mentioned, the name should put men in mind of some memorable thing or person."[2]

True to this ancient principle of Church Dedication are the "Memorial Churches" which are of late becoming somewhat fashionable, such as the "Albert Memorial Church" in Manchester, the "Hook Memorial Church" in Leeds, and the "Lightfoot Memorial Church" in Sunderland.

This, however, was not the principle which underlay church dedication so-called in Wales during the Age of the Welsh Saints, *i.e.*, the fifth to the seventh centuries, though there was a small class, the Merthyrs, which partook of the memorial type. The great bulk of the earliest churches in Wales were called after the names

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, the 1st of May, 1907. Chairman, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.

[2] *Eccles. Polity*, v, 13.

S. DAVID.

Reproduced by permission of Sir EDWARD POYNTER, *P.R.A., from his original Cartoon (now at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington), for the decoration of the Central Hall of the Houses of Parliament.*

of their actual founders, and not after departed saints. This, as a general principle for that class of churches, was first enunciated and illustrated in detail by Professor Rice Rees in his *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, published in 1836, a remarkably clever and sound piece of work, particularly when is considered the scanty material he had to go upon. Formal dedication in the modern technical sense was then unknown in the Welsh Church; this came later, under foreign ecclesiastical influences, when the Welsh Saints themselves became venerated as patrons and advocates. The churches were simply named after the pious persons who raised them, just as a house or other building is to-day often enough called in Wales. The founders would certainly not "dedicate" churches to themselves. The relationship, in fact, was more than that of dedication, it was one of ownership; so that when the term dedication is applied to these churches it must be understood to mean what has been very properly termed "proprietary" dedication. We have a curious illustration of the principle in the *Book of Llan Dáv*,[1] in a grant to that monastery, where we are told that Guruodu, King of Erging, erected and endowed the church of Lann Guorboe "in honour of the Holy Trinity, and therein placed his priest (*sacerdos*) Guorboe" to perform the offices of the church, which church was henceforth known by the name of its first priest-in-charge. We are indebted to this custom of "dedicating" churches to their living founders for the preservation of very many Saints' names, which would otherwise have been wholly lost.

Bede[2] has described for us the Celtic mode of church consecration or dedication, entering into greater detail than usual, no doubt because it was foreign to his Latin ideas. According to him, the founder had to go and

[1] P. 162. [2] *Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 23.

reside for a certain time on the proposed site, for it was the custom to "first consecrate with prayer and fasting those places which had been newly obtained for founding a monastery or church"; and, in the case he mentions, the founder fasted "for the whole forty days of Lent", after which the erection of the building was proceeded with. But it may be a matter for doubt whether this dedication ceremony was gone through in the case of every ecclesiastical foundation, particularly the smaller ones.

We need not be deterred from accepting these Saints as the original founders of so many of the churches that bear their names, because they are credited with having actually built them, for a church in those days merely meant, in most cases, a small oratory, which was generally constructed of timber. In fact, many of the churches of to-day were originally simply hermitages or cells, and have been named after the hermits or anchorites who occupied them. That they must have been quite small we may gather from the measurements of Irish churches of the period that have been recorded. The early Welsh Christians do not appear to have acquired the building art of the Romans during their occupation of Britain. That the Celtic churches were usually constructed of wood we know, and that even down to the twelfth century in Ireland.[1] In Wales, St. Kentigern, in the sixth century, erected his monastery on the banks of the Elwy "of planed wood, after the manner of the Britons", and not of stone, as "it was not then the custom".[2] St. Gwynllyw built his church (now St. Woolos) at Newport, Monmouth, of "boards and rods";[3] and it was of timber, it would appear, that his son, St. Cadoc,[4] ultimately built Cadoxton-juxta-

[1] St. Bernard, *Vita S. Malachiæ*, c. vi, sec. 14.
[2] Joscelyn, *Vita S. Kentigerni*, c. 24.
[3] *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 148. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

S. BRYCHAN.

From Stained Glass Window, S. Neot, Cornwall.

Neath. Similarly, St. Aidan of Ferns, when in Wales, was minded to build a church, it was to be of timber cut in the forest;[1] and it was with timber cut in the forest that St. Finnian of Clonard, with other monks, built near St. David's.[2] In fact, we have a survival of this primitive mode of church building in the little timber-built church of Melverley, in the Diocese of St. Asaph. But stone was also occasionally employed, for St. Illtyd built Llantwit Major of "stone materials, and surrounded it with a quadrangular dyke".[3] The same was true of the *castell*. In fact, such early stonework, whether ecclesiastical or military, as remains to-day, that we do not owe to Norman architects, is comparatively very little.

This theory, that churches were named after their actual founders, has of late been controverted, but the conclusions set forth are, upon the whole, too sweeping and misleading. It is perfectly true that the numerous Teilo and Dewi churches could not well have been all founded in person by those two great Saints, but were designated Llandeilo and Llanddewi because they at an early period belonged to the monasteries of Llandaff and St. David's respectively. That the Dewi churches were regarded as "proprietary" churches we know from the poem, *Canu y Dewi*, by Gwynfardd Brycheiniog (*flor. c.* 1160-1220).[4] In that poem he enumerates some twenty churches only, which he says were owned by Dewi—*Dewi bieu* is his phrase—and in the list are included churches with other dedications, such as Llangyfelach and Llangadog, but inasmuch as they had subsequently become the possessions of his monastery, they had been "rededicated" to him.

[1] *Acta SS. Hibern.* in *Cod. Salam.*, p. 484.
[2] *Book of Lismore*, ed. Whitley Stokes, p. 192.
[3] *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 164.
[4] *Red Book of Hergest*, col. 1186; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 194.

Such churches were colonies of those two monasteries, and were served, no doubt, by monks from them. As we find in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, land would first be granted to that monastery by some local chief, and on this a church

S. TEILO.

From Fifteenth-Century Stained Glass at Plogonnec, Finistère.

would be built, which would be entered among the possessions of the monastery, and called after Teilo. The same would, no doubt, occur in the case of the Dewi churches; and it is a characteristic of these latter churches that they

often come in groups or clusters. A church would be planted in a certain district, possibly by Dewi himself, or by his monastery after his decease, and from it there would be local offshoots, bearing the name of Dewi. It was the form "Church extension" took in those days. All this was perfectly true, but after all it only accounts for a comparatively small number of churches. How, for instance, about the many churches in the Diocese of Llandaff alone, called after Welsh Saints, of which there is no record whatever in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, a twelfth century compilation, that they belonged to the monastery of Teilo?

But what is much more damaging to this theory that all churches bearing Welsh Saints' names were colonies of some monastery or other, with its abbot, as chief of the tribe of the saint, at their head, is the fact that the whole of Central and North Wales is studded over with churches, called after persons known to have lived during the Age of the Saints, which cannot by any stretch of imagination be said to have been colonies or offshoots of any monasteries, simply because there were no monasteries in those parts of the greatness and influence of the Teilo and Dewi ones to colonize them; and the churches in Central Wales especially were too far distant from the existing northern monasteries, no less than the southern ones, to come within the scope of their influence.

In brief, this late theory may be taken as true to some extent only, particularly in the case of those two powerful South Wales monasteries; but the principle cannot be applied to Welsh dedications generally. The theory has been pushed too far; there is no proof that the Welsh churches were all settlements from certain monasteries. The cumulative evidence of the extant *Lives of the Welsh Saints*, and of local tradition wherever it exists, or did

S. WINEFRED.

From Fifteenth-Century Glass in Chancel Window, Llandyrnog Church, Denbighshire.

exist, is, that the churches were founded by the persons whose names they bear, and their founders (for instance, Beuno, Carannog, and Cybi, among others) are represented as moving from place to place, without regard to tribal boundaries or any restriction, much like Christian missionaries to-day in foreign parts. Too much has been made of the Irish parallel. But we know, too, from the *Lives of the Irish Saints*, that they were even more restless than the Welsh Saints, planting churches far and wide, even across the seas. The supposed Welsh Saints, Caron, Cennech, Ffinan, Myllin, Saeran, Sannan, and others, were Irish-bred; and many of the Celtic Saints, Welsh and Irish, had a great reputation as church-founders in Brittany.

A good number of the Welsh Saints we can only describe as hermits or anchorites. There are, for instance, two churches to-day in Anglesey, Llaneugrad and Llanallgo, dedicated to two brothers, sons of Caw and brothers of Gildas. The Monk of Ruys, in his *Life of Gildas*, tells us the origin of these two churches. He says—"Egreas (Eugrad), with his brother Alleccus (Gallgo), and their sister Peteova (Peithian), a virgin consecrated to God, having given up their patrimony and renounced worldly pomp, retired to the remotest part of that country (*i.e.*, Anglesey), and at no great distance from each other, built, each one for himself, an oratory, placing their sister in the middle one. . . . . They were buried in the oratories which they had built, and are preserved there, famous and illustrious for their constant miracles."[1]

Similar instances occur of Saints who may be regarded as hermits and first planters of Christianity in certain localities. Another trio, the children of Hawystl Gloff, Diheufyr (the Deiferus of the *Life of St. Winefred* by Prior

[1] *Gildas*, Vita 1ma. ed. Prof. Hugh Williams, p. 327.

Robert of Shrewsbury), Teyrnog, and Marchell, settled in the Vale of Clwyd, and had their cells at Bodfari, Llandyrnog, and Llanfarchell (now Denbigh), which ultimately became those churches of to-day, the parishes of which adjoin. Their two other brothers, Tyfrydog and Tudur, have churches at Llandyfrydog in Anglesey, and Darowen in Montgomeryshire. Other instances of brothers or companions so settling near each other might be mentioned, but many more of whole families being dispersed all over Wales, and sometimes beyond it.

These dedications mark the first stage in the evangelization of the country; and the names of the first planters of Christianity here have been handed down crystallized in these Church names. Their footprints are so frequent in some districts that we can hardly go a couple of miles without lighting upon some memorial or other of these primitive church founders. There are embedded in these church names, of the early and mediæval periods, whole chapters of Welsh church history.

Our earliest name for a church is no doubt *Llan*; but another very early term is *Merthyr*. This latter does not appear to have had in Wales the same meaning as the Latin *Martyrium*, a church erected over a martyr's grave. There were but very few martyrs of the Welsh church in the ordinary sense of the word. The former fairly numerous Merthyr-names were probably bestowed as in Ireland, where the term meant a cemetery, which had been sanctified by the relics *(martre)* of some saint, with probably a small chapel. The Merthyr-names occur principally in S.E. Wales, and there is but one instance that I know of in the whole of North Wales—Merthyr Caffo,[1] in Anglesey, now Llangaffo. There are in all sixteen Merthyrs indexed in the *Book of Llan Dáv*, which were of

[1] *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 186.

the nature of "Memorials" to the Saints whose names they bore. By the twelfth century the term had become synonymous with *Llan* and *Ecclesia*. In the *Book of Llan Dâv* Merthir Cynfall is otherwise called Lann Cinfall and Ecclesia Cinfall. The prefix has been superseded in most cases by *Llan*, as in Merthir Maches, now Llanfaches, and Martir Celer, now Llangeler, and occasionally by *Eglwys*, as in Merthir Ilan, now Eglwys Ilan.[1] Speaking of the prefix in Church-names, in one instance in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, *Monasterium*, *Llan*, *Ecclesia*, and *Cella* are treated as synonymous. I refer to the Gower Church known to-day as Bishopston by the English, and formerly as Llandeilo Ferwallt by the Welsh; it occurs in the MS. mentioned with all these terms prefixed to Conuur, its original saint. The *Henllan*-names were once fairly numerous, but such as have survived are few; some have become *Llans*. From *Henllan* we have the diminutive *Henlenic* of the *Book of Llan Dâv*,[2] of which there are a few instances. They appear to have been subordinate churches or chapels. There is no instance of *Capel*, *Bettws*, or *Dyserth* in the *Book of Llan Dâv*. *Capel* is clearly a comparatively late loan-word, which we probably adopted from the Normans. We derived *cafell* from *capella* at an earlier stage. The subordinate *Capel* has in many instances become a *Llan*. The extinct Capel Llanfihangel, near Fishguard, and Llanfihangel Capel Edwin, now Eglwys Fach, Cardiganshire, are strange combinations. *Bettws*, *i.e.*, Bead-house (a house of prayer, thence an alms-house), had been fully established in Wales by the time of the Norwich *Taxatio*,

[1] The Merthir Tudhistil of the *Cognatio de Brychan*, mentioned as Llan Dydystyl in a plaint in Aneurin Owen's edition of the *Welsh Laws* (p. 625), survives in the farm-name Capel Tydyst, in the parish of Llandeilo Fawr.

[2] See index, p. 404. Compare the Lennic on p. 197, and the Llan Gadwg Lenig of *Myv. Arch.*, p. 750.

1254. Bettws Cadwaladr has became Llangadwaladr (Denb.), and Pentraeth (Angl.) was formerly Llanfair Bettws Geraint. The Dyserth Sanfreyd of the *Taxatio* of 1291 is the Llansantffraid Glan Conwy of to-day. No *Cil*, in the sense of *Cella*, occurs in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, becoming afterwards *Llan* or *Eglwys*; and it appears that in the instances it occurs it is merely descriptive. The word corresponding in meaning to the Irish and Gaelic *Cill* is *cell*, borrowed from the Latin *cella*. We have a few other prefixes to Saints' names, particularly *Bod* and *Tre*, and the occasional *Llech*, *Maen*, and *Ty*.

The Welsh were not in the habit of "styling" their own Saints, but they did so in the case of "strangers"; hence we find Llansantffraid, Llansantsior, Llansantffagan (also Llanffagan), and Lann Sant Guainerth (now St. Weonard's). Llandyfeisant, under Llandeilo Fawr, seems to stand alone.

Sometimes we have as church-names simply the saint's name without prefix, as in Baglan, Ceidio, Llywel, and Llywes. Sometimes the prefix has been dropped, as in Kiffyg, formerly Lann Ceffic (Carm.), and Clodock, formerly Merthir Clitauc (Heref.). Occasionally the Welsh prefix is transposed in English—Lann Cein has become Kent-church, and Lann Cinitir, Kender-church. In Llanfihangel yng Ngheri, now Kerry, Llanfihangel y Bugeildy, now Bugeildy, and Llanfihangel y Bettws, now Bettws y Coed, the Archangel's name has disappeared, but the churches are still dedicated to him. Similarly, Llanfair y bri has become Llanybri, and Llanarmon ym Mechain, Llanfechain.

There are to-day not many churches in Wales without some dedication or other. They are more numerous in Pembrokeshire than elsewhere. Though the ecclesiastical element is a very distinctive and preponderating feature of

our parish names, as compared with the English ones, it has not always served to preserve the names of the original dedicatees of many of our churches, and so their names are often lost to us. Sometimes the name has been deliberately changed, generally at the rebuilding of a church, to that of some better-known Saint in the Calendar of the Latin Church. But the "historical continuity" of the Church in Wales is never so apparent as by the names of those early saints, which have clung so tenaciously to those ancient spots which they have hallowed for well-nigh fourteen centuries. There are means of recovering some of even the more obscure ones. Forgotten dedications not infrequently turn up in mediæval wills, it being customary for the testator to define carefully the church in which he desired to be buried, or to which he bequeathed money or land. Terriers and other church records also now and again supply anonymous churches with their missing dedications. Sometimes the holy well or some other object in the parish has preserved it. To take one instance only to illustrate how the correct dedication of a church has been lost: The church of Erbistock, *i.e.*, Erbin's Stoke, has for many generations been regarded as dedicated to St. Hilary. In the *Valor* of 1535 (vi, p. xlv), however, we find entered under Erbistock, "It' ye offryng of Saynt Erbyns". But the well-attested Festival of St. Erbin on January 13 and that of St. Hilary "occurred", which explains how St. Erbin, the rightful patron, has disappeared. In the Middle Ages the parishes were often very large, the outlying hamlets being served by numerous chapels. At the Reformation these chapels, and especially the chantry chapels, perished by the score. Under the two Cardiganshire parishes alone, Llandyssul and Llanwenog, Rees[1]

[1] *Welsh Saints*, p. 328.

mentions six and four extinct chapels respectively. These chapels, as well as their dedications, are in many cases now clean forgotten, but farm and field names sometimes retain them.

In England they took precaution to have the name of the patron saint preserved. Archbishop Wulfred ordered, in 816, that it be "written on the walls of the oratory, or in a table, and also on the altars, to what Saints both of them are dedicated".[1] And Archbishop Gray, in 1250, ordered that there should be "the principal image in the chancel of that Saint to which the church is dedicated".[2] The latter provision was observed in the case of Welsh churches too, during, at any rate, the late Middle Ages.

Another clue to the recovery of a lost dedication is the wake-date, or the principal fair, for the mediæval church was the centre and rallying-point of the common life in every parish, as witnessed by the canons and constitutions passed from time to time for restraining or repressing the holding of markets, fairs, and sports within the precincts of the church. The *Gwyl Mabsant* represented the *Encœnia*, or anniversary feast, kept in memory of the dedication of a church. I am quite aware of the distinction between the Feast of the Patron or Title and the Feast of Dedication, but to the Welsh, latterly at any rate, the *Gwyl Mabsant* did for both. Henry VIII's order for altering or removing the Dedication Feast to the first Sunday in October seems to have been, fortunately, practically ignored by the Welsh.

Fairs were very generally held on the Festivals of the Church, and always, it would appear, on the Festivals of the Welsh Saints. At Cardigan and Whitland, with both churches dedicated to the Virgin, fairs were at one time annually held on five of her six Festivals; at Rhuddlan,

[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, i, p. 169. [2] *Ibid.*, i, p. 698.

also St. Mary, on four of her Festivals. But the old fair days have to be used with caution, as sometimes the fair was held on the Eve of the Saint's Day. To take Nevin for instance. Its old name in full was Llanfair yn Nefyn, with dedication to the Virgin on the Feast of the Assumption. There were fairs there on two of her Eves, O.S., March 24 and August 14. This, by the way, puts the supposed dedication to Nefyn, or rather Nyfain, daughter of Brychan, out of court. So with Llanrwst Church, dedicated to St. Gwrwst or Grwst. His Festival, Gwyl Rwst, occurs on December 1 in a great many of the early Welsh Calendars. A fair was held there, O.S., on its eve, November 30, which happens to be also St. Andrew's Day. This will account for the church being sometimes given as dedicated to St. Andrew instead of to St. Grwst. Similarly, the Festival of a Saint of the Welsh Calendar, chancing to fall on the Festival of a Saint in the Calendar of the Church Catholic, has been the means of altering the dedication of several churches. For instance, Llaneurgain or Northop is now dedicated to SS. Peter and Eurgain, because their Festivals "occurred" on June 29; Llandrinio, now to SS. Peter, Paul, and Trinio, for the same reason; and St. Mordeyrn of Nantglyn has in the same way been completely ousted by St. James.

The Dewi churches and chapels are very numerous. Rees, in 1836, enumerated them as fifty-three in all, being the third favourite dedication in Wales. Excepting eight in Llandaff and three in Hereford they are all in St. David's diocese. But he, of course, took no account of the dedications to him in Cornwall, Devon, and elsewhere in England, as well as in Brittany. There are no ancient Dewi dedications in North Wales—Llanddewi in Denbighshire is misleading, being a modern parish and church

(1867). Dewi is still the one purely Welsh Saint that has been formally canonized, probably during the first quarter of the twelfth century, and evidently with the object of helping forward the fusion of the two Churches. Archbishop Arundel, under a constitution of 1398, and Archbishop Chicheley, under another of 1415, ordained that his Festival be observed as one of the higher rank throughout the province of Canterbury.[1]

His Life is beset with difficulties, and it is not improbable that there may have been one or more other church founders of the name, who in the Middle Ages became welded into one. Dewi was not an uncommon name formerly. There are four persons of the name, two clerics and two laymen, indexed in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, none of whom could possibly be identified with St. David. One of them, who lived during the time of Bishop Uvelviu, is mentioned as "Deui summus sacerdos filius Circan",[2] and was evidently a person of importance locally at Llanddewi Rhôs Ceirion, now Much Dewchurch, Herefordshire, which church seems to have been the mother church of three adjacent Dewi churches. These churches, at any rate, were most probably not dedicated to the St. David of Menevia.

The first period in the history of Welsh dedications, *i.e.*, to native Saints, is supposed to have closed with the beginning of the eighth century, when we enter on a new period, the Welsh adopting the mode of the Latin Church of dedicating to what may be generally called departed Saints, and roughly in the following order—St. Michael the Archangel, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Peter, the Apostles, St. Bride, and other Saints of the Latin Calendar. But the old method was not entirely abandoned, in fact it

[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, pp. 234-5, 376.

[2] Pp. 161-2; Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, pp. 274-5.

wore on in a disguised form into the Middle Ages—the thirteenth century at least. For instance, Eglwys Brewis, said to have been named after Bishop Wm. de Braose or Bruce of Llandaff, who died in 1287; Bettws Gwerfyl Goch, dedicated to the Virgin, and appears in the *Taxatio* of 1291, which received name, according to Lewys Dwnn,[1] from Gwerfyl Goch, daughter of Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd, whose husband built the Church, and she lies buried in it; to which might be added, out of several others that occur, the extinct Capel Coker, in the parish of Kidwelly, so called after Galfridus de Coker, Prior of Kidwelly in 1301.

The dedications to St. Michael the Archangel, as Rees has shown, formed the second most popular dedication in Wales, no less than ninety-four churches and chapels being dedicated to him; and it is characteristic of them that they are very regularly distributed over the country—they do not crowd, like the Mary and other dedications, in certain particular districts—which proves that it became, to all intents, a thoroughly Welsh dedication. This new departure in dedication seems to have been deemed important enough to be recorded in the *Annales Cambriæ*, *s.a.* 718, "Consecratio Michaelis Archangeli ecclesiæ"; or, as entered in *Brut y Tywysogion*, *s.a.* 710, "Kyssegrwyt eglwys lann vihagel."[2] But there is no means of knowing which of the many it was. This is the earliest Welsh dedication in the modern sense.

There are four Llanfihangels mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâv* in grants made during the episcopates of two Bishops of the tenth century. One of them is also mentioned[3] in a grant of the episcopate of Bishop Gurvan, who,

[1] *Heraldic Visitations*, ii, p. 17.

[2] *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 258.

[3] Pp. 167-8. In the lists on pp. 303, 311, Gurvan is arbitrarily entered as the tenth Bishop of Llandaff.

S. DUBRICIUS.

From Ancient Roll, copied in one of the Dugdale MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

it would appear, was a disciple of Dubricius. Dubricius, according to the *Annales Cambriæ* and the *Book of Llan Dâv*, died in 612, but this is manifestly too late. He had died probably a little before the outbreak of the Yellow Plague in 547. If Gurvan be the disciple of Dubricius, and the church-name is not a twelfth century modernization, we have here a Llanfihangel of about the end of the sixth century. It was probably Llanfihangel Tal y Llyn, Breconshire. But it is a very doubtful instance.

The cultus of the Archangel, who occupies a large place in Christian Art and Christian Poetry, received an immense impetus from two pretended apparitions between the sixth and the eighth centuries. He was the conquering Captain of the Heavenly Host, the Victor over Satan and the Powers of Darkness, and the Patron of the Church Militant. As such he was the natural champion of triumphant Christianity against Paganism. If it was originally the custom, as it appears, to build the churches dedicated to him on rising ground, or among mountains, it was not long before it was set at nought. This completes the Welsh dedications before the Conquest.

The most numerous dedications in Wales, as in England, are to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Rees gives a list of as many as one hundred and forty-three churches and chapels. They are to be attributed to foreign influences, particularly under the Normans. We read in *Brut y Tywysogion*, *s.a.* 1155, "Ny bu bell wedy hynny yny gyssegrwyt eglwys ueir ymeiuot."[1] (It was not long afterwards that the church of St. Mary in Meifod was consecrated.) The Cistercians arrived in Wales in the first half of the twelfth century, and soon became very popular there. It was they that converted the Welsh to Latin Christianity. Their great influence shows itself in the dedications to the Virgin and the

[1] *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 318.

Apostles. The Mary churches are mainly found in towns, near Norman castles, or were attached to Cistercian monasteries. They are very numerous in Pembrokeshire, where Rees enumerates twenty-three churches. There may possibly have been a few earlier dedications to the Virgin in Wales than the twelfth century. There were a few Mary dedications in England as early as the seventh century. In the *Book of Llan Dâv* (twelfth century) there are only two Llanfairs mentioned, and they possibly represent but one church. A grant of one of them,[1] apparently St. Mary's, Monmouth, was made during the time of Bishop Cimeilliauc, who died in 927. Edgar, King of the English, is said to have founded a church in honour of the Virgin in Bangor in 973.[2] The church of Llanfaredd, near Builth, if dedicated to St. Mary, presents an exceptional Welsh form for her name, due, as Sir J. Rhŷs has suggested,[3] to the name being accented María and not Mária, and would belong to an earlier period than the ordinary Llanfair.

The Mary churches, being so numerous, had to be distinguished by some appellation, geographical or descriptive, but there is nothing particularly noteworthy about any of these superadded names. It is not quite clear, however, why Llanfairfechan is so called; but it must have been in contradistinction to some other St. Mary church. We have the parallel in Llanafan Fawr and Llanafan Fach, and others. Compare with it in England

[1] P. 231.

[2] Browne Willis, *Survey of Bangor*, 1721, p. 57. Lewis Morris, *Celtic Remains*, p. 190, observes that the *Garth Branan* (now Garth) of Llanfair Garth Branan was fancifully taken by Willis to mean *Edgarth Frenin*.

[3] *Welsh Philology*, p. 206. In old parish lists the name is spelt "Llan-varaith", or "-variaith". (Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 915; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 744.)

the several St. Maries the Less; where, at York, is also a St. Mary Senior and a St. Mary Junior, as well as a St. Peter the Little; and at Chichester, a St. Peter Major and a St. Peter Minor. Our Welsh appellations are not so pretty as some of the English ones, *e.g.*, St. Mary in the Elms, at Woodhouse, Leicestershire; and St. Peter in the Rushes, at Rempstone, Notts. But St. Peter le Willows at York is matched by our Llanfihangel Helygen; and to it we might add Llanbedr y Cenin, St. Peter in the Leeks, or we will assume that Cenin Pedr are meant, and accordingly render it St. Peter in the Daffodils, which puts the English appellations after all in the shade.

Possibly such names as the following take us back to the co-owned or portionary churches[1] of Giraldus Cambrensis and the *Taxatio* of 1291:—Llan Gattwg Feibion Afel, Lann Mihacgel Meibion Gratlaun *(Book of Llan Dâv)*, Llan Gynin a'i Weision (or, a'i Feibion), Bettws Wyrion Iddon (now Bettws y Coed), and Bettws Wyrion Wgan (now Bettws yn Rhos).

With the introduction of the cult of the Virgin many of the dedications to Welsh Saints were swept away entirely, and the churches re-dedicated to the Virgin. Often there would be an excuse for this. In the Middle Ages the enlarging or re-building of a church gave free scope to a change of dedication, and a fashionable saint would take the place of a local and comparatively obscure one. Sometimes the church and parish name seems to have been altered on some such occasion, as at Llanfair Dyffryn

[1] Llanbrynmair is interesting as a late survival. In the *Terrier* of 1730 it is stated, "Y^e^ Rectors had a claime formerly to half of ye house and gleab, which claim, Dr. Lloyd, then Bishop of this Diocese [then St. Asaph], thought fitt to alter and exchange for a valuable consideration in ye year 1692." The Vicar of the parish "antiently had and receiv'd 40*s.* yearly in liew of sermons to be preached there from ye Rectors of Llanbrynmair."

S. ASAPH.

From Fifteenth-Century Glass in Chancel Window, Llandyrnog Church, Denbighshire.

Clwyd, which was previously dedicated to St. Cynfarch. But more frequently the name of the native Saint was retained along with that of the Virgin. The custom of double dedication was extended also to New Testament Saints and eminent Saints of the Western Church. Occasionally we meet with two or more churches within the same churchyard, which may have led to confusion. There are in the *Book of Llan Dâv*[1] two instances where two churches, at Hentland and Welsh Bicknor, each with its own dedication, stood in one *cimiterium*. Similarly, in Meifod churchyard we have the churches of St. Gwyddfarch, St. Tyssilio and St. Mary (the last consecrated in 1155).[2] Another source of double dedication, as also of confusion as regards the original dedicatees, was the practice of placing a separate portion of the same church under the invocation of some other saint.[3] The Lady Chapel is a familiar example. We have a purely Welsh instance of double dedication at St. Asaph, where the south aisle of the Parish Church was formerly known as Eglwys Asa, and the north aisle as Eglwys Gyndeyrn. This may possibly account for some of the other Welsh double dedications, such as Corwen and Cwm Churches both to SS. Mael and Sulien, and Llanynys to SS. Mor and Saeran. Llanwrin Church was originally dedicated to SS. Ust and Dyfnig, and afterwards re-dedicated to St. Gwrin, who belonged to the following century. At the re-building and consecration of Llandaff Cathedral by Bishop Urban in 1120, when the body of St. Dubricius was removed thence from Bardsey, the cathedral was formally dedicated

[1] Pp. 275-6.

[2] Cynddelw calls Meifod "trevret y triseint" (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 177).

[3] Llywelyn Fardd says that there were three altars in Towyn Church (Mer.), to SS. Mary, Peter, and Cadfan respectively (*Ibid.*, p. 249). Llanddewi Brefi Church had, according to Gwynfardd, five altars (*Ibid.*, p. 196).

S. DEINIOL.

From Fifteenth-Century Glass in Chancel Window, Llandyrnog Church, Denbighshire.

to the trio—SS. Dubricius, Teilo, and Oudoceus, with whom was coupled St. Peter, the pre-eminent Saint of Latin tradition. About the same time St. Andrew was added to St. David at St. David's Cathedral (*Privilegium* of Calixtus II, 1123), and, possibly, the Virgin to St. Deiniol at Bangor. St. Asaph Cathedral was left alone. Some of the Welsh Saints have been hardly dealt with in the matter of dedication. St. Cynidr of Glasbury, grandson of Brychan, had originally half a dozen dedications, nearly all in Breconshire, and all, except one to St. Peter, have been re-dedicated to the Virgin. Similarly, Mwrog at Llanfwrog, Nefydd at Llannefydd, had to make way for the Virgin; Ieuan Gwas Padrig, at Cerrig y Drudion, for St. Mary Magdalene; and Cynllo, at Rhayader, for St. Clement.

But it will have been noticed, in instances already given, that the Welsh Saints themselves have occasionally ousted some of their compatriots. To those instances might be added Llywel at Llywel, ousted by SS. David and Teilo, and Hiledd or Heledd Forwyn at Llanhilleth, replaced by St. Illtyd. In some cases, in English districts, Welsh Saints' names have been altered to those of Latin Saints of similar form, such as Brynach changed to Bernard. As favourite "foreigners" we have SS. Nicholas, Martin, George, and Catherine.

It has been supposed that some of the Llanbedr churches are dedicated to the Welsh St. Pedyr, son of Corun ab Ceredig, and brother of SS. Tyssul and Carannog, but this is scarcely probable. Llanybyddair, or Llanybyther,[1] has been ascribed to him, but it would be impossible to square the names. St. Pierre (Mon.) appears to have been named after the Norman family which settled there soon after the

[1] With the name compare Crug y Byddair (also Y Crug Byddar), a township of the parish of Bugeildy.

Conquest, and built the church.[1] Mellteyrn and Pennal commemorate by their dedication name the Festival of St. Peter ad Vincula, the Gwyl Awst of the Welsh. There are four Llanbedrs mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, one of which occurs in a grant[2] of the time of Bishop Joseph, who died in 1043.

The dedications to Sant Ffraid, "the Mary of Ireland," are very numerous. Two churches only are indexed in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, one of which also occurs in a grant[3] of Bishop Joseph's time. So it would appear that it was only beginning in the eleventh century to become a favourite dedication.

There is a small number of mediæval churches dedicated to the Deity or the Holy Trinity. Llanddwy, now Llanddew, near Brecon, is a notable one. Dwy is reduced from Dwyw, which is treated as the old genitive of Duw. Giraldus says the name signified *Ecclesia Dei*. The parish wake was held on Trinity Sunday. The Lando of the *Taxatio* of 1291, for Llandrindod, stands no doubt for the same form; and we have also a Llandow in Glamorgan. There was once a Llanddwy on the Ystwyth in Cardiganshire, with a Ffynnon Drindod, and another Lando, with a Trinity Well, at Cardigan. To these we might add Eglwys y Drindod or Christ Church, Monmouthshire, the extinct Capel y Drindod at Fishguard, and the likewise extinct Capel Crist at Talley. Christ Church and Holy Trinity are interchangeable.

There are a few churches bearing the Holy Rood dedication, such as Bettws y Grog, or Ceirchiog, in Anglesey, Y Grog o'r Mwnt, now Mount, in Cardiganshire, and Eglwys y Grog yn y Fenni (Abergavenny), with others of

[1] Coxe, *Monmouthshire*, 1801, p. 4.

[2] Pp. 261-2. The extinct Radnorshire churches, Llanifan and Llaniago (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, pp. 351-2), seem to have commemorated two more of the Apostles.

[3] P. 263.

later date. Mold church is now dedicated to the Virgin, with Festival on September 8 (Lady Day in Harvest), and its two early chapels, Nerquis and Treiddyn, are also dedicated to the Virgin. But its old dedication was "Y Ddelw Fyw",[1] the Living Image, that is, the Holy Rood, from a legend of the miraculous bleeding of an image of our Lord when nailed by certain Jews to the cross. Browne Willis gives the dedication of the church of Rhiw, in Lleyn, as "St. Eelrhyw, or Delwfyw. September 9". "Gwyl y Ddelw Fyw," on September 9th, occurs in several of the Welsh calendars of the sixteenth century.

There is a number of references to Y Ddelw Fyw in mediæval Welsh literature. Dafydd ab Gwilym in one passage exclaims, "Myn y Ddelw Fyw!" But the Living Image more particularly had in mind by the Welsh was the one in Mold church. It is mentioned in two odes of the late fifteenth century, by Hywel Cilan and Tudur Penllyn, to Rheinallt ab Gruffydd, of Tower, in the parish of Mold. It was taken away, no doubt, at the Reformation, for when John Ray visited the church in 1662 he wrote in his *Itinerary:* "Therein is a Stone Pedestal and a Canopy, where, they say, stood a living or quick Image".[2]

The Welsh showed considerable partiality for what we might call a numerical dedication; *i.e.*, they named a church the church of so many saints, from two up to twelve. This is quite peculiar to Welsh as compared with English dedications. I know of only one English dedication of the kind—the long destroyed church at Canterbury,

[1] See Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 915.

[2] *Select Remains of the Learned John Ray*, 1760, p. 221. See, further, *Lives of the British Saints*, i, pp. 112-4. The Image was ultimately destroyed, apparently in 1768 (Archdeacon Thomas, *History of Dio. St. Asaph*, 1st ed., p. 600).

S. TYSSILIO.

Statue at S. Suliac.

dedicated to the "Four Crowned Martyrs",[1] who were brothers. These churches were very probably originally named after so many "Saints", or monks, who lived there in community. We have a Llanddeusant in Anglesey, dedicated to SS. Marcellus and Marcellinus; and another in Carmarthenshire, dedicated to SS. Simon and Jude. A Llantrisant in Anglesey, dedicated to SS. Sannan, Afan, and Ieuan; another in Glamorgan, dedicated to SS. Illtyd, Tyfodwg, and Gwyno; another in Monmouthshire, dedicated to SS. Peter, Paul, and John; an extinct church of the name in Llanfihangel y Creuddin, as well as an extinct chapel, Trisaint, in Margam. There was a Llan y Pedwar Saint, which has now disappeared, in Lleyn. "The four Saints of Llangwm (Mon.), Mirgint, Cinficc, Huui, and Eruen", are mentioned in a grant to the Church of Llandaff in the eleventh century.[2] We have Llanpumsaint, in Carmarthenshire, dedicated to SS. Gwyn, Gwyno, Gwynoro, Celynin, and Ceitho, all brothers born at one birth; and also dedicated to them is the extinct chapel of Pumsaint in the parish of Caio, which appears in the *Book of Llan Dâv* as Lann Teliau Pimp Seint. There was no church called after six Saints that I know of, nor after seven and eight Saints; but we have the second numeral in "the Seven Saints of Mathry"—the Dyfrwyr of Llanddowror and Cenarth—with their curious legend. There was, however, a Llan y Naw Saint, now extinct, in the commote of Twrcelyn, in Anglesey. The next we have are two churches called Llan y Deuddeg Saint, now both extinct, mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, the one at Welsh Bicknor, and the other near Llangors, Breconshire. There was also a Ffynnon y Deuddeg Saint, mentioned in the boundary of Llangors parish. Penrhos, Mon.,

[1] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 7.

[2] *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 274.

anciently Llangattwg Penrhos, occurs in the Norwich *Taxatio*, 1254, as "Eccl. de Landeudoc Penros".[1]

There is a Llansaint near Kidwelly, and another, formerly, in the commote of Tindaethwy, in Anglesey. We should probably be right in regarding Llansaint as the proper old Welsh All Saints dedication, for the majority—there is a fairly good number—of the present All Saints dedications are in all probability to be referred, as in England, to the reign of Henry VIII, whose policy it was to diminish the number of Saints' Days. There was at the Reformation, and after, a strong reaction against the ordinary Calendar Saints, and a marked preference for non-committal dedications. A few of our All Saints dedications are known to have supplanted dedications to Welsh Saints, whose festivals happened to fall on November 1st. Sir J. Rhys suggests[2] that Llansaint, near Kidwelly, is dedicated to the two supposed Saints Vennisetlas and Cimesetlas, whose names occur on two inscribed stones built into the south wall of the church. The only objection to its being dedicated to them is that, being two, Llanddeusant would more likely have suggested itself. The various numerical dedications show that the Welsh had a predilection for a more distinctive and particular dedication than Llansaint.

The old name for the church of Hên Eglwys, in Anglesey, was Llan y Saint Llwydion, the church of the

[1] In the Welsh Calendars *Y Trisaint* are commemorated on January 31st and June 6th—the latter trio being apparently SS. Artemius, Candida, and Paulina, martyrs at Rome in the fourth century. We have also *Y Pumsaint* on January 7th and November 1st—the latter were those of Caio; one of them, Ceitho, was also commemorated on August 5th.

[2] *Arch. Camb.*, 1907, p. 70. This Llansaint, in the inventories of Church goods taken by the Commissioners in 1552, is called "Hawlkyng Churche", and in the Terrier of 1636, "Alkenchurch."

Holy Saints. It is usually said to be dedicated to a St. Llwydian, with Festival on November 19th, but he has clearly been evolved out of the church name. The church is referred to in a poem, *circa* 1600, in which a number of Anglesey Saints are invoked :—

"Y Saint Llwydion tra dêl cof,
Trewalchmai rhof yn nesaf."

It is also known as Eglwys Gorbre Sant; and Mynwent Corbre occurs in *Englynion y Beddau* in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*. Corbre is the Irish Cairbre, and there are three Saints of the name commemorated in the Irish Martyrologies.

St. Ursula and her Companions, the Eleven Thousand Virgins, were culted, but not extensively, in Wales, particularly in Cardiganshire, where we have Llanygweryddon, or Llanygwyryfon, "the Church of the Virgins". Their Festival is October 21st, which, says the author of *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*,[1] was known as Gwyl Santesau. There was formerly a Capel Santesau in the parish of Llanwenog, and one of the great fairs in the neighbouring parish of Llanybyther, held on October 21st, O. S., and still on November 1st and its eve, is called Ffair Santesau. It is difficult to account for her cult in this part; but St. Lucia or Lucy, one of her numerous companions, has also dedications, under the form Lleuci, in the counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen—at Bettws Leuci, Llanwnen, and Abernant. She is to be distinguished from the St. Lucy commemorated on December 13th. Another "foreigner" in Cardiganshire is the Gwyddalus or Vitalis of the extinct Llanwyddalus, in Dihewyd, apparently the second century martyr venerated at Ravenna.

Some of our church dedications are a little perplexing

[1] I, 2.

through their being dedicated to certain Saints under the several distinct forms which their names assumed, mainly through the employment of the endearing and honorific prefixes *mo* and *to* or *ty*. Brioc, Brieuc, Briafael, and Tyfriog all represent the same person, the two last forms occurring in St. Briavel's, Gloucestershire, and Llandyfriog, Cardiganshire. Tathan of St. Athan's, and Meuthi of Llanfeithin, are the same. So also Maelog, Meilig, and Tyfaelog; Gwynin and Tegwynin; Dogfael, or Dochfael, and Tydoch; and Aidan, or Aeddan, and Madog. A dropping of the *ty* prefix occurs in the Monmouthshire church-name, Llansoy, commonly regarded as dedicationless, but is in reality dedicated to Tysoi, a disciple of St. Dubricius.

One would hardly suppose that Tyfai of Llandyfeisant is the patron of Lamphey, in Pembrokeshire, of Foy, on the Wye (both guessed to be St. Faith), and of the extinct church of Lampha, near Bridgend, Glam.; but when we get back to the earliest forms of these church-names it is obvious.

Brychan's daughter, Cain, is the Ceinwen of Llangeinwen, the Ceinwyry' of Llangeinor, and the Keyne of Keynsham and Cornwall.

Some churches have needlessly been supposed to be dedicated to certain English Saints, through similarity of forms, thereby ignoring their rightful Welsh dedicatees. For instance, Llanina, in Cardiganshire, is usually said to be dedicated to Ina, the famous King of the West Saxons; but it is not generally known that Ceredig of Ceredigion had a daughter named Ina, who might well be the patroness of the church. Llanvillo, in Breconshire, is generally supposed to be dedicated to St. Milburg, the seventh century abbess of Wenlock; but it is surely more probable that, in Brychan-land, Brychan's daughter, St.

Belio, should be its real patroness. Similarly, Llanthetty, in Breconshire, is much more probably dedicated to St. Dedyw, the son of Clydwyn ab Brychan, than to Tetta, the eighth century abbess of Wimborne, a name which cannot possibly be equated with that of the Saint of the church-name. And so of Llanedy, it is much more likely to be dedicated to the obscure male Saint of the local legend, than to either of the tenth century English Ediths.

But the subject is a very extensive one, opening out in various directions, and I can only hope, in conclusion, that I have at least succeeded in making it sufficiently interesting to induce others to pursue it further. Several aspects have been but very slightly touched upon. As we have seen, a great deal of hidden history underlies these dedications; and their geographical distribution and relative popularity are also significant. These dedication-names, we have reason to know, were not given at haphazard. To those good Welsh folk, of the Early and Mediæval Church, they represented something that was very real and dear; and they remain with us to-day stamped for ever, we may believe, upon the topography of our land, abiding witnesses to the Faith of our forefathers, and the high antiquity of our most venerable institution, *Hén Eglwys Lwyd y Llan.*

Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod (Swansea, 1907).

WELSH TOWNS AS THEY ARE AND AS THEY MIGHT BE.[1]

By Mr. ANEURIN WILLIAMS, M.A.

I desire first of all to acknowledge the great kindness I have received from several gentlemen who have sent me reports and other material to use in the preparation of this paper.

Next, I fear that the title I have chosen is much too wide. To do it full justice, I must treat of all the various conditions and forces that affect our towns; of their municipal government, their industries and the relations of the various classes concerned in them, of their moral and religious life, their schools and colleges, their water supply, their sanitary service, and I know not what else. All this is evidently far too much for one paper, and I never intended to attempt it. What I had in my mind was the construction and growth of our towns as they are and as they might be. This, then, is the real subject of my paper, and it naturally divides itself into two parts. Of Welsh Towns as they are, I need not speak at great length, they are well known to you. Much has been

[1] Read at the Royal Institution of South Wales, at a meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod of 1907 (Swansea). Chairman, The Right Hon. Lord Glantawe.

written about them, and even since I was honoured with the invitation to contribute this paper to your gathering, they, or at least the towns of South Wales, have formed the subject of a striking series of articles in the Press. Welsh towns as they are have many charming characteristics: they have ancient associations; they are full of the wonderful results of modern enterprise; in many cases they contain buildings of beauty and of historical interest; or again, they are beautifully situated in picturesque country. But taking them as a whole, they are overcrowded, many of them are unhealthy, and parts of most of them are ill-built, insanitary, smoky, dirty, and ugly. At any rate these are the characteristics of many parts where the poor live; and in this, alas, they are not peculiar: the towns of England and Scotland have much the same defects. With regard to the unhealthiness, I may give the following facts and figures:—While the death-rate in 1906 was 15·4 for the whole of England and Wales, and as low as 14·2 in Cardiff, it was 16·2 in Newport, and 17·9 in Swansea and 19 in Merthyr. Nor was this an exceptional year. The average of the ten preceding years gives 18·1 per thousand in Swansea, 19¾ in the Rhondda Urban District, and nearly 21¼ in the Rhymney Urban District, where, by-the-by, 1906 was an exceptionally good year. In 1905 the Merthyr death-rate was 22·1, being the highest rate of all the large towns in England and Wales for that year. If we take the deaths of children under 1 year of age, we find that in 1906 the rate for the whole of England and Wales was 133 per thousand born, and in Cardiff it was almost exactly the same figure, viz., 134, but in Newport it was 146, in Swansea 156, in the Rhondda 173, and in Merthyr 178, where in 1905 it was 204. Taking the 10 years previous we have Cardiff 148, and Swansea 160, while the Rhondda was very close to

200. But it is quite unnecessary to multiply statistics on this matter, the broad facts are notorious, though I do not say that Welsh towns are worse than some similar towns elsewhere. It is, moreover, notorious that it is the overcrowded parts of our towns which contribute most to the high general mortality and the quite terrible waste of infant life. We find, for example, certain very crowded parts of great cities in England running up to a death-rate of 40, while in parts well supplied with gardens and open spaces it goes down to 12 and even lower. In Bournville, with its splendid conditions, it is said to be about 8; while the whole country of New Zealand, where the people are well-housed and well-to-do, and are widely spread about the country, has a death-rate of only 9.

We naturally ask ourselves why this lamentable state of affairs in Welsh towns should be. Men of different temperaments will give you very different answers—answers, however, which can be readily divided into two classes, one class consisting in blaming the people for the conditions in which they live, and the other in blaming the conditions (and the privileged classes, as the controllers of those conditions) for the state of the people. There is, it seems to me, truth and falsehood in both these opposite views. Many working-class families are forced to live in conditions which are necessarily demoralising; many, on the other hand, have their own vices and weaknesses chiefly to blame for the conditions in which they live. It is the old problem of heredity and environment, of the nature born in any living thing and the circumstances with which it finds itself surrounded. I do not propose to discuss to-night which of these two potent factors is the more potent. It is enough for my purpose (1) That the surroundings of the people are universally admitted to have a mighty influence upon their lives, and to be largely

within the control of those who have money and power, and within the control of our Government and Local Authorities, and (2) that I have a change in those surroundings to suggest which I believe to be of first-rate importance.

There are, however, two matters which I must just touch on before I proceed with my subject, lest it should be thought that I did not see their immense importance. I mean drink and coal smoke. There is no doubt that drink is the cause of an immense deal of poverty and degradation, and thereby of a great deal of the overcrowding, unhealthiness, dirt and ugliness of the towns. But it is equally true that drink is often the result, as much as the cause, and that, in the towns we are considering, the evil conditions do afflict large numbers of decent and sober people. Then as to the smoke, that is quite evidently a great cause of dirt and evil conditions, and I am one of those who believe, that for a woman to live, as many working women must, where she cannot by her best efforts keep her house clean, must be hopelessly demoralising. It is greatly to the credit of our race that so many succeed in making a brave fight against such conditions. But if we look a little deeper, we shall see that, even supposing drunkenness and smoke were removed, there would still remain the insanitary houses crowded together, the want of ventilation and the want of decent accommodation of all sorts, there would still be an evil crying aloud for remedy. I do not, therefore, this evening desire to spend time on the smoke or the drink question. Happily, public opinion is becoming more and more alive to the drink evil. As to smoke, I hope we may regard it as a decreasing evil, taking the country as a whole, for the tendency of modern industry is more and more to avoid the creation of much smoke in generating power and in domestic heating and

cooking. I fear we cannot say so much in the process of metallurgy, with which Welsh towns are chiefly concerned: in them there seems but little decrease of the smoke made. Where it can be avoided, I agree that public authorities should check it, so far as they can do so without impeding industry; and where there are processes in which smoke is unavoidable, they should be carried on at a distance from the homes of the people: or, to put it in another way, the homes where the people live should be established at a distance from those processes. In what I say this evening, I shall, therefore, assume that we have agreed about these two evils and the necessity of dealing with them, and I shall confine myself to the construction of buildings and the laying out of towns.

A large part of the present houses of the working classes in Welsh manufacturing towns grew up at a time when sanitary science was scarcely at all understood, and not at all enforced. Such houses were probably bad enough from the first, often being built back-to-back, without ventilation, without damp courses, without proper sanitary accommodation. But in course of time they have become intolerably bad, a danger to the lives, not only of those who live in them, but of all who live near them. Happily, there has been great improvement. I was born in one of the poorest of Welsh towns, and though the conditions there are still bad, I can remember them much worse, and when I go back I am struck by many signs of improvement, and not least, by the large number of good houses which have been built by the workmen for themselves through Building Societies. The Local Authorities also have done much to condemn bad houses, improve sanitary conditions, and, to a smaller extent, to provide new houses. But all that has been done is little compared with what is needed. I find that still in many places there are back-to-

back houses, cellar dwellings, damp and ill-ventilated dwellings, with bad water-supply, bad sanitary arrangements, a demoralised people, and a high death-rate. In one Welsh borough, I am told 2,000 dwellings ought to be condemned, but it cannot be done as there is no place for the people to go to. Of another, I hear that there is an enormous demand for houses, and many that ought to be condemned, while the Municipality has put up two or three dozen.

For many years we have been alive to the necessity of dealing with the worst class of house property, and slum clearances have taken place at immense cost to the ratepayers. I understand that one of your finest streets in Swansea was not so long ago a slum, which was cleared away with excellent results, but at great expense to the ratepayers. It is said that public bodies in England have spent £6,000,000 in buying slums. But when you have cleared a slum, you have done nothing towards properly housing the people. You have merely unhoused them, and unless proper houses are forthcoming, the condition is probably worse than before, because they just have to crowd in anywhere they can. New building is therefore absolutely necessary. But when the slum has been cleared away, usually with excessive compensation to the slum owner, the cost of the site becomes such that it is hopeless to expect private enterprise to re-house the people on that site. If private enterprise uses the land, it must be for something which will stand a much higher rent than workmen's houses; and if a public authority re-houses the people on that site, it must be done at a great loss, even though high block buildings, such as one sees in London and other great towns, are put up, to get as many people as possible on the acre. The only real hope is the building of new houses away from the centres of the present towns.

In addressing the recent International Housing Congress in London, Mr. John Burns pointed out that "in every country, old and new, the people are being rapidly urbanised", they are flocking into towns. This is nowhere more seen than in Welsh towns: not only the growth of old towns, like your own, attests it, but the springing up of new town populations, as in the Rhondda, practically out of nothing. New building, therefore, on an enormous scale is a necessity, first to re-house those now living in slums and secondly to house the growing town populations. We affect to regard it as an open question whether a particular town will grow bigger or not. In nine cases out of ten there is no question about it: until the whole tendency of modern life is reversed our town populations must grow. Nowhere more than in Wales, with its immense fields of coal, its ports, its established industries, and its ingenious and industrious people, is this a certainty. Our Welsh towns, therefore, should base everthing—their land policy, their sanitary policy, their housing, etc., on this assumption of growth. The German towns have done so for the last thirty years, and it has been the basis of their prosperity.

At present, our public policy affects not to know about this coming growth, and the public authorities lag behind and leave the enterprise and the profit to private individuals. To regulate such private enterprise we lay down elaborate building regulations, but these, unfortunately, do not prevent the putting up of whole streets of new house property which are not very attractive even at first, and in a few years degenerate into slums again. The reason is, that while we regulate the construction of each house, we do little or nothing to prevent houses being unduly crowded together on the land. In some cases as many as forty working class dwellings are put on an acre. So long as this

takes place there must be overcrowding in the worst sense. There are two senses in which we may speak of overcrowding—overcrowding within a single house, which is bad enough, and the overcrowding of the ground with houses, which is far worse. In country places the cottages are far too crowded at nights, but at any rate in the day time there is plenty of fresh air all round, and statistics seem to show that the rate of mortality depends upon the number of houses, and, therefore, the number of people to the acre, more than almost anything else. Thus where a large number of families live one above the other in certain "model dwellings" the death-rate is 36 per 1,000, against about 15 in rural places where the houses are much worse built and drained.

Not to labour this part of my paper further, I submit that this state of things must continue so long as towns are allowed to grow up under the impulse of private speculation, each man doing very much as he likes in the development of his own bit of land, making his road where he likes, and generally doing as he pleases, without regard to the common interest, subject only to the restraint of building bye-laws, which are hampering enough as to details without producing really good results. If we want our towns to be healthy, spacious and beautiful, each of them must have some well thought out plan for its development, and that plan must be carried out under public control, in the public interest. It is said of the old part of New York, that the streets were laid out by the cows. When the island was first occupied, it was used as farm land, and the cows coming and going made certain tracks for themselves; these became footpaths, then lanes, then roads with cottages, and finally the streets of the older part of New York as it is to-day. A town should be so planned that the main lines of through communication, the less

important lines for merely local communication, and the quiet roads never used except for the actual houses lying upon them, should be chosen and laid out on a reasonable system. The classes of building suitable for each locality should be determined, so that the factories may on the one hand be put where they will have the best communications—and not have to cart all their heavy goods through the streets, as they have to do in London and many other centres—and on the other hand may not crowd upon the dwelling-houses and render them noisy and dirty, dangerous and insanitary. The width of the streets should be adequate, and sufficient open spaces should be allowed for. In fact, the whole development must be considered in advance, foreseen as far as may be, and provided for: not allowed to take place haphazard. That such rational development is possible is no mere dream, for it does actually take place in other countries. I might describe steps more or less in this direction taken by Public Authorities in almost every civilised country except Great Britain, for almost everyone has some system of town planning. But Germany is, for this purpose, far and away the most advanced country, and I will, therefore, briefly describe to you what is done there, and done on a system which, far from raising the rates, brings them down or even abolishes them altogether.

Town planning has been practised in Germany for about fifteen years, and though it is considered by the Germans to be only in its infancy, it has achieved results which strike the traveller very forcibly. He notes not only the improvements in the old parts of the town, but the beautiful laying out of the new parts, the well arranged houses, wide streets and boulevards, and tree-planted open spaces. This has not come about of itself, but is the result of forethought and of regulation in the public interest. In Ger-

many, as in every civilised country, the towns are growing rapidly. Many of them have been doubling themselves in about twenty-five to thirty years, and some increasing far more rapidly than that. The Municipal Authorities of a town, therefore, are empowered to formulate a general plan of development for its near future, that phrase being interpreted to mean about twenty-five years. Thus the development plan includes an area as large as, and often larger than that already covered by the town, and may include land outside the municipal boundaries.

Town development is as much an art in Germany as Architecture. The quarters most suitable for factories and industries, with the necessary railway and canal connections, are decided on; others for large houses, for medium houses, or for the poorer classes; and suitable building regulations are made for each area. The lines of the broadest roads for through traffic, and the medium roads for local traffic, and the residential streets, only used for the houses on them, are laid down. The width of these roads is determined: the maximum height of buildings along them, the arrangement of buildings, whether detached, semi-detached, in fours, or sixes, or long rows, or as it may be; the number of families to be accommodated on a given area; the amount of the site to be left unbuilt upon; the provision of public open spaces, and a great many other matters necessary to secure health and beauty in the common interest, and to avoid the injury of one site by another, and the cost of subsequent widenings and clearances. The municipality is not, however, an autocrat: the draft plan must be shown in public for a month, anyone may object, and there is an appeal to a superior authority. Where the best use of a particular area cannot be foreseen, that part of the plan may be left to be determined later, and where a mistake has been made, or circumstances have changed,

the plan is modified. No building is allowed except in accordance with the development plan; the municipality can take compulsorily the land needed for streets and open spaces, paying compensation; and when building takes place along a street, the municipality can recover from each owner so building his proportion of the cost of road, sewers, etc.

A very interesting point is the transposition of sites as it is called, viz., such a shifting and alteration of the boundaries and position of the several properties as to cause them to be at right angles to the building line, and to form symmetrical sites. For this purpose the Municipality takes the various properties in a given area into its hands, re-arranges their boundaries, and then gives back to each owner, as near as may be, his original holding, each separate property being, however, diminished by the equal percentage necessary to transfer to the town the amount of land required for streets and squares. If, for instance, an area of 100 acres belonging to several owners were being planned, and 10 acres were required for roads and spaces, and if in this area one owner had a piece of land containing one acre and of very irregular shape, he would be assigned instead nine-tenths of an acre, forming a site of symmetrical shape and lying at right angles to the building line.

In this way unsystematic building is prevented; but there is nothing to compel the owner to build or sell, nothing to prevent his asking an excessive price. The German towns have, however, another string to their bow. For the last thirty years or so they have been encouraged by their Governments to buy land freely round their borders and develop it for building. Our towns, meanwhile, have been forbidden to do anything of the sort, forbidden to buy an acre of land, except for some purpose

specially authorised by Act of Parliament. Through these purchases of land the German towns have acquired very large estates, which have brought them in very handsome profits, and caused their rates to be very low or to disappear, for the value of land where towns have grown has gone up by leaps and bounds. It is said that many hundreds of German towns have either low rates or none, thanks to the land they have bought or inherited. Frankfort-on-Maine owns 8,000 acres of land on its outskirts, besides one-tenth of the existing town area; and Mannheim, Hanover, Strassburg, Freiburg and others own from one-third to one-half of all the land within their precincts. This land having been bought well in advance of the growth of the towns was got comparatively cheap, and has gone up enormously in value. The towns have adopted three main methods of using their land: (1) selling sites after developing roads, sewers, etc.; (2) building houses and letting them; (3) letting the land on building leases. Selling sites has been the readiest means of realising profit and indirectly increasing the amount of land purchased by the towns. Building and letting has the most direct influence on the supply of good and cheap houses, but it involves very great outlay of capital. Letting on building leases is rather foreign to German customs, and presents difficulties in German law.

Another method by which some German towns have combated the land speculator, put part of the unearned increment into public coffers, and increased the supply of building land, is the levying of a rate on the capital value of building land whether actually built on or not. This has been allowed in Prussia since 1893, instead of the old method (which we also have in this country) of rating unbuilt-on land according to its annual value for agricultural purposes.

Thus we see how different the policy of Germany has been from our own, and how the order, spaciousness and beauty of their towns is due to carefully thought out planning and regulation, to taxing building land on its selling value, and perhaps more than all, to public ownership of land on an extensive scale. Of course, mistakes are made in foreseeing the future, but on the whole these are not many nor serious, and the nett result is a vast improvement upon anything that our system of pure individualism can show.

However, we, in this country, have some instances which prove that town planning may be practised with success among us also. Wherever a large estate is developed by one owner, there is of course some method in the doing of it, but it often happens that the owner is by no means too well supplied with capital for his work, and his object is usually not the greatest good of the community, but his own personal living or profit; so that the result is none too good. Better instances may be found where public spirited employers have laid out towns or villages round their factories. The magnificent instances of Port Sunlight, round the factories of Messrs. Lever, and Bournville, round those of Messrs. Cadbury, are now well known. But the most remarkable instances of town planning in England have undoubtedly sprung from the book called *Garden Cities of To-morrow* written by Ebenezer Howard, and first published about nine years ago. Mr. Howard advocated, as a true cure for the overcrowding and evil conditions of our towns, that industries and those working at them should, in many cases, be moved out of the existing towns to new towns, on land which is now merely agricultural. The proposal was that sufficient land —a large area, say 6,000 acres—should be acquired; that a certain portion in the centre of it should be defined as the

town area, and that the outlying parts should be retained as a permanent agricultural belt, surrounding the town area, and devoted to farms, small holdings and allotments, and to villas, with large gardens attached. The town area should be surveyed, and rationally planned according to its own natural characteristics—its hills and valleys and streams. Certain positions should be set aside for the factories, where they would have easy communications with the railways or canals, or other means of transit; the houses should not be crowded together, but each should have its garden; the roads should be ample, and open spaces be provided in abundance. He argued that there would be an immense increase in the value of the land, which had been agricultural, so soon as population began to accumulate upon it, and that this would be sufficient to pay for the more costly form of development, and would indeed leave a margin of profit for the public benefit. For he proposed that, subject to the payment of all expenses, the land of the new town should be held in trust for the benefit of its inhabitants.

While it was evident that such a proposal could not apply to all industries, it was evident also that there were many light industries which could be carried on anywhere where sufficient population, and adequate railway communication, and fuel not too dear, were to be had. A number of people convinced of the possibility of Mr. Howard's ideas formed the "Garden City Association" for propagating the idea. In a couple of years or so, the Association reached some 2,000 members, and then a small Company was formed to explore the country to secure a suitable site. Within a year this was found at Letchworth in Hertfordshire, half-way between the towns of Hitchin and Baldock, about 35 miles from London, on the Great Northern Railway to Cambridge. Here 3,818 acres were

secured for £152,000, an average price of about £40 an acre, including farm buildings and cottages and a few better houses. This land was bought not quite four years ago. It was first carefully surveyed, then a plan made for its development, with a view to building a town for 32,000 on the central portion, and leaving about 2,500 acres for the agricultural belt, besides a central park and other open spaces. A few roads were made, and water was got, sufficient for 6,000 people, by sinking on the estate itself.

About a year after the purchase, cottages began to be built, and factory sites to be let. In the last three years a population of over 4,000 has been added to the original 400 inhabitants of the estate. There are many miles of streets, sewers, water-pipes and gas-pipes, a railway station, water-works, gas-works, a central electric power station, 10 factories, some of them capable of employing from 200 to 400 people; more than 40 shops, several places of worship, dozens of private villas, and so on—more than 800 new buildings in all; the houses detached, semi-detached, or in blocks of four or six, every house with its own garden. Rents of cottages are about 5 or 6 shillings a week with a nice garden thrown in. The growth appears only to be beginning, and there is little or no doubt that by next summer the population of the place will be 6,000.[1] All this in spite of the fact that the Company started with very inadequate capital, and though its capital is constantly increasing, has never had money enough to do any considerable amount of building itself. It has been obliged to content itself with planning and development, and letting the land on ground-rent: the Company does not sell the freehold. In order that the ultimate profit of this development may return to the inhabitants the dividend on the shares of the Company is limited to 5 per

[1] The population in September 1908 is 6,000.

cent. cumulative, and any remaining profit is devoted to the benefit of the town and its inhabitants. In all probability the town in its collective capacity, as Municipal Corporation, or Urban District Council, will ultimately be the owner of the soil on which it will stand, including of course the agricultural belt.

This example at Letchworth, and the spread of the knowledge of what is being done in Germany and elsewhere, have led to other attempts in England to solve the same problem. Some 240 acres of land at Hampstead is being developed by a Trust as a new suburb of London—a garden suburb ; while at Warrington in Lancashire, and other towns, the same idea is being carried out.

Now I come to another new development in the matter of housing, which is destined, I think, to play a considerable part, not only in making our towns what they should be, but in giving the working-classes an additional opportunity, of the very best kind, of improving their position by thrift and organisation and mutual help. If you went with me to Letchworth, which I have been describing, I should point out to you some of the finest groups of houses neatly arranged among their gardens, or grouped round large open greens, belonging to a Society called "Garden City Tenants, Limited." This is a Co-operative Society, formed to enable its members to put together their small capital, to lease land from the Garden City Company, and to erect houses upon it, borrowing a a large part of the cost from the Public Works Loans Commissioners, and from other sources. Similar societies you would find at Ealing, on the edge of London, at Sevenoaks, in Kent, and near Birmingham, Manchester, and elsewhere. Their object is to enable artisans to own a group of houses in common, and to occupy them themselves, paying rent to the Society and enjoying practically as

much security of tenure as if they were freeholders. I want to point out how much this differs from the ordinary purchase of a house through a Building Society. Building Societies undoubtedly have done a very great and very valuable work all over the country, and not least in South Wales. Near my own old home in Dowlais, I have been struck, as I have said, by the large number of much improved houses, and upon enquiry, I learn that they are houses the workmen have built for themselves through Building Societies. Nevertheless, for each individual to build for himself in this way is by no means a perfect solution of the matter. First of all, from the point of view of the individual, to buy a house may turn out a very hampering thing. The man may want to move to another neighbourhood, and then he may have to sell his house at a loss so as to avoid the greater loss of having a partly-paid house on his hands, for which he has to find a tenant, meet the instalments of the Building Society, and pay for repairs, while he himself is living at a distance. From the point of view of the community, it does not insure any regularity in the development of the town, it is no cure for the excessive crowding of houses upon the land, nor does it secure permanently a large class of independent householders, since the houses are only too apt to drift into the hands of speculators in house property, as the original owners for one reason or another have to sell.

The system of workmen forming a Co-operative Society to own houses collectively, as I have described, does give the community an assurance that that property will be managed as a whole, with a view to a wider interest than that of the owner of one or two houses. Its character will be as far as possible kept up. It also gives the workman the opportunity of moving easily to a new neighbourhood if he desires, seeing that he can either take away his shares

in his pocket and draw the interest upon them, or sell his shares to some newcomer. Societies of this sort are multiplying fast, and seem destined to play a very important part in the future. Probably, when our towns are large landowners, developing building estates, these Tenants' Co-partnership Societies will be large builders and house owners on those estates. But there is no need to wait for that time. They can be started and are being started wherever a few acres can be bought. Why should not Welsh artisans do what English are doing in this respect.

I have thus very briefly given you some idea of what has been done elsewhere to cure what I may call the town-evil. If I have not dwelt upon the familiar methods—building bye-laws, slum clearances, and municipal building—which have been long practised among us, it is not only that I am anxious not to take up too much of your time, but that I desire to emphasise the total inadequacy of those old methods. They may keep in check, partially and in a belated way, some of the grosser evils of insanitary housing, they afford no remedy against the bleeding to death of our people by enormous ground-rents and high rates; they can never give us towns which shall be spacious, healthy and beautiful, not only in the rich quarters, but for all the people.

And now I need not detain you much longer. We have seen something of the defects of Welsh towns as they are and noted that these are too great to be dealt with effectually by slow, costly, and piecemeal methods. We have seen something of the most advanced and rational methods of Town development elsewhere; and in doing so we have caught a glimpse of the cities of the future. What then are the methods by which this ideal should be reached, and how far is it practicable in the special circumstances of the Welsh towns?

First, of course, we want the destruction of the slums, which indeed we have been working at more or less for a generation. Of course, we want it, but not before new houses are provided, and these new houses must not be great barracks of tenements, nor even smaller houses let in flats, but cottages with gardens. For this purpose, building must be carried on extensively on what is now agricultural land. There is room enough. To house the whole of the present population of these islands in cottages with a quarter of an acre each would require a mere fraction, less than a thirtieth, of the land of the country, leaving more than 29/30ths for works, factories, farms, large gardens, wild spaces, and so on.

Secondly, this new building must not be on the old haphazard, and private speculation, lines; it must be according to rational plans thought out beforehand. We need town planning. In old towns the authorities must have the right to plan out the area surrounding them, indicating the roads and open spaces, regulating the class of buildings in each area, insisting that a garden be provided with each workman's house. I am happy to think that next Session of Parliament we shall have a Bill introduced by the Government conferring upon towns such a right. Even more important, perhaps, is it that suitable authorities should have power to plan out new areas where industries are arising, or where they may be induced to come by the provision of good facilities, with low rent, low rates, and wide elbow room for the gradual extension of factories.

Thirdly, even town planning is not enough. It cannot prevent the people being kept poor because enormous amounts of wealth are being transferred, as "unearned increment", from those who by their labour and capital do earn it, to those who simply sit and take the vast increases

in the value of land over which a town has grown. Moreover, apart from this question of unearned increment, town planning cannot, I think, give us its best results as long as we have the friction and cost which must necessarily result from the authorities regulating the land of unwilling private owners. What we need is, surely, that our towns should become the owners of the new areas over which they are destined to grow, should plan it out, develop it, let it to private individuals or investors, to co-operative societies of artisans, such as I have described, sometimes perhaps to societies or companies formed for housing the poorest classes, or lastly, sometimes build upon it themselves. "Every town its own landlord" should be our motto.

The towns of England and Wales within the last generation or so have spent £13,000,000 on widenings and improvements which a provident laying out of the land would have anticipated. This could be avoided for the future. Open spaces could be freely supplied, for they would add to the value of the land round about, and of other land further out. Healthy conditions would be aimed at, for they would benefit the landowners, *i.e.*, the towns, and save them expense in sanitation, hospitals, poor-rates, police, and a dozen ways. Public ownership of land would be especially profitable where the community owned also the tramways, the gas, and the water; since it would have the readiest means of determining the flow of population to any land it desired to develop. I may note, too, in passing that investors in building would have much better security under the new system for the value of their property, which now too often rapidly depreciates through the haphazard growth of other property near it.

Welsh towns in a few cases already own some land. Mr. Lleufer Thomas collected information on this point

for the Welsh Land Commission in 1895-6. Of thirty Corporations, he found that sixteen owned no agricultural or common land within their boundaries, while of those that owned land the chief were Swansea (548 acres, it is now 645 acres, I understand), Kidwelly (501 acres), Tenby (248 acres), Montgomery (89 acres), Welshpool (66 acres), Conway (40 acres), and Aberystwyth (28 acres). Swansea, therefore, has already the basis for developing one or more model quarters.

For the most part, however, our towns lack the land, and to acquire this there must be some means of fixing a reasonable price, and saving the ruinous expense of Arbitrations and the other procedure under the Lands Clauses Act. I imagine that we shall soon have a law for the valuation of the capital value of land, for the purposes of taxation; and I suggest that, where a public authority acquires land, it should be at the price fixed for taxation purposes. A fair value for taxation is surely a fair value for purchase by the community.

And now it remains only to ask whether, if all this is possible elsewhere, there is anything in the special circumstances of Wales to render it impossible for us. On the contrary, I think there is much to make it specially possible, and specially appropriate. The natural position of our towns is unsurpassed, their surroundings are usually picturesque, they lie on noble mountains, along rivers naturally beautiful, or by the sea; their industries yield vast wealth from the natural resources of our country, they are full of an intelligent and energetic people. The growth of the Welsh towns is itself a reason why improved methods of development are specially applicable to them, while the rapid growth of many new urban centres out of practically nothing, as in the Rhondda and Rhymney valleys, gives very special opportunities. Wherever a new

pit is sunk, a new works built, or a new port opened, there you have an opportunity to create a Welsh garden city. Some day I hope that public authorities may have the power to see that such new centres do grow up models of what villages and towns should be: may have the power, and may use it under that impulse towards active progress which can only come from the people themselves. It is always for the people to see that their representatives act.

However, until the Authorities have the power we must look elsewhere. Why should not our great employers and great landowners find a pride and pleasure in seeing such model settlements arise round their works or on their land? Is there any better form that patriotism could take?

Such, I think, is the ideal we should form of our Welsh towns as they might be—may I not say as they shall be! Such are some of the means to realize that ideal; and if we can make it a reality we may be sure that, though some of our people may not rise to their opportunities and show themselves worthy of the better condition, the majority will, as the majority of our people always have shown themselves fit to benefit by the improvements which have come to them.

Let us then move forward towards the towns of the future, the near future, which shall be clean, spacious, healthy, and beautiful, not for the rich alone, but for all, "with children"—as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman recently said—"with children playing in the gardens of our cities."

WELSH BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ITS AIMS.[1]

By Mr. J. H. DAVIES, M.A.

Bibliography is a science which may be pursued from two different standpoints. From one point of view it is merely a part, but an important part, of the business of a library. It enables a librarian to classify, arrange, and identify his stock-in-trade; it guides the literary student in his labours, and it is the handmaiden of all who search for knowledge through the medium of books. A bibliography only differs from a catalogue in that it is more complete. Every good catalogue is a bibliography. It is from this point of view that the subject is generally approached, and this is the excuse for giving it prominence; but whatever the utilitarian value of such a work may be, the mere recital of the titles of a large number of books does not appeal to the imagination, and is of little interest in itself. Indeed, if this were all, it would be difficult to arouse enthusiasm for bibliography.

There is, however, another point of view from which the science of bibliography may be regarded, and it is to this phase of the subject that I wish to direct your attention. Let me premise that most people have an innate love for collecting. It may not survive the schoolboy stage, but it is latent in nearly every human being and in many animals. The pursuit is sometimes looked upon as a

[1] Read at the meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod of Wales, held at Swansea on 21st of August, 1907. Chairman, Sir John Williams, Bart., K.C.V.O.

virtue, sometimes as a vice—that depends upon what we collect. But the book-collector is the prince of collectors. His pursuit is innocent and innocuous, it is instructive and useful, it confers benefits upon others, and betters and broadens the life of the man himself. If he is a book lover, as every collector should be, every additional book he secures is an additional friend. Now the science of bibliography, regarded from the point of view of the bibliophile, is very much more than the mere description, cataloguing, and preservation of books. It connotes the knowledge which may be acquired as to each individual book. To the cataloguer a book consists of a binding, a title page, and a number of other pages. To the bibliophile the book brings a far different message: the binding may speak to him of the delicate taste of a French artist, the type and paper bring up visions of a cultured craftsmanship, the book itself may recall a famous incident in history or remind him of the tragic career of a forgotten genius. He is always on the verge of an interesting discovery in literary annals, and when, as not infrequently happens, he makes such a discovery, it affords him an innocent joy which the ordinary human being cannot appreciate. To the bibliophile the books become living beings, he individualizes them and assigns to each its foibles and its virtues.

The difference between the two kinds of bibliography is the measure of the distinction between the mere cataloguer and the book-lover. The one kind is a bare statement of the facts relating to a book, the other deals with the life history of a book. The one is the anatomical description of a book, the other is the biography of the book. If one applies these definitions to Welsh Bibliography, the distinctive value of the two kinds will be seen. The catalogue issued by the Cardiff Free Library a few years ago, as far

as it goes, is an excellent instance of the modern bibliography. It is true that occasionally the book-lover peeps over the bibliographer's shoulder, but in the main we have a dreary list of items, the same space being devoted to a worthless pamphlet as to a classic of Welsh Literature. That is as it should be in the catalogue of a public library. The work of Charles Ashton on the *Bibliography of Wales in the Nineteenth Century* partakes of the same character, and if it were published, it would never impair the popularity of Gwilym Lleyn's book. Gwilym Lleyn was a real book-lover. He lived for books. He searched the lowly cottage and the great mansion for them, with greater success in the cottage. I have somewhere read a description of his methods, in which the writer describes how, in pursuit of his hobby, he set about searching all the farm-houses of the district as soon as he was appointed to a new circuit, hurriedly noting down on scraps of paper or on the backs of envelopes the particulars of every rarity he came across. Perhaps that was not the most scientific way of proceeding, but when we consider that *Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry* was the work of one man, without money or other advantages, it is perhaps as remarkable a literary monument as any man has reared for himself.

In proceeding to found a Welsh Bibliographical Society, it would in my opinion be a mistake to endeavour to cover the whole ground at one stroke. Portions only of the field should be taken up, and the work should be done thoroughly and accurately. The materials gathered by Charles Ashton will be valuable, if made accessible, only in as far as they are reliable, but the publication of his work would in a measure retard rather than advance the scientific study of Welsh Bibliography. In a few years time the National Library will be drawing up its catalogue, and such a catalogue, scientifically edited, the facts drawn

from books accessible to everybody, will be far more valuable than the compilation hurriedly put together from fragmentary notes by Ashton. I should not be surprised if it were also far more complete in every respect.

Before coming to the practical suggestions I wish to offer as to the aims of a Welsh Bibliographical Society, I should like to make some general remarks as to Welsh books. We in Wales are too apt to proceed on English lines, even where, as in the case of Welsh Literature, there is a vast difference between the problems to be solved. Relatively speaking, Welsh books are far scarcer than English books; the editions were smaller, that is to say fewer copies were printed, and the literary output has of necessity always been less. The result, regarded from the collector's point of view, is that his field is more circumscribed. Not only is the sum total of books in the Welsh language infinitely less, but the individual copies of any Welsh book are scarcer, as fewer were printed. Moreover, after making allowances for these two factors, it will be found that a far smaller proportion of Welsh books in good condition survive the vicissitudes of time. The chief reason for this state of things is that while in England the rich are large patrons of literature, in Wales, practically speaking, only the poor buy Welsh books. An English book is preserved in scores of well ventilated libraries, whilst a Welsh book may be thrown into a damp cupboard, or left on the open shelf in a kitchen, to breed bookworms and reek of the smell of peat. The consequence is that the Welsh book collector makes it his business laboriously to search the cottages and farmsteads of the country, while his English *confrère* need only give his order to the expert bookseller in London. A large proportion of English books find their way to the collector's cabinet through the medium of a bookseller, but it is an uncommon

thing to buy a rare Welsh book from a bookseller, and any person who thinks he can make a representative collection of Welsh books in this way is sadly mistaken. The great moments of an English book collector's life occur when he picks up a bargain in a bookseller's catalogue; he knows nothing of the joy of the Welshman who secures his gem in an old bundle of books in a sale at a country farm-house, which he may have reached after a long tramp over hill and dale. These factors, the scarcity of Welsh books and the unlikely places where they may be found, make the collecting of Welsh books peculiarly interesting. The Welshman hitherto has not developed crazes, the excitement of the chase is enough in itself. In England you have the black-letter man, the tall copyist, the uncut man, the rough edge man, the early English dramatist man, the collector of Elzevirs, the broadsider, or the pasquinader, the old brown calf man, the Grangerite, the gilt topper or the marble insider, and, last of all, the first edition man. The varieties are infinite, and those who wish for further information may with profit study the works of Hill Burton and the immortal Dibdin. As things are at present in Wales, or as they were a few years ago, the rich collector with his cheque book could not compete with the intelligent peasant, who spent his spare time searching in out-of-the-way nooks for his prey. The most successful collector of Welsh books in the last generation was one David Evans of Llanrwst, who followed the profession of an itinerant pedlar and buyer of rags and bones. He travelled through Wales in his donkey cart, calling systematically at every cottage and farm-house bargaining for rabbit skins, and having books thrown in as a make-weight. In this manner he brought together a marvellous collection of rarities, many of which may now be seen by the curious, richly bound in calf or morocco, adorning the

book-shelves of Sir John Williams at Llanstephan, or enhancing the value of the great Welsh collection over which Mr. Ballinger so ably presides. Then there is Myrddin Fardd, who is still with us, who, in order to procure every comfort for a dying son, sold the collection which he had formed with infinite pains over a period of fifty years. Other instances might be cited equally to the point, which show that as far as the collecting of Welsh books goes, the race is not to the rich but to the persistent.

There is a further point I wish to make about Welsh books. There is a character, an individuality, about Welsh books. An English author writes his treatise or collects his poems, sends the manuscript to a publisher, pays him a cheque, or occasionally perhaps receives a cheque in payment, and, *hey presto*, the book is in print, and for sale at any bookseller's. Imagine the history of a Welsh book. The writer is perhaps a country tailor. In the intervals of driving his needle through the tough *brethyn cartref*, he jots down on the whitewashed wall of his cottage the *disjecta membra* of an *englyn*. When satisfied with it he may transfer it to the penny memorandum book in which is kept the measurements of his customer's clothes. By and by it may wander into the poet's corner of the local newspaper, finally to emerge with many of its fellows in a sixpenny booklet, roughly printed by the local Caxton. Then it has to be paid for, and sold, if possible, and this the tailor must do himself, or if he is of too modest a nature set his wife to the task, for poet's wives are usually said to be of the practical type. If the book has merit, some intelligent person in the neighbourhood will put it carefully by and wait until he gets a small pile of similar productions, when he will proceed to the nearest town or secure the services of the village shoemaker, and get the books bound together in good tough calf, labelled in

straggling letters on the outside with the magic word *Amryw*. I think no one will doubt that a book produced under such circumstances possesses an individuality of its own, and it is no exaggeration to say that many Welsh books have a similar life story. Indeed, did time allow, one could specify instances far more remarkable.

The Welsh *Amryw* is at once the joy and despair of the book collector. The joy, because it preserves what would otherwise have been lost, a rare elegy by Pantycelyn, a collection of hymns by Morgan Rhys, a scarce interlude by Twm o'r Nant, a ballad by Jac Glanygors, and a theological treatise on Predestination; there you will find them cheek by jowl in the *Amryw*. But the *Amryw* is also the despair of the collector, for of the sixteen tracts bound together which he buys, he may already possess fifteen.

I have talked enough about Welsh book collecting, it is high time to return to the subject of the paper. How is it possible to ally the interests of the book-lover with those of the pure bibliographer? This might be attained in several ways. A person might undertake to compile the bibliography of some particular book, or of the works of some particular author. Mr. Ballinger, in his bibliography of Vicar Prichard, and in his more recent work on the Welsh Bible, has given an excellent example of the value of this kind of work. In these two instances he does not confine himself to copying the bibliographical details of each edition, far from it; by means of comparison and research he has been able to throw a flood of light on some of the most important questions concerning the religious literature of Wales. One of the aims of Welsh bibliographers should be to encourage this class of work, that is, to study, as fully as possible, the literary history of a given book.

There is another direction also in which Mr. Ballinger

has given a lead. I refer to his article in *The Library* a few years ago on the Trevecca Press. The history of a particular press is, from the bibliographer's point of view, quite as important as the history of a book. We sadly require some accurate information as to the Carmarthen presses, and also as to those at Shrewsbury, Wrexham, Chester, Trefriw and Llanrwst, Bala, Machynlleth, and other places. There is enough scope for work, provided it is carefully done. A third direction in which valuable bibliographical work could be carried out is that of making bibliographies of certain well-defined branches of literature. A list of Welsh hymnals, printed before 1800, with an alphabetical index to the hymns, and notes as to the variations, would be welcomed, for the Welsh hymns are so good that time and labour might be expended upon them with profit. A bibliography of Welsh ballads would also be an interesting compilation, for the *cerdd* in Wales carried out the functions of the modern newspaper for a whole century, and a mass of local history can be gleaned from *cerddi* which could not be obtained elsewhere. Another type of publication which contain valuable historical data, frequently combined with considerable literary skill, are the *Marwnadau*. Large numbers of these were printed in the eighteenth century, and they are now extremely scarce. A full account of the growth of the Welsh almanac during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, provided full bibliographical details were given, would throw light on the social life of Wales, and considerably modify our ideas as to the history of the Eisteddfod. Bibliographies of the tracts produced during some of the heated religious, educational, and political discussions which occasionally sweep over Wales, would be of great help to the historical student.

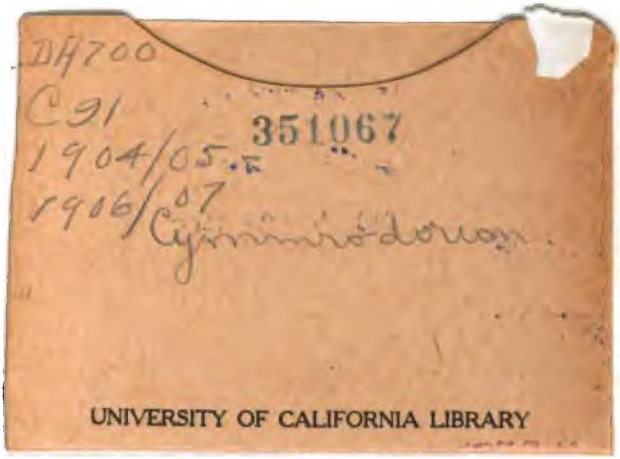
One might multiply these divisions indefinitely, and

excellent work might be done, provided skilled workers could be found. In concluding, I hope I have said enough to show that Welsh Bibliography is an attractive subject, that it gives considerable scope for individual research, and that the results obtained from a close study of it would well repay the literary and historical student, and be of permanent value to all who take an interest in the history of Wales and her literature.

THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW

AN INITIAL FINE OF 25 CENTS
WILL BE ASSESSED FOR FAILURE TO RETURN THIS BOOK ON THE DATE DUE. THE PENALTY WILL INCREASE TO 50 CENTS ON THE FOURTH DAY AND TO $1.00 ON THE SEVENTH DAY OVERDUE.

DEC 14 1938
DEC 15 1938
DEC 27 1938
JUL 10'67 -8 AM
RECEIVED DEC 0
CIRCULATION
RETD NOV 28 1983
RETURNED
JAN 24 1986 -9
HUM. GRAD. SERVICE
REC CIRC JAN 24 1986
MAR 02 1998

LD 21-95m-7,'37

U.C. BERKELEY LIBRARIES
C008542977